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HISTORY
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

AND OF THE
NINETEENTH

TILL THE OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
MENTAL CULTIVATION AND PROGRESS.

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TRANSLATED

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PREFACE.

THE author has written a preface to the present volume, chiefly explanatory of the relation which the present form of his work bears to his former publications on the same subject. This preface would be in a great measure unintelligible and uninteresting to any but his German readers: it contains however some matters of general interest, of which the translator thinks it his duty to take notice, especially as they are calculated to give clearer views of the nature and objects of the whole work, of the author's ideas of the value and uses of History, of the special objects contemplated, and of the point of view from which the subject has been considered.

After the author had devoted very many years, not only to the study but also to the composition of History, when he had brought his work down to a comparatively recent period, he made two journeys to Paris, in order to obtain that information from personal investigation which books cannot give. There, in the very seat of the Revolution, he had the opportunity of discussing the events of the immediately preceding period with the very spectators of and actors in the Revolution, the older republicans and the partisans of the Emperor. He mentions individuals whose names are well known and appreciated by his countrymen, but are here quite un-

known ; the aged and very active diplomatist Reinhard being perhaps the only individual of whom any mere English politician has ever heard. In this way the author arrived at conclusions more personal than it is usual for learned historians to form, and this has given to the present as well as to all his works that *subjective* character by which they are characterized. Having thus acquired his knowledge, it became the matter of his subsequent professional labours. For twelve years he lectured on the history of the age at his own university, Heidelberg, and the present volumes contain the substance of those lectures extracted from his papers.

Our readers will be reminded that the learned professor of history at Cambridge, the highly esteemed and very liberal Professor Smythe, had already anticipated the German Professor in the publication of his lectures, which will supply matter for comparison.

In addition to these facts, personal to the author, the readers of this work must never lose sight of the political condition of Germany, of the difficulty of forming a public opinion in a country where reflections on political science are confined within a narrow range by an active censorship of the press, and of the efforts which are everywhere being made to create a national feeling among all the different states which compose the vast territory denominated Germany. This is a condition in which it is of vast importance to the present and coming generation that the cause of rational liberty should be advocated, and its principles taught and enforced by men of sober minds and enlarged views, who are able to show their accordance with the facts of history and experience.

The excesses of "Young Germany," shortly after the emancipation of the country from the French yoke, sup-

plied too plausible an excuse for that jealousy of popular feeling, which produced devastations and consequences which have not yet wholly disappeared. The Germans are a race of *thinkers*, and the governments are in so far partakers of the national character, that thinking, and the scientific and learned expression of thought are not objected to, if care be taken not to give to that expression too popular a character, so as to spread a knowledge of public rights and the just claims of the people amongst the public at large.

In Prussia the bold and hazardous experiment is tried, of rendering the highest degree of mental cultivation subservient to what is regarded as the cause of monarchical power and the interests of the state.

Whilst in other parts of Germany, in Austria and elsewhere, the example of Italy is followed, and the repression of knowledge is attempted to be maintained as the true basis of monarchical domination, Prussia has hazarded the experiment of promoting men of recognized pre-eminence in every department of science and learning to the highest dignities of the state and to the first offices in her national universities, hoping thereby to engage the highest talents in the country in the maintenance of the existing institutions of the state. We may, without apprehension, await the issue of this experiment, rejoicing that it is made, in a firm belief that it will bear its fruit in its season, and that the development of the practical industry and commercial resources of the country will at no distant period form a foundation for a nobler political structure.

As long as the Government, that is, the King, exercises absolute dominion over the whole body of public instructors in the primary, secondary and higher schools, and as long as all men of education, to whatever

profession they belong, are obliged to look for their subsistence to an application of their talents conformable to the wishes of the higher powers, this theory and condition of things may be for a while maintained, especially as it is aided by the constitution of the Germanic Confederation, which is bound to suppress, and in the minor states does immediately and effectually suppress, the smallest manifestations of popular feeling, and crushes in the bud every attempt on the part of the people to assume or exercise any considerable share of political power.

Knowledge however is power, even in a political sense. There is a great fermentation in the public mind, the elements of which are no longer to be reduced to a state of repose by permission to speculate *ad infinitum* upon metaphysics, to enliven the dry bones of antiquity, and to expend all those energies in investigating Hebrew roots and Greek particles, many of which should be directed to living and substantial interests, and to the improvement of the physical and moral condition of themselves and their fellow-countrymen. It is impossible too highly to estimate the splendid talents, laborious research and indefatigable industry of German scholars, and I should be among the last to undervalue their vast contributions to the sum of knowledge and the new lights which they have shed upon the paths of mental and physical science; but it has always struck me as a most melancholy spectacle to contemplate such men and such minds cramped in their fair proportions, forced into a most unnatural position, entombed as it were in their libraries amongst the remains of the dead, to prepare and digest further monuments of learning for the benefit of those who are to succeed them in the same dry fields of speculation or research, without being suffered to enliven or refresh

the living generations of men, by the partial application of their great powers and knowledge to the promotion of their highest and best present interests, political and moral. If the translator might venture to speak the results of his own experience and observation, he would say, that it is quite impossible justly to estimate the value of free political institutions, their influence upon the mind and character of a nation, their moral effects and elevating tendencies, without having witnessed the retarding effects and repressive influence of power in countries where they do not exist. The possession of such institutions and advantages lies at the basis of all national greatness. England possesses perhaps as full a practical enjoyment of liberty of opinion and action as is compatible with a high state of social advancement and order, and in obeying the necessary restrictions of the law, Englishmen feel that they only obey the emanations of the public will, digested and reduced to the forms of law, for the public good. Whilst the people of Germany obey their princes from constraint, or sometimes from personal affection, Englishmen honour their sovereign as their sovereign deserves, respect the privileges of the crown, and watch over the rights of the people, but yield an unreserved obedience to the law.

It is not therefore easy to overrate, in relation to the present condition of the nation, the importance of a German historian, whose character, acquirements, authority and position enable him boldly to speak his convictions to his fellow-countrymen. Such is the case with Professor Schlosser. He is above and beyond the reach of all those petty annoyances, or even serious dangers, to which others have been or may be exposed: venerable by his age, his character, and his exalted reputation, he speaks with all the earnestness and devotedness of

a man, whose mission it is to leave a noble inheritance to his nation, of the fruits of his learning, experience and indefatigable labour. He is one who, out of the richness of his stores and the fullness of his reflections, dwells and descants on the grand events of history as they illustrate the great phases of the human character, the progress or retrogradation of civilization and knowledge, or bear upon the promotion of the well-being and happiness of mankind. Those who look for a mere history of details, a chronological account of battles fought and victories won, speculations upon curious questions of genealogical research or abstract theories of government, will be disappointed; whilst those who consider the author's object and design, and look upon History from a higher point of view, will find much worthy of their serious and deliberate contemplation.

In his preface the author states, that it had been his intention to have left for posthumous publication the present and the succeeding volume, which will complete the work, but that he has been induced to change his opinion from the earnest desires expressed by those whose judgement he values, and the public, for whom he writes, and to publish them during his lifetime.

He concludes his preface by observing,—“The facts which he reports do not rest upon hearsay; every one who is acquainted with history will easily discover whence they are taken, whilst to others it is a matter of indifference, and he makes no claim to discoveries; the subject at issue is one of judgement and views. His opinions and views the author has formed from the results of his own observation and experience during a long life, amongst very various classes of men and in very different situations. Every reader and every writer brings a party or a system with him, and every reader sympathises

with an author merely in so far as the author expresses and maintains the opinion of the party with which the reader is connected. A writer therefore who strives merely to explain and justify his own views, is doubly bound to show, that he knows how to distinguish between views and fancies. It is not granted to every one to be able to make good his own views, and the opinions of different classes of men rest upon very different foundations. Young people and systematic writers ground theirs upon systems and doctrines ; elder men and men of business, trained in the school of experience, upon observation and knowledge of life.

“ To this last observation the author requests attention, as many are accustomed to require, from a printed book, only things which may be blindly believed and learned by heart ; whereas in the author’s judgement, a book should be such an exposition of facts and opinions as may lead others to think and judge for themselves. Nothing therefore is more ridiculous than petty criticism and abuse of a writer who considers a subject only from one point of view. It is open to others to give an opposite one: the nation will be the judge, and it and its literature will be the gainers if both are equally successful. There are however persons who seem to esteem it an honour to be at least the barking dogs of literature, although they are not furnished with the proper teeth to bite.”

The translator has only to say respecting himself, that with a consciousness of many imperfections, he has done his best to be faithful, and regards his fidelity as the best proof which he can give of his great respect for a friend, whom he has so much reason to esteem and honour.

THE TRANSLATOR.

London, August 1st, 1845.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VI.

FIFTH PERIOD OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE YEAR 1788 TILL THE END OF THE FIRST (CONSTITUENT)
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND TILL THE SECOND PARTITION OF PO-
LAND.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE.

	Page
SECT. I.—From the Disturbances on account of the Cours Plé- nières and of the Grands Baillages in 1788 till the 12th of July 1789	1
SECT. II.—France from the 13th of July 1789 till the 14th of July 1790	55
SECT. III.—From the Festival of the Federation on the 14th of July 1790 till the Opening of the Legislative Assembly in Oc- tober 1791	92

CHAPTER II.

THE MONARCHICAL STATES OF EUROPE TILL THE WAR OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

SECT. I.—Sweden and Russia till the War with Turkey in 1788.	118
SECT. II.—Sweden and Russia till the Peace of Werela.	138
SECT. III.—Austria and Russia, and their War with the Turks. .	159
SECT. IV.—Belgian and Polish Revolutions.	176
<i>a.</i> Belgium	176
<i>b.</i> Poland.	205

SECOND DIVISION.

FROM THE TIME OF THE COALITION AGAINST THE NEW CONSTITU-
TION OF FRANCE TILL THE TRUCE OF UDINE, WHICH PRECEDED
THE PEACE OF CAMPO FORMIO.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, ENGLAND TILL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

SECT. I.—France till the Appointment of a Girondist Ministry. .	259
---	-----

	Page
SECT. II.—Relations of the European Powers till the Declaration of War on the part of France against the Emperor	280
SECT. III.—Preparations for the War of the Revolution	305
SECT. IV.—History of Germany and France till the Institution of the French Republic	320

CHAPTER II.

EUROPEAN WAR AND INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM SEPTEMBER 1792 TILL THE TRUCE OF UDINE, 1797.

SECT. I.—Prussia, Austria (Netherlands), Germany till the Flight of Dumourier, and the Participation of England and Holland in the War	383
SECT. II.—History of the internal Movements in France, from the Establishment of the Republic till the Fall of Robespierre, St. Just and Couthon, the Triumvirate of the Reign of Terror . .	428
<i>a.</i> First Period: till the New Organization of the Committee of Public Welfare.	428
<i>b.</i> Second Period.—From the Establishment of the Committee of Public Welfare till the Ninth Thermidor of the Second year of the Republic, that is, till the 27th of July 1794	451
SECT. III.—European Coalition to promote the Objects of the English Plutocracy till the end of 1794	521
SECT. IV.—History of the years 1795—1797	556
<i>a.</i> History of the French Convention from the 27th of July 1794 till its Dissolution in October 1795	556
<i>b.</i> History of the Events of the War and Peace till April 1797	594
1. Landing in the Bay of Quiberon.—Conclusion of Peace. .	594
2. Holland.—War in Germany in the year 1795 till 1796 . .	611
3. Summary View of the Victorious Undertakings of the French in Italy, which led to the Preliminaries of Leoben and to a Peace	634

Note.—In one or two instances the Translator perceives that he has used the German names of places in the Low Countries, better known in England by their French names, as *Herzogenbusch* for *Bois-le-duc*, *Doornick* for *Tournay*.

HISTORY

OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE YEAR 1788 TILL THE END OF THE FIRST (CONSTITUENT) NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND TILL THE SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE.

§ I.

FROM THE DISTURBANCES ON ACCOUNT OF THE COURS PLÉNIÈRES AND OF THE GRANDS BAILLAGES IN 1788 TILL THE 12TH OF JULY 1789.

IN April 1788, the prime minister Loménie de Brienne and Lamoignon, minister of justice, suggested and recommended to the good king Louis the propriety of substituting what was called a *cour plénière* for the parliament, and thus destroying its political influence by a *coup d'état*, and at the same time of diminishing its powers as a judicial tribunal by the erection of *grands baillages*. The adoption of this advice caused a commotion throughout the whole kingdom, and led to an immediate convocation of a general assembly of the estates. At the end of April 1788, Duval d'Epresmenil was instrumental in causing the parliament to take those unexampled steps which led to the convocation of the assembly of the estates. This was the same individual who in 1789 was one of the first to be threatened by the people as an aristocrat, and went in continual danger of losing his life from the popular indignation. D'Epresmenil had

by artifice obtained a copy of the royal ordinances, which were printed with so much secrecy that the royal printing-office was guarded like a prison, and none of the workmen were allowed to leave the premises. Having secured the document, he presented himself in parliament with the ordinances in his hand, on the 27th of April read them in the assembly, and prevailed upon the meeting to adopt a series of counter-statements of a description quite unexampled. This remonstrance, which was first put into the hands of the king on the 4th of May, was couched in a revolutionary tone, and we are therefore accustomed to regard the presentation of this paper to the king as the commencement of the revolution.

There are three things referred to in this document, which appear to us of especial importance in reference to the general fermentation which was at that time taking place in the public mind. First, at the conclusion of the remonstrance, the ancient and long-forgotten constitution of the kingdom and rights of the people are boldly reclaimed. It is expressly stated that France was not, in reality, what it was at that time considered to be,—a military monarchy, but that the estates and the parliament formed as essential parts of the constitution as the king*. Secondly, the parliament did not satisfy itself by merely handing in this remonstrance to the king, but appealed to the people. The protest against the infringement of its own rights and those of the public was accompanied by an address to the French people on the fundamental laws of the monarchy†. Thirdly,

* The conclusion of the remonstrance, already referred to in the preceding volume, runs as follows: “Chaque province a demandé un parlement pour la défense de ses droits particuliers: ces droits ne sont que des chimères, ces parlemens ne sont pas des vaines institutions. Autrement, le roi pourrait dire à la Bretagne, Je vous ôte vos états; à la Guyenne, J’abroge vos capitulations; au peuple de Béarn, Je n’entends plus vous prêter serment; à la nation même, Je veux changer celui du sacre; à toutes les provinces, Vos libertés sont des chaînes pour le législateur, vos parlemens l’obligent à varier ses volontés, j’abolis vos libertés, je détruis vos parlemens. Il est certain, qu’alors la volonté du roi pourrait être uniforme.”

† “Les lois fondamentales,” says the parliament, “embrassent et consacrent: 1. Le droit de la maison régnante au trône de mâle en mâle, par ordre de primogéniture. 2. Le droit de la nation d’accorder librement des subsides par l’organe des états-généraux régulièrement convoqués et composés. 3. Les coutumes et capitulations des provinces. 4. L’immovibilité des magistrats. 5. Le droit des cours de vérifier dans chaque province les volontés du roi et de n’en ordonner l’enregistrement qu’autant qu’elles sont conformes aux lois constitutives de la province ainsi qu’aux lois fondamentales de l’état. 6. Le droit de chaque citoyen de n’être jamais traduit, en aucune manière, par devant d’autres juges que ses juges naturels, qui sont ceux que la loi désigne;

the parliament offered a formal resistance to the royal commands, to which they were influenced by D'Epresmenil, who held the printed ordinances of the king in his hand. On his recommendation, the assembly solemnly bound itself by an oath to *refuse obedience* to the ordinances which were exhibited in its presence. This oath was taken by the whole assembly, which was at other times so cautious; on the same evening on which the deputation was sent to Versailles to the king, and even before the return of those members of whom it was composed, they bound themselves to refuse every description of reformation which should emanate from the ministerial press, and resolved to peril their lives rather than yield obedience to the ordinances of the king.

The whole of the chambers, which were bound by the same oath, proceeded to declare their sittings permanent; a step which, in the following years in the assembly of the states-general, was always the foreboding of dreadful storms. Having in a bold and threatening spirit declared their sittings permanent, they thus invested the plenary assembly of all the chambers with the whole sovereign judicial power of the kingdom, and placed themselves in hostile opposition to the legislative and executive power of the king and his ministers. The ministers made D'Epresmenil and Goisland de Monsabert responsible for these steps, which were taken on their advice and earnest recommendation, and immediately caused decrees for their arrest to be prepared. The accused took refuge in the permanent sitting of their colleagues. This took place late in the evening, and at midnight two battalions of grenadiers were sent against the peaceful assembly, in order to compel its members to deliver up those councillors who had fallen under the displeasure of the government.

This commission was entrusted to Vincent d'Agoult, as captain of the guard, who was required to keep the whole assembly in a state of imprisonment till the obnoxious individuals, with whose persons he was unacquainted, were surrendered. His repeated demands were unattended with success, and he at last forced his way into the chamber in which the assembly was held,

et 7. Le droit, sans lequel tous les autres sont inutiles, de n'être arrêté, par quelque ordre que ce soit, que pour être remis sans délai entre les mains des juges compétens. Proteste la dite cour contre toute atteinte qui seroit portée aux principes ci-dessus exprimés."

accompanied by the grenadiers of the royal guard, and kept the whole parliament in a formal state of arrest from midnight till five o'clock in the morning. At this hour the two councillors stepped forward in order to put an end to this state of siege, were formally arrested, and each was sent to a remote state-prison. In consequence of his resolute conduct on this occasion, D'Agoult was appointed governor of the Tuileries. This *coup d'état* not only proved injurious to the government, but in the then existing state of affairs consummated their ruin, because, in spite of all the means which they employed, and of the military power to which they had had recourse, the ministry proved unequal to carry through their plans.

On the 8th of May these hated ordinances were made public at a bed of justice of the parliament of Paris, where no discussion was allowed, and simultaneously in all the parliaments of the kingdom. For this purpose the parliament of Paris was summoned to Versailles, and the new ordinances were caused to be enrolled in its minutes; the same course was afterwards pursued in the chambers of exchequer and excise. These ordinances referred to the new political body (the *cour plénière*) which was to be erected, and which assembled only once, and to the new judicial courts with limited jurisdictions and restricted rights (the *grands baillages*), which never came into operation at all. The king had no sooner taken his departure from the hall of assembly, than the parliament protested and the councillors renewed the oath, that none of them would accept of any office whatever in the new supreme courts. The councillors of the chambers of excise and finance also protested, so that it proved impossible immediately to organise the new tribunals. The royal ordinances were in the same manner published in all the other parliaments of the kingdom, and the grand council of the parliament of Paris was even compelled to be present at the first and only sitting of the new body, the *cour plénière*; all this however merely served to show more clearly, that the spirit of the times had become more powerful than any ancient prejudices or traditionary usage.

The parliaments were indeed obliged to adjourn their sittings and await the nomination of the new tribunals, and the great council had taken its seat in the *cour plénière*, but it nevertheless protested in all due form against the new position which the government wished to assign it, and the various

individual councillors of parliament sent in representations complaining of the new condition in which they were placed. In the provinces which were connected with France by treaties, in virtue of which they retained the constitutional privileges of particular parliaments and assemblies of their own estates, the attempt to limit these privileges and to deprive them of their political influence gave rise to tumults and resistance. In Bourdeaux the people were satisfied with making a vigorous protest against the innovations of the government; but in Toulouse, where, as in Spain, every man wished to be regarded as a nobleman, the whole population was fanatically excited against the government. The estates of Dauphiny unhesitatingly took part with the parliament of Grenoble, when on the 7th of June the minister made an attempt to reduce its members to obedience by the employment of two regiments of soldiers. News of this measure adopted by the government no sooner spread among the people, than the citizens and peasants of the surrounding districts flew to arms in aid of the parliament, and repelled force by force. Even the inferior tribunal of Paris (the Châtelet), which in criminal prosecutions was to supply the place of the parliament, had recourse on the 16th of May to a very vigorous measure in opposition to the ministers of the crown and the new arrangements. From the 20th of the same month the ministry engaged in a violent contest with the parliament of Brittany and with the whole nobility of the province, the great body of the citizens in their disputes with the nobles having long previously sought and found the justification of all their dislike to the privileges of the nobles in the writings of Franklin and Rousseau, and imbibed the democratic principles of both. All the men of talent who were at that time distinguished for their eloquence and knowledge of the law in Brittany and the Garonne, and who were most conspicuous in the courts, acknowledged the new democratic principles of the law of nations and formed a close confederacy with one another. During the time of the parliamentary struggle of the year 1788 these men formed the republican union, which was afterwards partially designated by the name of the Gironde.

The citizens of Brittany, who afterwards continued to struggle in favour of the new order of things till our own century against the nobility of their province and the whole body of their dependents, vassals, servants and priests, had been in a state of

bloody strife with their antagonists in 1788, long before the 20th of May, on which an open war broke out between the parliament and the government. The parliament declared every man infamous who should accept of a seat in the *cour plénière*, whilst the government employed military force to reduce the parliament to obedience, and the soldiers were abused by the populace. The whole affair appeared so serious in its aspect, that the commander-in-chief thought it advisable to pass over these insults and offences without attempting to avenge them. In Rennes as well as in Nantes the disturbances continued without interruption, and frequent collisions took place, sometimes in consequence of the disputes of the citizens with the nobility, and sometimes in consequence of the differences between the parliament and the government.

The nobles afterwards sent twelve of their most distinguished members to court, to protest against the abolition of the parliament and the violation of their constitution guaranteed by their original compact with the kingdom. This circumstance led the government to give a public proof of their want of reliance on themselves and of their deficiency in energy. The twelve deputies were arrested in Versailles and carried as prisoners to the Bastille; but fifty others were no sooner afterwards sent, than they were admitted to an audience, and the government endeavoured to excuse themselves for having arrested the former twelve, and immediately ordered them to be set at liberty. Notwithstanding this event, Brittany remained in a state of uninterrupted ferment, and the contest between the citizens and the nobility gave occasion to the formation of political clubs, which afterwards extended over the whole of France, but which at first only bore the innocent name of reading societies. About the same time, the officers of the regiments which were stationed in Brittany, all of whom belonged to the nobility of the province, refused to act or allow their men to be employed against the parliament. The members of the most distinguished families, some of whom filled the very highest offices of honour about the court, were distinguished on this occasion as the founders and promoters of this opposition on the part of the nobility against the ministers of the crown. The indignation of the court was chiefly directed against Boisgelin, the duc de Chabot, the marquis de la Fayette and the duchesse de Praslin. The first lost his situation at court as keeper of the robes, the two others their

pensions, and the duchess was dismissed from her office of lady of honour. The nobility of Brittany had previously declared every man infamous who should accept of any situation in the new tribunals, and at a later period, no confidence was to be placed in any native of the province. The whole body of officers belonging to the regiment Bassigny was dismissed; it was even found necessary afterwards to cashier the whole corps, and at last sixteen thousand new troops were sent into the province, which notwithstanding continued in a state of resistance to the government. The first families of the country, and all the men of spirit and talents whom it contained, were at the head of the movement, and encouraged the people to defend and maintain the rights of their country. These disturbances, and sometimes even conflicts, continued throughout the whole of the year 1788, and in January 1789 became more vehement than ever*.

In Dauphiny, the three estates, by their unity, firmness and bold importunity, succeeded in obtaining the restoration of all the constitutional privileges which had been wrested from them not long before the conflict between the parliaments and the government, and on this occasion they renounced the prejudices of the middle ages, for the whole body of the three estates met in one chamber and decided all questions by a majority of votes. The secretary of this assembly, which was the first that was constituted on a different system from that of the feudal ages, was Mounier, who became afterwards distinguished as a reformer in the general estates, and finally was compelled with reluctance to emigrate. The general feeling among the military in Dauphiny was the same as that exhibited in Brittany, and no reliance could be placed by the government on their services in any disputes with the parliaments. This fully appeared when the commandant of the province attempted to enforce the adoption of the royal ordinances upon the parliament of Grenoble. He first endeavoured to become acquainted with the tone of feeling among his troops, and learned that he could neither reckon upon the officers nor soldiers for the fulfilment of his commands. Paris was at that time deluged with a flood of exciting pamphlets, many of which are now rare and only to be found in private col-

* The history of the disturbances in Brittany, which are detailed at great length by Bertrand de Moleville, will be found accurately and circumstantially related in the 'Geschichte der Staatsveränderung in Frankreich,' &c. part ii. pp. 147, &c. &c.

lections in Paris and Versailles as rarities. One of them which fell under our notice in such a collection struck us as being very remarkable, because as early as 1788, freedom and the revolution were already noticed on its title-page. From a great variety of circumstances, we have moreover no hesitation in coming to the conclusion, that the number of bold and unprincipled demagogues, which are never wanting in great cities, was greatly increased at that time in Paris by the influence of and a liberal distribution of money by persons of importance, who regarded a change in the state of public affairs as absolutely necessary.

There can be no doubt that the numerous tumultuary commotions in 1788 and the following years were altogether different from the usual disturbances which occasionally take place in large cities. The masses of people who rushed to the palace of justice on the occasion of the arrest of the two councillors of parliament were so considerable, that the prisoners were obliged to exert themselves to prevent a collision between the officers, by whom they were held in arrest, and the people. On this occasion also, there was abundant evidence of the fact, that the people were used as mere instruments by persons who employed pecuniary means to stimulate them to conduct which might inspire the weak government with fear of the consequences. Guard-houses were not only destroyed, but the persons, and at a later period the houses, of some of the most distinguished and active superior officers of the police were attacked. These attacks were always attended with loss of life, and many of the most audacious were obliged to pay the penalty of their disregard of law and order with their lives. The streets of Paris were crowded with beggars, vagabonds, and persons who had been formerly condemned to the galleys, who had all collected in the capital without any one being able to tell from whence they came, which was in itself a conclusive evidence, that persons of importance, or even a whole party in the community, were active in strengthening and recruiting these bands of lawless depredators in Paris. The dreadful mob of those who had been released from the various houses of correction (*repris de justice*), which still constitute the public evil of France, in this and the following years, played the chief parts in those awful scenes of murder which took place in the capital. From the month of May the disturbances in the provinces continued without any interruption. On the 5th of July the edicts of the

8th of May were publicly burned in Rennes ; in Dauphiny, Provence, and finally in Toulouse, military measures were obliged to be resorted to against the people. The courts did not suffer themselves to be terrified into the adoption of the government measures, but persevered in their resistance, even after the king had reversed and abolished their decisions, until at length the government became terrified at their boldness, and pusillanimously yielded. Eight parliaments had already been banished, when the government, in July, suddenly passed from one extreme course of action to another. When they perceived that it was quite impossible to carry through their plans with the parliaments and estates of the provinces, the idea of a general assembly of the estates of the whole kingdom was again entertained. In July search was made after the records and reports relating to the calling, constitution and election of the general estates of the kingdom, which had not taken place since 1614, in order to make the necessary preparations for the calling of a new assembly ; and the royal cabinet order (*arrêt du conseil*) convoking the estates appeared as early as the 8th of August. The assembly was convened for the 1st of May 1789 ; and it was announced in the same proclamation, that in the meantime the opening of the *cour plénière* and of the new superior tribunals (*grands baillages*) was to be adjourned.

In the royal council on the 16th of August two important measures were adopted at the same time,—a banker belonging to the liberal party was appointed minister of finance, and a species of national bankruptcy declared. Both these steps were consequences of the great diminution which had taken place in the income of the state, arising from the protracted disputes between the government and the parliaments. All cash payments were suspended*, and it was at the same time resolved immediately to recall Necker to the court. The prime minister no doubt was of opinion that Necker would submit to serve under him, and to regulate and direct the finances in his stead. That Necker could not possibly undertake ; not merely because he and the archbishop advocated completely different

* The *arrêt du conseil d'état* of the 16th of August contained the following : —“ Soixante et seize millions de remboursemens seront suspendus ; les autres parties doivent s'acquitter en dix-huit mois en tout ou en fractions, suivant leur nature et en billets portant intérêt à cinq pour cent, recevables de préférence dans le premier emprunt, qui s'ouvrira.” Two-thirds, therefore, of all payments were to be made in paper.

systems of administration, but because the whole course of their lives and actions had flowed in such an opposite channel, that Necker, co-operating with the principal minister of the government, would have become at once hated and useless. The archbishop moreover belonged to that class of statesmen of whom we are accustomed to regard Talleyrand as the *ideal*. In his youth (1752) he was connected with Turgot in the conduct of a liberal paper which made a great sensation among philanthropists and philosophers, and was very much praised by Naigeon, Condorcet, and Dupont de Nemours. At a later period he also spoke of freedom and continued to play the philosopher, although at the same time, like the English whigs, he turned all the abuses in the administration of church property to the advantage of his relations, enriched himself with ecclesiastical endowments, and as minister exercised every species of despotism.

Public opinion and the necessities of the state, which were to be relieved by a loan, absolutely demanded the recall of Necker to take charge of the administration of the finances; and when he refused to serve under the archbishop, the latter was obliged in the month of August to lay down his office. The archbishop had been formerly recommended to the queen by her mentor, the abbé de Vermond, and she had induced her weak husband to call him to the duties of the ministry in the place of Calonne; she was now guilty of a new piece of imprudence on his dismissal. She wrote a letter to the ex-minister, a man who was hated by the people and the parliaments, in which she expressly stated that her own opinions were very different from those of the people, and thereby gave it to be understood that she might probably succeed in dissuading her weak husband from consenting to the adoption of the measures recommended by Necker*. In

* The letter in which the archbishop announced to the queen that he was obliged to resign his office, and the two notes were printed in the year 1789, and there was no imputation that they were not genuine. We omit the minister's letters to the queen, because their contents may be easily guessed from the answers which were returned, and merely introduce the notes of the queen. The first is as follows:—"Je vois avec peine le départ de Mr. l'archevêque de Sens. L'abbé de Vermond est chargé de lui dire combien sa retraite m'affecte. Trop prudent pour dévoiler bien des choses Mr. l'archevêque se retirera sans doute avec cette discrétion qui accompagne l'homme qui n'est pas disgracié et qui tient encore tant à la faveur." In the second the following occurs:—"Mr. l'archevêque de Sens sera octroyé dans sa demande; Mr. de Brienne (his brother) aura encore quelque tems le portefeuille de la guerre. C'est toujours avec plaisir que la reine saisira l'occasion de témoigner ses bontés à Mr. l'archevêque."

the year 1789 these letters were printed to prove that no confidence could at any time be placed in the king. Although the minister was burned in effigy by the people, yet the king, at the request of his wife, prevailed upon the pope (Dec. 1788) to confer the dignity of a cardinal upon the archbishop, who had taken refuge in Italy. This new cardinal (De Brienne) afterwards sat as a member of the constituent assembly, forsook the cause of the pope and consented to be sworn as a constitutional bishop, for which reason the pope afterwards (1790) again deprived him of the dignity which he had previously conferred.

From this time forward the opinion began to be generally entertained, that it was not the king, but Necker who was chiefly to be regarded as the friend of the people, and that the queen and the court must be kept in a state of alarm by a series of public disturbances, in order to enable the minister to realise his views. The alarming tumults which had raged in Paris during the month of July were now therefore renewed with double vigour, as soon as the prime minister had retired from his office. On the 25th the people assembled on the Place Dauphiné, and in spite of the military severities to which Dubois, the colonel of the city watch (*guet*) had recourse, were guilty of many acts of violence during this and the four following days. On the 27th a straw figure was insultingly decked with the vestments of the archbishop, and afterwards burnt on the Pont Neuf under the statue of Henry IV. The whole blame on this occasion at court was thrown upon the rich duc d'Orleans, who was accused of having the originators of these disturbances in his pay, and promoting the spirit of disaffection and tumult among the mob. A jeweller named Carle, who was well known to be one of the creatures of the duke, was very actively employed in this riot; and he was a person who was not only usually present at the duke's orgies, but who also lived at a rate of expenditure unsuited to his station or means. It was however found impossible legally to convict him.

Many citizens were killed or wounded during the scenes of the 27th, which however were renewed on the 29th with greater violence than before. The city guards attempted in vain to protect the house which was inhabited by Brienne, minister of war and brother of the archbishop. They were repulsed by the people, and the tumult became so alarming, that the minister Breteuil ordered out the French and Swiss guards, and com-

manded them to advance against the people as if they had been a foreign enemy. This conduct incensed the people to the highest degree, against both Breteuil and Dubois. Fantin Desodoards, who is not more to be relied upon in his fifth edition than in his first, has however given the most romantically exaggerated accounts* of the number of persons who fell on that day. The unhappy persons who lost their lives in the affray were not the proper parties to blame, and those who were most deserving of punishment altogether escaped. Carle, who had been very active on the 27th, eluded the grasp of justice, and the marquis de Nesle, who had led the attack against the house of the minister of war on the 29th, was never even summoned before the tribunals; the minister of war on the other hand was compelled to resign his office.

The minister of war had no sooner retired, than Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, found himself unable to maintain his post, and on his withdrawal in September, the same scenes were renewed which had taken place in July and August. On the 14th of September the people were first gratified with the innocent amusement of solemnly burning the keeper of the seals in effigy; but the mob, which was assembled to witness and consummate this *auto da fé*, were not satisfied with its accomplishment alone. The houses of the archbishop and keeper of the seals were set on fire and plundered, the city guards were put to flight, and Breteuil was obliged a second time to call out the French and Swiss guards to act against the people; and on this occasion the troops did not spare the rioters.

Under these circumstances, the mildness immediately afterwards exhibited by the government assumed all the appearance of weakness. The measures attempted to be carried into force against the parliaments were recalled, the obnoxious councillors who had been banished or thrown into state prisons were allowed to return to Paris, and at the same time (Sept. 23—25) a public declaration was issued, that the states-general should be convened as early as January 1789. The very first act of the newly-assembled parliament was to cause this ordinance to be formally enrolled in its minutes. But the parliament immediately after-

* Fantin Desodoard's 'Hist. Philosophique de la Révolution de France,' vol. i. p. 94:—"La garde de Paris, qu'on appelait *le guet*, avoit occupé la place Dauphiné. Il s'engagea sur le Pont-Neuf entre cette garde et une multitude de clercs de procureurs, d'artisans et d'ouvriers un combat, dans lequel périrent deux cents individus."

wards lost all its influence and importance among the people by the adoption of two egotistical measures recommended by its noble jurists. The court, under the influence of Necker's advice, proposed to give a greater degree of weight to the middle classes of the people than they had enjoyed at the commencement of the seventeenth century, in consequence of the progress which these classes had made in wealth and importance. This was the loudly-expressed wish of the people, but it met with the most vigorous resistance on the part of the parliament; and at the same time in which they caused the royal ordinance to be enrolled, they subjoined this significant addition: the estates however must be held according to the forms observed in 1614, according to which the assemblies of the three estates were held apart from each other, constituted three separate chambers and possessed three votes, of which each should be given by an equal number of deputies. This was a species of declaration of war against Necker, who was desirous of conceding double the number of deputies to the third estate which was allowed to each of the other two, and thereby gave an intimation of his design to form the whole of the estates into *one* assembly. The second step taken by the parliament proved that (mediately at least) it was not wholly blameless of the tumults which during the last months had disturbed the public repose, and that it regarded those who had been engaged in them as genuine patriots.

The lieutenant of police in Paris, the commander of the city guards, and even marshal de Biron, commandant of Paris and now eighty years of age, were summoned before parliament and required to give an account of the employment of a military force during the late disturbances. The raging multitude, who had been attacked on those occasions, were denominated peaceful citizens, and the *procureur-général* was obliged to commence proceedings against all those magistrates or officials who had ordered or allowed the employment of the troops, and the king was besought to set all those persons at liberty who had been banished or arrested during the late commotions. The parliament even required that all the civil and military officials, who, as they express it, had lost their situations by the *ministerial intrigue*, should be restored to their respective places. The prosecution indeed was not followed up, but those who had been removed were restored to their situations, and the parliament immediately afterwards proved that their only object was to pro-

tect all those disturbances which were calculated to perpetuate abuses, whilst on the contrary they were always ready to commence judicial prosecutions against every effort at improvement. In order to please the court, the parliament issued a proclamation against all unions or assemblies of the people upon the public streets or squares of the city; the meetings however continued to be held notwithstanding.

Necker had no other means of carrying his views of radical reform, and of effecting a complete overthrow and remodelling of a system of taxation which was derived from the middle ages, except by constituting the assembly about to be called according to the form expressly forbidden by the parliament, and he was therefore obliged to have recourse to some other authority for summoning a double number of deputies of the third estate. Necker's opinion of himself and of the omnipotence of his wisdom, which in common with him is the characteristic of all the *doctrinaires*, suffered him to indulge in the complacent expectation, that such an assembly of notables as Calonne had thought of calling would be disposed to support his views in favour of the citizens against the nobility and clergy,—a degree of infatuation which is scarcely to be conceived. Immediately after the publication of the declaration of parliament, which was so completely opposed to his views, on the 5th of October, Necker, who gave the tone in the ministry, summoned a meeting of notables for the 6th of November, according to the same form which had been observed in the preceding year, and for the express purpose of obtaining their opinion as to the manner in which the meeting of the estates of the kingdom should be held.

The high officers of state and privileged persons who composed this meeting by no means coincided with Necker as to the fitness of the time which had been chosen for calling a general assembly of the estates, even provided they had been disposed to recommend any alteration of the ancient form. Both parliament and the notables, that is, all those who had hitherto been regarded as possessing any political importance in the state, therefore publicly declared that they were totally at variance in their opinions with the whole body of those who were learned in the law of nations and with all writers of eminence, all of whom not only insisted upon the propriety of calling an assembly of the estates, but who required also that the

whole of the three estates should constitute one assembly and decide all questions by a majority of votes.

The estates of Dauphiny had already given a happy example of the union of the whole body of the estates in one assembly, and the most numerous and best of the political pamphlets* with which France was then deluged sought to show that the influence and importance of the third estate must be made equal to that of the other two.

These various pamphlets and notices concerning the estates were called forth by the government itself, and not so much by Necker as by the archbishop of Sens himself. The latter no sooner announced the king's will respecting the calling of the estates than he published a declaration in his name (*déclaration du roi*), in which all the provincial administrations, all councilors of cities, academies, all learned and scientific men were invited to give publicity to their views and opinions with regard to the calling of an assembly of the estates-general of the kingdom. In almost all the papers, essays and pamphlets published on this occasion, a complete alteration of all the institutions of the state and the abolition of the privileges enjoyed by particular classes were demanded as an obvious necessity of the times, and the only means of delivering the state from the total ruin with which it was threatened; the plenipotentiaries of those classes of whom the assembly of notables was composed would hear of no such changes; they rejected every proposition which leaned towards such a theory, as that of giving to the third estate any different position from that which it had held in 1614. Five princes of the blood even ventured to protest against the declaration which had been published by the minister in the name of the king, inviting the learned to give counsel on this point to the government, as well as against every attempt at making improvements in the constitution. This step was the more injurious to those who took it and to the whole body of the nobility, as it was not approved even by the comte de Provence (Louis XVIII.), and the whole assembly refused to take any part in this protest.

The comte de Provence, as president of the assembly, was unwilling to bring the proposition of the princes before the meet-

* As we shall neither load our pages with quotations nor literature, we may observe, that the fullest information concerning the pamphlets and periodicals referred to in the text may be found in the 'Geschichte (v. Schütz) der Staatsveränderung in Frankreich unter Ludwig,' im 2 Theil, s. 155, and in 'Wachsmuth,' 1r Th. s. 86, und folgende.

ing; but the same prince Conti, who a short time before had played the ultra-liberal in the parliament, now proposed to send a message to the king*, declaring that it was absolutely necessary to set bounds to the daily increasing number of political periodicals and pamphlets; that no plans or publications of new systems of administration or government ought to be endured; and that all political writings should be utterly forbidden, if the throne were to be maintained and public order preserved. To this singular declaration the princes even added a recommendation to the king, that in order at once to put an end to all the hopes which were so generally cherished and so loudly expressed respecting an assembly of the estates, he ought publicly to declare, that no changes whatever were to be suffered to be made by the estates in the existing constitution or in its ancient forms.

The other members of the assembly of notables were not however so absurd in their modes of thinking and acting. Necker, in his book upon the revolution, and his *doctrinaire* daughter, both of whom, at the time in which they wrote, lamented the downfall of that dominion which was exercised by the fashionable and enlightened frequenters of the Parisian saloons, even allege† that the notables, in the selection and constitution of the estates, would have given effect to many liberal determinations. Necker in this work also refers to the difficulty of his position between the weak king and that crowd of courtiers who were charmed with the trivial conversation of the Polignacs and their companions, and guided by the princes, of all of whom the queen availed herself continually to urge and drive the king from one party to the other. He says therefore, that many of his measures would have met with great difficulties and obstructions at court had it not been for the aid of the notables. Among these may be specially mentioned the proposal of allowing every man,

* Marmontel has well observed, in his ‘*Mémoires Livre XIième*,’ vol. iii. p. 172, “Dissipateur nécessaire, le prince de Conti, plein du vieil esprit de la Fronde, ne remuoit au parlement que pour être craint à la cour,” &c.

† The marquis Ferrières (tom. i. p. 13) says with great justice, “Necker s’étoit acquis auprès de la multitude une réputation d’honnête homme, de ministre habile; il n’en avoit pas imposé à des hommes exercés à juger les gens en place; ils connoissoient l’inaptitude, la gloriole de Necker; ils savaient qu’il leur serait aisé de le perdre lorsqu’il deviendrait inutile ou contraire à leurs vues; ils ne craignirent point de se réunir à lui; ils employèrent en sa faveur toutes les bouches qu’ils faisoient parler; et le secondant en apparence ils en firent l’instrument passif de leur propres desseins. Le duc d’Orléans abandonna le parlement et se lia secrètement avec Necker. La double représentation du tiers état fut un article du traité.”

who should be regarded eligible on account of his abilities, to be elected as a member in any of the three estates, without any reference to a property qualification. The seventh committee (*bureau*), presided over by the comte de Provence, were even willing to concede that the third estate should have a double number of deputies and each of the other estates only a single one. The other six committees however would by no means acquiesce in this proposal, and the notables contrived to make themselves completely hateful to the people.

By its deliberations of the 5th and 7th of December, the parliament attempted to regain the affections of the public, and before the assembly of notables was dismissed on the 12th of December, they caused a resolution to be handed to the king, by virtue of which they required, not only that the estates should be convened in the commencement of the following year, as had been already promised, but that in future regular assemblies of the estates should be held at fixed periods, and further, that no taxes should be raised without the consent and approbation of the estates of the kingdom. The parliament was on this occasion blind enough to propose to the government at this very instant to bestow some new rights on the fanatical jansenists and vehement jurists of whom it was composed. It required, that the assembly of the estates, the legislative body, should be brought into closer connexion with the parliament, the executors of the laws. It wished however to show itself disposed to yield something to the spirit of the age, for it demanded at the same time the abolition of the right of arbitrary arrest on the part of the crown (of *lettres de cachet*), the responsibility of ministers, freedom of the press, and an equal division of the burthens of the state. The parliament even attempted to repair the fault which it had committed in refusing to assent to the doubling of the number of deputies appointed to represent the third estate, and left the whole affair to the ministry. By this step, the clause which had been previously entered upon their minutes was at least indirectly repealed, and Necker encouraged to the adoption of the measures to which he had recourse on the 27th of December. On the 20th the dukes and peers followed the example of the parliament, and declared that they were ready to relinquish every advantage which they enjoyed in the way of exemption from the ordinary taxes of the state. Both the parliament and peers however came too late; neither the people nor the

government would recognise their liberality as such. The king's answer to the parliament was couched in brief and repulsive terms, intimating that it was no longer necessary for that body to interest itself in the course and issue of public affairs; he replied that he had no communication to make to the parliament, but that he would so arrange public affairs with the whole nation that the well-being of the state might in future be settled upon the firmest foundations. On the 27th of December, therefore, without any consultation with the parliament, or paying any attention to the resolution of the notables, a cabinet order was issued which determined the point respecting the number of the deputies of the third estate.

According to this ordinance, the whole number of the united deputies was to reach at least one thousand; the number to be chosen from each department was to be determined according to the combined elements of amount of population and of contributions to the burthens of the state; and in each department the third estate was to elect a number of deputies double that of each of the other two. The elections were appointed to be holden in March, and the first meeting of the general assembly was put off from January till the 1st of May. On this occasion the government fell into the material error of overlooking the generally prevailing feeling of enmity towards the first two estates, and in some measure of mischievously provoking the struggle which was sure to ensue between them and the third estate. In this ordinance the determination of the form of the assembly was most injudiciously left to the decision of the estates themselves; they were to decide whether they should meet in three distinct bodies or be united in one single assembly, and decide according to majority of voices. Had it been determined to form three chambers, and the vote of each chamber as a whole to have been considered equal to that of any of the others, the third estate would obviously have derived no advantage from the increase in their numbers. It could not therefore concede this point, and Necker, to whom alone the cabinet order is ascribed, committed a grievous error in leaving the question open for decision. Necker has justified himself at great length against this accusation, by alleging that the queen, who unfortunately still continued to mix in the affairs of the state and was present in the council on this occasion, had prevented him from pursuing the best course.

The province of Dauphiny assembled in Romans had already resolved in December to select their deputies to the general assembly of the estates simply according to the circumstances of the number of persons belonging to the three estates. According to this principle the clergy sent five, the nobles ten, and the citizens at large fifteen. The nobility and clergy of Brittany, on the other hand, immediately fell into disputes both with the government and the third estate respecting the royal ordinances of the 27th of December. This contest had reached such a height on the 27th of January 1789, that the two higher estates employed their farmers, peasants and labourers in the strife, whilst the citizens secured the aid and employed the services of their apprentices and workmen, and even of armed soldiers. The nobility of Brittany commenced this struggle with the citizens on the 26th of December by declaring their sittings permanent, a proceeding which was imitated afterwards in the times of terror, as soon as murder and destruction were contemplated. A royal edict was no sooner communicated to them on the day just mentioned, which adjourned the sittings of the estates of Brittany, than they formally renounced obedience and declared their sittings permanent. Each member entered into a solemn agreement never to leave the hall of assembly empty either by night or by day.

The two higher estates afterwards resolved on a formal protest against the royal ordinance relating to the estates of the kingdom, whilst the citizens, who possessed a description of militia in the students and other young men of their order, caused a species of justification to be drawn up and published by those jurists who afterwards constituted the kernel of the Gironde. The nobility sent forth their clients and servants against the youthful militia of the citizens, and the parliament took part with the cause of the nobles, by issuing decrees against the free-thinking youths, who on this occasion were protected by the government. The citizens obtained military protection from the government; the commandant or military governor of Brittany, in order to put an end to these insolent permanent sittings of the two higher estates, caused a number of cannon to be planted against the places of meeting both of the nobility and prelates, and threatened to fire upon them if they did not immediately disperse. We should not have taken any notice of these disputes had they not served to explain the reason why the nobility

of Brittany afterwards refused in March to elect any deputies to the general assembly of the estates. This had a very unfavourable effect in the first sittings of the estates-general, partly because the votes of the Breton deputies were lost to the nobility, and partly because the most violent orators among the citizens were selected as deputies, and carried all the bitterness of their feelings against the nobility with them to Versailles. During this same period those confederacies (*fédérations*) were very innocently formed in Brittany, which afterwards became so dreadful, because the young men of Nantes and St. Malo, under the name of confederates (*fédérés*), came to the aid of their friends of the same age in Rennes. On this occasion a young student of law played a very distinguished character, and gave early evidence of those military talents for which he afterwards became renowned as general Moreau.

The opponents of the government moreover exercised a very great influence throughout the whole kingdom in the election of deputies to the estates-general, whilst the ministry seemed to view with disregard the selection of the most vehement antagonists of every description of improvement by the nobility. There can be no doubt that in general the ablest men in France were elected,—men who were trained in the courts and public offices of the country, whose talents had been exercised and their judgments matured by experience, and who were armed with all the learning and knowledge which could be derived from the strict and learned schools of the time. This circumstance gave a particular character to the orators of this first general assembly of the estates, and to their speeches above that of the others. A great fault was committed by not insisting that the electors should immediately separate after the performance of the duty for which they had been called together, and not enter upon any other subject than that of the election. This want of foresight was attended in Paris with the most injurious results, because the electors of that time consisted of most distinguished men, who possessed the full confidence of their fellow-citizens, but at the same time were filled with the most exaggerated ideas of the rights of man.

The deputies of the three estates were to assemble in Versailles, and the opening of their assembly, which was at first fixed for the 28th of April, then for the 1st of May, was eventually put off till the 5th. We do not think it necessary to refer

to the elements of which each was composed, as that may be learned from every manual, but shall satisfy ourselves with one general remark. This refers especially to the great preponderance of the democratic element. The deputies of the nobles were deprived of the votes of the one-and-twenty deputies from Brittany, and among the ecclesiastical deputies there were 205 clergymen, the majority of whom, at least by birth and feeling, belonged to the citizen class. We leave it to those who delight in collecting historical anecdotes to inquire whether the meeting of the estates was convened in Versailles instead of some place more distant from Paris, in consequence of the queen's predilection for her favourite Trianon, or that of the count d'Artois for the luxuries, the refined and costly enjoyments of his castle of Bagatelle; certain it is, however, that the selection of Versailles was a capital mistake. A popular outbreak and the plundering of the house of a rich manufacturer, who right or wrong was accused of being an aristocrat, and which excited general terror in Paris very shortly before the opening of the meeting, were ascribed to the encouragement and money of the distinguished malcontents, and especially to those of the duke of Orleans, without however being capable of any sufficient proof.

The workmen of the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, on the 27th of April, plundered the house of a rich manufacturer of coloured papers, named Réveillon, set it on fire, pulled it down, and were only driven away from the work of destruction by a serious discharge of fire-arms, from which many lost their lives. This was merely an artificial prelude to the scenes of the following time, in which an ochlocratic militia was formed out of these same workmen and dignified with the name of the sovereign people. The government was compelled to march some new regiments to the neighbourhood of Paris, because the guards had been obliged to fire and kill several men on the 27th, and Réveillon himself to seek a refuge in the Bastille in order to save his life*. It is very remarkable that the whole inquiry into the scenes of murder and robbery perpetrated on this occasion was so carelessly pursued, that the proper connexion and history of the affair were never brought to light.

In order to accomplish his views, which could only be effected

* The principal documents with respect to Réveillon and the scenes of the 27th and 28th of April will be found appended to the first volume of the '*Mémoires de Ferrières*' (Paris 1822), p. 417.

by means of the third estate, Necker was obliged to favour the movement by which all the tone-giving men of the day were carried forward; before the lapse of a few months however, he saw that he was not in a condition to direct its course or rule its impulse. At a later period, Lafayette, and the celebrated astronomer and visionary Bailly, became convinced of the same truth. The latter, as well as Lafayette and his weak friends, were full of enthusiasm and the best intentions, but possessed a very deficient knowledge of mankind, and an imperfect judgement of what was possible under certain circumstances. They indulged in such visionary notions respecting the present as those in which Bailly as a writer indulged with regard to the primitive ages and their history. He, as is well known, derived all our arts and sciences from a primitive people of whom no one ever heard except Plato and himself, and of whom he gives an account in the passage in which he speaks of Atlantis. The secret guidance of events soon became more powerful than the public one, and the number of the deceived was Legion. We cannot however lay any stress upon the great influence of the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding the activity of the people by whom he was daily surrounded, such as Genlis and Chauderlos de la Close, and at first also Mirabeau, and notwithstanding the great sums which his agents contrived to draw from his resources. He had unquestionably neither a party nor any fixed plan, and even if he had had a plan, he would not have been in a condition to follow it up with determination and success. There were however two men, who possessed all the talents, all the knowledge, all the connexions of the old *régime*, and who availed themselves of all its vices in order to create a new age, in which they might find means of commencing anew their career of sensuality and extravagance; and by means of their wit, smoothness and sophistry, of eclipsing all competitors under the new order of things as they had done under the old. These were Talleyrand Périgord, then bishop of Autun, and count Mirabeau, who however was a man of much nobler views and higher national feelings than he with whom he is here associated.

Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, count de Mirabeau, was the brother of viscount Mirabeau, who first struggled with fanatical zeal in the national assembly for the maintenance of the privileges of the nobility, and was the first who afterwards formed a military corps at Worms for the purpose of contending for them by the

power of the sword. The whole family was distinguished for its originality and genius,—the father of the count by his writings, and his uncle by his personal character and the power and vigour of his eloquence. As we learn from their letters published in the present century, both of the brothers were accustomed to despise all usual and traditional forms in their speeches as well as in their actions; but the son and nephew deviated still further from the usual path. His early life was remarkable for a continued succession of extravagant vices and crimes, alternating with periods of vast and severe mental activity and the study of human passions, weakness and cabals, which he learned in the school of real life, and not from books. He was driven from his country for having committed the grossest outrage upon a distinguished married lady, after she had sacrificed her honour and property for his sake, and whom he afterwards scandalously betrayed and forsook. He became an author, because whilst in Holland he was obliged to live by his pen, and his own father regarded him as a foul blot upon the name and reputation of his family.

Mirabeau's father was known at the same time by the names of "friend of the people," in consequence of his journal; and of "tyrant of his family," in consequence of his behaviour to his wife and children. By the favour of the minister of the day he succeeded in procuring the issue of a *lettre de cachet* for the arrest of his son, and had him thrown into prison, where he was subjected to a long and severe confinement. The morals and habits of the distinguished and the rich were then, and partly still are, of such a nature, that the name of a profligate of genius was sought after as a title of honour, and Mirabeau, after his discharge from prison, was received at all courts, and particularly at those of Germany, where he was employed as a distinguished spy, without having any special commission. To this period of his half-diplomatic career we are indebted for his somewhat incredible secret history of the Prussian court and his unjust letters against the emperor Joseph, respecting the governorship of the seven provinces of the Netherlands.

Mirabeau and his friend Talleyrand Périgord, whose course of life completely resembled each other, although the former possessed some good qualities in which the latter was altogether deficient, were persons well-acquainted with mankind, and knew

the means of turning their fellow-men to account; and at the same time they possessed a knowledge, which in France was at that time very rare,—a minute knowledge not only of their own countrymen, but of Germany also; they were intimately acquainted with courts, the law of nations, politics, and the institutions of the empire. Talleyrand had prosecuted his studies in Strasburg under professor Koch, who lectured in that university on the law of nations, politics and the history of diplomacy, at the same time as Cobenzl the Austrian, who assisted in concluding the peace of Luneville; Mirabeau, in his work on the state of Prussia, which he composed conjointly with Mauvillon, proved at least that he was a man thoroughly acquainted with the nature of political science, however small the historical value of his productions may be. Like his friend the bishop of Autun he was loaded with debts, and by no means in a condition to keep up the expenditure of a fashionable man of pleasure; both however were practical and laughed at all ideas of morality, such as those contained in the writings of Rousseau, about which Robespierre and St. Just, Roland, Bailly and the deputies of Brittany and the southern commercial cities entertained the most fanciful dreams. Mirabeau was a man to be won by the court, and was afterwards really secured when it was too late, and the nation was deprived of his services by death. The nobility of Provence ought to have chosen him as one of their deputies, that he might have been bought by the court; but they had no confidence in him. Neglected and despised by the nobles, he assumed the character of a defender of the rights of the people, which he played with such extraordinary ability, that it was entirely owing to him that such of the middle classes as now have money, sophistry, the ability to use smooth and polished discourse, or have had the power by any means whatever of securing a party of adherents, have the whole government of France in their hands. We very much doubt whether many were deceived by the farce which Mirabeau played in Aix, by setting up the sign of a woollen-draper before his door, and changing the name of count Mirabeau for that of a tradesman and citizen, in order that he might be elected one of the deputies for the third estate to represent the city of Aix. We believe that he was elected because his family was very well known, and because, when great and zealous efforts are to be made, a proselyte or convert is always of more use than an old believer. He and

Talleyrand afterwards found in Danton, in Paris, a man who, like themselves, was persecuted by the believers, but who was possessed of that description of talents, and of that species of popular eloquence, which made him a very fit instrument to be used as a tool for the promotion of their views*.

In the same manner as Mirabeau acquired celebrity and power by his eloquence, another native of Provence at the same time became an oracle in the first assembly, and afterwards in the convention, by his dialectics and sophistry and the metaphysical obscurity in which he clothed his thoughts. His brief oracular sentences frequently decided the question at issue, and he produced far greater effects in the committees than others did in the full assembly. The man in question was Sièyes, from Fréjus in Provence, and vicar-general of the bishop of Chartres, who has been usually regarded as one of the chief clients of the duke of Orleans. He had gained some reputation as a dialectician and sophist by his works on Locke and Condillac, and from this time forward became renowned as a publicist. Among many other pamphlets, he wrote one which made a great sensation, under the title, "*What is the Third Estate?*" This was received with great applause, because it contained a full development of the favourite principles of the times, and showed that the great body of the citizens alone constituted the nation, whilst the two higher classes composed merely a small and particular class. The pamphlet was written in a clear, easy and logical style. The men of wealth, who with patriotic magnanimity were ready to sacrifice their money for the promotion of political improvements, caused large numbers of Sièyes' pamphlet to be printed and to be most extensively circulated throughout the whole of the kingdom. The city of Paris moreover, to show their sense of his services, elected the abbé as one of their deputies to the states-general. Bailly, the sentimental astronomer, was chosen as one of his colleagues, and produced the same effects by his enthusiasm which Sièyes did by his logical acu-

* A Frenchman has pronounced the following opinion of his character : " La nature l'avoit fait pour haranguer la populace, pour tonner sur une borne dans un carrefour. Il avoit cette sorte de voix mugissante d'un crieur public, qui tient de la voix humaine et du beuglement du taureau, et qui se fait entendre sur les toits : il possédoit l'éloquence des charlatans des rues et la logique des voleurs de grands chemins. . . . C'était un composé d'audace et de mollesse, d'activité et d'insouciance, donnant l'exemple de la concussion, du pillage, et de la mauvaise foi."

men and his tact in bringing back the assembly to the real points under discussion, and pointing out exactly the expressions which ought to be employed, in the midst of the rambling eloquence and wavering views of so many of its members. In our *doctrinaire* times, Mignet has with justice pronounced a eulogy upon this priest, who was an object of aversion to the better men of a former period. They were disgusted with the mean avarice and subtle cunning of a man who was the author of a number of constitutions, and became the mere dialectic instrument of the times of terror.

Among the deputies of the third estate there were 200 advocates, a number which was undoubtedly too large, because they belong to a class who are accustomed, and often obliged to endeavour to make the worse appear the better reason, and to defend themselves by mere phrases and verbiage. The elder Robespierre was one of this number and class, who played a very subordinate part in the first general assembly. It is however unhappily quite true, that the best and noblest men proved more injurious to the cause of the nation than all these advocates, of whose number all writers on the revolution have complained; they were full of visionary ideas concerning right, virtue and freedom, and like men in a dream came into an assembly of people awake. Such persons as Barnave, Thouret, Bailly, Grégoire and Lafayette were precisely the more easily led astray, in proportion as they were more upright and faithful in their purposes, as they attached importance to principles and learning, and were unacquainted with men. The author of this history became acquainted with Grégoire in 1822, and found him still as much unacquainted with the world and with mankind, as good and visionary in his views, as this zealous jansenist could have been in 1789. Full of zeal against the court, luxury and fashionable distinction, he came at that time suddenly from an isolated parsonage into the great world of Paris, and saw its corruption. Lafayette also, as is well known, remained true to the dreams of his youth till the end of his life; that indeed is a circumstance highly honourable to him, but which was very often equally injurious to the good cause. Bailly paid with his life for that brief renown which was incredibly beneficial to his philanthropic vanity, and for the error which drove him from the observatory and the retirement of his study into that public life to which he did not belong. Barnave turned from republican

to monarchical views when he was compelled to bring back the royal family from Varennes to Paris.

Louis XVI. belonged to that pernicious and unhappy class of men who are usually called "good people," because they listen to every pious or good word, are ready to acquiesce in every opinion, and to satisfy every one's wishes, without possessing either inspiration or energy for the accomplishment of any good purpose, and are therefore the continual sport and prey of women and flatterers. The princes, courtiers, masters of etiquette and ceremonies, together with the publicists of the government, by magnifying and laying stress upon the most contemptible trifles, were easily able to retard or destroy the greatest plans of his ministers. Had he possessed any judgement or will of his own, in the excited state of public opinion which prevailed, he would not have endured those ceremonials in which the champions of the ancient etiquette indulged on the 4th of May 1789, in the churches of Notre Dame and St. Louis in Paris, and on the following day at the opening of the assembly of the estates in Versailles. Instead of withdrawing from public notice and observation the privileges which were vehemently attacked in the writings of the day, they exposed them in all their fullness and absurdity to the eyes of the people. The deputies of the nobles were adorned with splendid knightly apparel, whilst the deputies of the third estate were dressed in the simplest style*. These petty and unseasonable distinctions excited so much displeasure as to find a place in all the histories of the revolution, although the marquis de Ferrières informs us, that the dress which was appointed for the deputies of the third estate was such as constituted the official costume of public officers of high standing (*des maîtres des requêtes et des conseillers d'état*). The conduct of the court officials on these occasions gave deep offence to the vehement and excited feelings of the third estate, and especially the forms observed on the reception of the estates in Versailles. The two higher estates were admitted into the palace by the principal door, whilst the members of the third were only allowed to enter by a side one, and obliged to wait in a back chamber, by no means fit for their use. At the audience

* "Habit noir, veste et paremens de drap d'or, manteau de soie, cravatte de dentelles, le chapeau à plumes retroussé à la Henri-Quatre; le clergé en soutane, grand manteau, bonnet carré; les évêques avec leurs robes violettes et leurs rochets; le tiers vêtu de noir, manteau de soie, cravatte de batiste."

itself the other estates were received into the king's cabinet, whilst the third remained in the large reception-room; and only one of the wings of the folding-doors was opened for their admission, whilst both were thrown open for the other estates. The course pursued in Versailles was the more surprising, as very unequivocal symptoms had been shown in the church on the 4th, that neither priests, nobles, nor king any longer stood high in public estimation*.

A still greater imprudence was committed on the 5th, at the opening of the assembly of the estates; and on this occasion it was not the mere courtiers and masters of ceremonies who mistook the direction of the public feeling, but the ministers themselves. The room which had served for the first solemn assembly of the whole three estates was not only pointed out to the third estate alone as the place of its particular meetings, but it was given to be understood, that the ministers calculated upon a union of the three estates in one assembly, although they did not venture expressly to command through the king that such should be the case. Barentin, keeper of the seals, as well as the minister Necker, referred in their speeches to a union of the estates; but they allowed their wishes to be inferred from their words, and never alluded to the manner in which the powers of the deputies were to be verified. Barentin declared, that the king left it with the assembly itself (*s'en rapporte aux vœux des états*) to determine the manner of proceeding, but said it would appear as if voting by the head was the preferable mode, inasmuch as such a method would give only *one* result, and the *general* wish would be thereby more fully expressed.

On the very evening of the 4th of May, the members of the third estate profited by the circumstance of having been put in possession of the hall intended for the common meeting of the three estates, to resolve, that as the minister had appointed the following day for the various deputies to verify their powers, they would invite the other two estates by means of a deputation to come to their place of assembly for that purpose. This was the signal for a dispute, which so clearly showed the utter

* Berville and Barrière have very justly preserved and taken notice of the following fact. When the bishop of Nancy, in his address delivered in the church of St. Louis on the 4th, was drawing a lively picture "*des maux occasionnés par la gabelle, des applaudissemens éclatèrent. On étoit dans une église, le saint-sacrement exposé et le roi présent. Jusqu'alors on ne s'étoit permis d'applaudir, ni au sermon, ni en présence du roi.*"

powerlessness of the government and the moral preponderance of the men who were united in the third estate, that from that time forward the credit of the government was gone. The deputies of the third estate were now unceasing in their endeavours to seize upon one portion of the power of the government, and the electors of the deputies simultaneously seized upon another. This arose from the neglect of the government in prohibiting the electors from engaging in any other affairs than that of the election, and from even having given them a pretence for remaining together, by granting them permission to consult and communicate their instructions (*cahiers*) to the deputies whom they had elected, and to deliver their opinions on the constitution of the assembly. We shall immediately see the results to which this led, by the example of the electors of Paris.

The good Bailly, who continued to dream of Plato's republic in the midst of the corrupt city of Paris, furnishes us with a very striking and *naïf* description of his own enthusiastic but highly unpractical views, which were shared in by the better part of the electors of the city of Paris. He makes it evident, that not merely the electors, but even the citizens, met together in their primary assemblies, regarded themselves with pride as an antagonist power to the king's government. In the whole of the thirty electoral districts into which the city of Paris was divided, the district assemblies regarded themselves as a species of political clubs, whilst the electors who were chosen by them looked upon themselves as a sort of tribunes of the people*. The electors of the thirtieth district assembled in the Hotel de Ville also exhibited themselves in this character in the course of their consultations respecting the instructions which were to be given to their deputies. In the written articles of instruction which were drawn up, the deputies were expressly commanded not to enter

* Bailly, Mémoires, &c. (Paris 1804) vol. i. p. 12:—"Quand je me trouvais au milieu de l'assemblée de district, *je crus respirer un air nouveau*; c'étoit un phénomène que d'être quelque chose dans l'ordre politique, et par sa seule qualité de citoyen ou plutôt de bourgeois de Paris; car à ces jours nous étions encore bourgeois et non citoyens. Les hommes rassemblés depuis plusieurs années dans des clubs, s'y étoient occupés des affaires publiques, mais comme conversations sans aucun droit et sans aucune influence. Ici l'on avoit le droit d'être, on avoit au moins comme aux anciens états-généraux le droit de faire des demandes et de dresser des cahiers. Ici l'on avoit une influence éloignée, mais obtenue pour la première fois depuis plus d'un siècle et demi; et ce privilège étoit acquis à une génération éclairée, qui en sentoit le prix et qui pouvoit en étendre les avantages."

upon the consideration of any financial affairs till a new constitution was adopted for the kingdom, though, properly speaking, they were assembled by virtue of the old constitution. It was therefore also expressly remarked, that the radical improvements so greatly to be desired could only be obtained by means of financial difficulties. It is difficult to form any correct idea of the giddiness of that excited period. The most admirable and distinguished men were urged on from what was really capable of execution, and consequently stable, to aim at what was indefinite and unattainable, and wholly inconsistent with French customs, inconstancy and vanity. For confirmation of these remarks, we have only to read what Bailly has recorded concerning the commissions which were given to him and his colleagues. To the exclusion of all that was really practical in these commissions, and suitable to the circumstances as resulting from the necessities of the times, he commends the Parisians for importunately insisting that a declaration of the rights of man should precede the formation of the new constitution*. It will be seen from the accounts which Bailly gives of the tenor of these instructions, that the citizens of Paris had already indicated all those steps which were afterwards taken by that part of the national assembly which was filled by the doctrines of Montesquieu's 'Spirit of Laws†.'

On this occasion the electors of Paris even suffered themselves immediately to intermeddle in the dispute which had already

* Bailly, *l. c.* p. 46. "Je ne ferai pas un mérite à la ville de Paris d'avoir voté la consolidation de la dette nationale à laquelle elle avoit un intérêt majeur; ni même d'avoir défendu tout impôt et tout emprunt avant la constitution; c'étoit une précaution de sûreté pour la nation entière. La nation n'avoit point en main l'autorité; la force appartenait au gouvernement: c'étoit le désordre des finances qui faisait appeler la nation. Elle n'avoit donc de moyens de force et de résistance que dans ce désordre même, il ne fallait donc le faire cesser qu'au moment que ses droits seraient reconnus et sa constitution assurée. *Mais je louerai les électeurs de Paris qui les premiers ont conçu l'idée de faire précéder la constitution Française de la déclaration des droits de l'homme.*" He then adds the declaration itself.

† *L. c.* p. 48. "La constitution proposée par les électeurs de Paris renferme presque toutes les bases qui ont été décrétées par l'assemblée constituante; et la puissance législative à la nation et le pouvoir exécutif au roi; et l'inviolabilité du monarque et l'hérédité de la monarchie; le pouvoir des impôts réservé à la nation. Ceux qui s'opposent à la tenue des états-généraux, déclarés traîtres à la patrie. La liberté individuelle, la responsabilité des ministres. Les municipalités librement élues, les assemblées provinciales. La constitution ne pouvant être changée que par une convention nationale expressément et pour cet objet convoquée," &c. &c.

been carrying on since the 6th of May, between the members of the third estate and those of the two higher orders respecting the verification of their powers, and thus interfered with public business which could in no wise have fallen within their province under any constitution whatsoever. The very first sheet of a journal which was published under the name of Mirabeau, and bore the title of the "States-General," contained a most vehement and exciting article against the nobility and clergy. The government, by a resolution of the council of state passed on the 7th, attempted to suppress the paper, but counsellor Target appealed to the electors of Paris against the resolution. He submitted the case to the electors on the meeting of the 8th, and the electors of the deputies of the third estate unanimously resolved to protest against the decision of the council. This protest was also supported by the electors of the nobility of this department assembled in Paris. The electors of the nobles indeed strongly declared their disapprobation of Mirabeau's journal, but at the same time resolved that the protest of the electors of the nobles and of the citizens should be laid before the two higher estates.

The public scandal of the interference of women in the great public questions of the day commenced about the same time as the men who possessed and deserved the respect of the Parisians, and Target, who was afterwards one of the most zealous defenders of monarchy, gave the example of laying claim to rights, which could not be conceded without throwing everything into confusion. On the 9th there appeared in the assembly of electors of the third estate a deputation of fish-women, in order to thank those electors for what they had already done, and earnestly to recommend to them the interests of those whom these ladies called exclusively the people. The fish-wives were followed by the fruit-women and other market-women on the 10th. These men, who were undoubtedly animated by patriotic feelings, instead of recommending the deputation to pay attention to their own immediate concerns and to return to their stalls, made large contributions in money in order to gratify them by presents, and thus to encourage them to new demonstrations. This conduct can only be excused by supposing that they knew they would have need of the instrumentality of brute force, in order to overcome the obstinacy of those hardened aristocratic hearts, of which the marquis de Ferrières, himself an

enemy of all innovations, draws so dreadful a picture. It was notwithstanding a misfortune for France, that her best men were obliged to sacrifice morality to politics; and we cannot therefore wonder that the men of the saloons, who cherished and expressed liberal ideas as long as they served their purpose (among the rest Marmontel), were at that time willing to see only the dark side of the prevailing movement, and that the enthusiasts and patriots were confounded with the knaves, by whom they were misused*. Marmontel and Bailly have both left *mémoires* behind them, by a comparison of which we readily learn to distinguish such vain, courtly and effeminate rhetoricians as Marmontel and Morellet from noble though erring enthusiasts like Bailly. In the assembly of electors Marmontel became terrified for himself, he saw nothing but bribery and chicane everywhere around him, and when the whole assembly arose to express their assent he alone remained sitting. He explains this anecdote of himself by saying that he saw nothing anywhere but intriguers, and was convinced that the members of the society who met at Duport's, and collected large sums of money for the purpose of exciting popular commotions, had infused their turbulent spirit into the electors also. True it is, that the speeches which the foolish marquis St. Huruge and others daily pronounced in the Palais Royal, where the marquis with his grotesque figure exerted himself like a Demosthenes, drove multitudes of people to Versailles who belonged to the working classes, and must therefore necessarily have been compensated in some way for the loss of

* Morellet, in his 'Mémoires,' vol. i. p. 336, speaking of these political clubs in Paris, concludes as follows:—"Le plus hardi de ces clubs étoit celui qui s'assembloit chez Adrien Duport, conseiller au parlement. Là se trouvaient Mirabeau, Target, Roederer, Duport, l'évêque d'Autun, et d'après les noms de ces membres dominans on peut croire, que dans leurs projets de réformes ces Messieurs ne marchaient pas avec une extrême timidité." Marmontel, liv. xi. vol. iv. p. 42, adds to what has been said in the text:—"Soit que Duport fut de bonne foi dans son dangereux fanatisme, soit qu'ayant mieux calculé que sa compagnie les hasards qu'elle alloit courir, il eût voulu se donner à lui-même une existence politique; on savoit que chez lui, dès l'hiver précédent, il avoit ouvert comme une école de républicanisme, où ses amis prenoient soin d'attirer les esprits les plus exaltés, ou les plus exposés à l'être." Marmontel afterwards states (on which however we lay no stress), that Chamfort the poet, who was unquestionably a zealous republican, as a friend and companion of Mirabeau, had told him, "L'argent surtout et l'espoir du pillage sont tout-puissans parmi le peuple. Nous venons d'en faire l'essai au faubourg St. Antoine, et vous ne sauriez croire combien peu il en a coûté au duc d'Orléans pour faire saccager la manufacture de cet honnête Réveillon, qui dans ce même peuple faisoit subsister cent familles. Mirabeau soutient plaisamment, qu'avec un millier de louis on peut faire une jolie sédition."

their labour. Bailly also completely disapproved of the resolution declaring their sittings permanent, which was passed by the body of Parisian electors, after having drawn up their instructions to the deputies whom they had elected. The revolutionary importance of this determination on the part of the electors to continue their sittings during the whole period of the meeting of the estates, in order to keep up a continual correspondence with their representatives, became afterwards obvious on the 14th of July. The government indeed by a prohibition showed their desire to prevent the fulfilment of the purpose, but the prohibition was not enforced.

The government moreover, in the contest which arose respecting the verification of the powers of the deputies, as on all other occasions, proved that everything was to be obtained from them by perseverance and fear, and nothing in any other way. In the disputes concerning the mode of voting, whether by estates separately or by a simple majority of the united body, the government suffered itself to be deprived not only of the powers of legislation, but also of dominion. The galleries which had been appropriated to and occupied by the court on the first solemn sitting of the assembly were afterwards filled with a number of hearers, which chiefly consisted of the democratic Parisians, who greeted every bold sentiment with cheering and applause; but afterwards the same galleries became the resort of, and were almost exclusively occupied by, the hired populace*. The theatrical custom of paying a number of persons called the *claque*, either to promote the success or ensure the condemnation of a new piece, was now resorted to in Versailles, but upon a much greater scale. Every vehement speech against the nobility and every attack upon the court speedily found their way and became current among the public; and every man who was designated as an aristocrat within the chamber was insulted by the mob as soon as he passed beyond its walls. From the 19th of May, the government had besides given permission for the publication of the debates and proceedings of the estates, and from that time forward, all the newspapers and journals were filled with the most intemperate outbreaks. Every group in the Palais Royal, in coffee-houses and in private societies, formed a political party. The spirit of the times moreover was by no means roused by the

* Thiers after his fashion says,—“Des tribunes destinées d’abord à la cour et envahies bientôt par le public.”

declamations of the few hundred advocates who sat in the assembly, but merely promoted and nourished; for even the most zealous opponents of these orators, the marquis Ferrières, Bouillé, Morellet, and Marmontel, admit that it would have been altogether impossible to stem the overwhelming torrent of indignation which was sweeping away everything ancient.

The bitterness and animosity of this long dispute concerning the verification of their powers fell altogether upon the hated majority of the members of the two higher estates, because the minority of the clergy, led by the bishop of Autun on the one side and the abbé Grégoire on the other, and of the nobles under the guidance of Lafayette and his friends on the one part, and the duke of Orleans and his clients on the other, vigorously applauded and supported every step taken by Mirabeau, who wielded the power of the third estate. The nobles had constituted themselves into a separate chamber on the 11th, and altogether refused to acknowledge or suffer such a chamber as that of the third estate: this led to long debates, and no result was arrived at till the 27th of May. On this day, however, the third estate at length threatened to proceed to constitute itself as the assembly of the estates, to the exclusion of the two others, and thereby compelled the ministry to make an attempt at mediation, in order to frustrate the secret wishes of the caballing circle of the Polignacs and the count d'Artois, who were desirous of breaking up the assembly. The first step which would have led to a complete division, and been followed by the dissolution of the assembly, was taken by the majority of the nobles on the 28th, and the war declared. The nobles passed a resolution on the 28th, which was intended as a hostile opposition to that passed by the commons on the previous day.

In this war between the two estates, the clergy seemed rather to incline to the side of the citizens, and this circumstance emboldened Necker to step in. He induced the king to address a letter to these two estates, in which he entreated them under his mediation to re-open the conferences with the nobles respecting the verification of the powers, which had been broken off. For this purpose the king appointed commissioners, and the conferences were commenced anew on the 30th; the nobles, however, declared that they could only yield to the arbitration of the king in questions of minor importance, but that on the chief point, the separate verification of their powers, they must insist

on their own resolution. In this way, the five conferences held on the 30th of May, the 3rd, 4th, 6th and 9th of June, could lead to no other result than that of prolonging the dispute, till the deputies of the third estate had so fully convinced themselves of the feeling of the nation and the weakness of the government, as to venture upon the step which they actually took on the 10th of June. They resolved once more peremptorily to require both the nobles and clergy to present themselves in their assembly with a view to the verification of their powers; and when this demand was not followed by the desired compliance, they opened their own minutes on the 12th, commenced with the verification of the powers of such as were present, and as soon as a certain number were examined and admitted, they entered upon their deliberations as if they alone constituted the assembly of the estates. On the following day there was a public manifestation of the division which subsisted among the clergy between the abbés and bishops, between the vehement jansenists and the zealous papists: this division led the one party to become the supporters of every radical improvement, and the other the maintainers of every ancient abuse. On the 13th, three clergymen from Poitou went to the meeting of the third estate, caused their powers to be examined and verified, and afterwards returned to their own body. On the 14th six others followed their example, and on the 15th and 16th ten more pursued the same course: among the last was the abbé Grégoire, one of the few in this assembly whose views, like those of Robespierre and Buzot, had already taken a completely democratic direction. In his pious zeal against luxury, the court, and popery, he had come to that very point to which Robespierre had been driven by his zeal against religious poetry and by his dry attachment to virtue.

The king's mild remonstrances* with the majority of the nobles, in consequence of their rejection of all his efforts at conciliation, were vain, for the nobility knew well that the king would soon again yield to his wife and her Polignacs, even although he had been prevailed upon to send such a letter at the sugges-

* "J'ai examiné," says the king, "l'arrêté de la noblesse. J'ai vu avec peine, qu'il persistait dans les réserves et les modifications qu'il avait mises au plan de conciliation proposé par mes commissaires. Plus de déférence de la part de l'ordre de la noblesse aurait peut-être amené la conciliation que j'ai désirée."

tion of Necker. The third estate entertained the same opinion, which after having constituted itself on the 16th, under the presidency of its oldest member, assumed the title of the "National Assembly" on the 17th, elected a president, and continued from that time to issue formal decrees addressed to the whole people.

The subtle and cautious Sièyes had suggested the steps which were taken on the 16th and 17th: Mirabeau, by his eloquence, guided the order of the debates, and gave form and tendency to the thoughts of the assembly. An undistinguished advocate named Legrand hit upon the happy expression "National Assembly"; and Chapelier and Target, two of the ablest members of the supreme court, were entrusted with the duty of drawing up the resolutions of the assembly. The deliberations of the 16th were particularly stormy; Mirabeau and others however were prudent enough to select Bailly, the vain and sentimental member of three academies, to be president of the assembly, for he was best fitted to take the strong and violent resolutions of the body under academic protection. He was best fitted, with his upright, genuine, but unpractical inspiration, to announce, as the dawn of the golden days of freedom, the thoughts and devices which were the products of such men as Sièyes and Mirabeau, men who made a mock of all true enthusiasm. It is impossible better to describe the manner in which Bailly performed this duty, or to show how he and all the members of the assembly felt and comported themselves in the new dignity of their political existence, than in the words of the president himself*.

With the greatest degree of self-satisfaction, Bailly gives an account of the manner in which he allowed the tumult in the assembly on the 16th first to exhaust itself and subside, and then prevailed upon the assembly to adjourn the discussion of the resolution on the constitution till the following day, because it was then an hour past midnight. On the 17th a formal resolution was first passed (*donné un arrêt, qui fut le premier acte*

* The pathos of the following passage furnishes an excellent illustration of the tone of those times and of the genuine inspiration of Bailly, which proved so serviceable to him on the 20th: he says, "L'assemblée n'a jamais été plus grande; elle offrait alors un spectacle auguste et imposant; le président (himself) calme et tranquille, la grande majorité de ses membres dans un silence profond et dans une sagesse que des cris et des violences ne pouvaient parvenir à troubler. Enfin vers une heure la plupart de ceux qui faisaient le bruit étant sortis successivement, le calme s'établit; j'en profitai," &c.

constitutionnel), that the assembly of the national representatives consisted of the 9600th part of the nation, and that therefore such a number of deputies could not remain inactive, because the deputies of certain districts and *classes of the citizens*, who had been invited to the assembly did not choose to present themselves at its meetings. The name of "National Assembly" was then confirmed, which had been suggested by Sièyes and improved by Legrand on the previous day, because by the assumption of this name, the deputies of the *tiers état* were in some measure stamped as the nation, and placed in opposition as a counterbalancing power to that of the king. These resolutions were immediately accompanied by the bold determination to commence their labours for the regeneration of the nation, and not to separate as an assembly till the nation had been fully restored to its privileges and rights. According to the accompanying declaration, this decree should have been made known to the king and the nation. The president of the assembly very drily observes, that he and his colleagues were well aware that the effect of these resolutions and the consequent oaths administered to the deputies, was to deprive the king of his highest privileges and distinction, and to transfer them to the national assembly*.

The deputies were cheered and encouraged at this sitting by the presence of 600 Parisians, who crowded the galleries destined for the court, and who, by their loud acclamations during the whole of the preceding night, had continued to urge on the hesitating, and to give new spirit to the daring. Notwithstanding all this, the assembly felt that it had reason to fear a dissolution, and it therefore hastily adopted several other resolutions of a completely revolutionary character, in order to terrify the court and to ensure for its members the countenance and aid of the innumerable creditors of the state. The first article involved in these resolutions bound the deputies to follow a course of which no one had ever thought when they were summoned, and which indeed was contrary to the existing constitution. Another article served to delude the people, who during this winter were suffering from want and oppressed with high prices, with the hope that those sufferings would be relieved by the conduct of the national as-

* Bailly observes,—"Le gouvernement ne pouvoit s'empêcher de voir que cet acte ressaisissait l'autorité jusqu'alors uniquement royale, pour la remettre dans les mains de la nation, et de ses légitimes représentans."

ssembly. It was declared in the resolution, that all the taxes which had been hitherto raised were illegal, because the nation had not been consulted in their imposition, although the nation alone, from the earliest times, had possessed the right of assenting to the taxes to be raised for the public service. A very cunning addition was however appended,—that notwithstanding this, all the taxes should continue for a time to be raised as had previously been done, but only until the period of the dissolution of the assembly, *from whatever cause such dissolution should take place*. To these well-calculated clauses, a further addition was made as follows:—Should the assembly not be dissolved until it has completely regenerated the nation (*jusqu'à la régénération de la nation*), it would be careful not only to provide for the regular payment of the interest of the national debt, but would institute the most searching inquiry with a view to trace out the causes of the prevailing scarcity and dearth.

These decrees were forthwith sent to and distributed in all the provinces, and the legal functionaries, so many of whom occupied seats in the assembly, designedly availed themselves in their composition of all those terms and phrases which might give them the character of proceeding from an independent will (*l'assemblée entend et décrète*), and which terms, according to the usages of the existing constitution, could be employed by the king alone*. We must leave the question undecided, whether these resolutions filled the nobility and the clergy with so much anxiety, that they secretly encouraged the king to attempt to set some bounds to the further inroads of the third estate, because even Bailly had no distinct knowledge upon the subject; but from the manner in which the king received these resolutions, and the answer which he gave when they were formally communicated to him, we must conclude, that as early as the 17th of June, a resolution had been adopted to concede and sanction reforms, but to put some limits to the bold pretensions of the third estate. The king refused to receive the president of the assembly, whom he could not recognise as such, and the keeper of the seals received the address and conveyed the king's answer, which was not addressed to the national assembly, but to the third estate. In this answer the king was made expressly to declare, that he was very much dissatisfied with the title

* Bailly makes the following distinction:—"L'assemblée *arrête* pour se constituer, elle *décète* comme souveraine dès qu'elle est constituée."

which the deputies of the third estate had assumed, and with the manner in which they had designated the two other estates*.

The situation of the court was in the highest degree precarious, and it has therefore been said with great justice, that the steps which were taken, as well as the constant vacillation which was exhibited, were injurious to the monarchy; it would however be very difficult to say, whether any course which could at that time have been adopted would have served to stem the current of the times. Lists of those deputies were printed who attempted to retard the rapid progress of revolutionary movement, and the consequence was, that wherever these deputies were seen in public, they were followed and annoyed by the mob; so that Bailly informs us, that he, as president of the assembly, was requested by two deputies to furnish them with a certificate to show they had not been opposed to the resolutions, in order to protect them against the violence of the populace, who threatened to burn their houses. At length a plan was devised on the part of the court to hold a *lit de justice* composed of the three estates, in which a kind of constitution was to be suddenly brought forward as emanating from the king; but the scheme was to be kept a profound secret. On the 18th the assembly held no sitting, and on the 19th a very short and unimportant one only; on the 20th the court made an attempt to prevent the sitting of the assembly, and on this occasion gave another proof of its want of skill. Bailly was so very full of his dignity as president of the assembly, that the *naïveté* with which he expresses himself on the subject may be regarded as a psychological phenomenon, and therefore he felt this dignity mortally offended, when it was announced to him at half-past six o'clock on the morning of the 20th, that it was the king's desire that no sitting of the assembly should be held on that day. Mirabeau, Sièyes and the advocates in the assembly availed themselves of his injured vanity to rouse him to enthusiasm and to use him according to their will. No one placed any serious confidence in such men as Mirabeau, Sièyes and others, but all relied confidently upon Bailly and Grégoire as genuine enthusiasts, and therefore

* " Je désapprouve l'expression répétée de classes privilégiées, que le tiers état emploie pour désigner les deux premiers ordres. Ces expressions inusitées ne sont propres qu'à entretenir un esprit de division absolument contraire à l'avancement du bien de l'état, puisque ce bien ne peut être effectué que par le concours des trois ordres qui composent les états-généraux, soit qu'ils délibèrent séparément, soit qu'ils le fassent en commun."

Mirabeau pushed forward the former and Robespierre the latter, when any sentimental or patriotic demonstration was required. The one was a pious visionary, the other sentimental, and both were the best men in the world; this world however was deceived, whilst the Talleyrands, Mirabeaus and Dantons laughed at it and its Baillys, Lafayettes and Grégoires.

At half-past six o'clock on the morning of the 20th, Bailly was informed by some of the persons of the court, who however laboured against the interests of the court, that the hall of the assembly was shut and surrounded with guards, and that without the knowledge of the president a notice had been put up, in which it was declared that the chambers would not be opened, because it was necessary to make preparations in them for the royal sitting appointed for the 22nd. In about a quarter of an hour afterwards the royal master of ceremonies (Dreux Brézé) communicated the same intelligence to the president by a somewhat unceremonious note, so that he, who had announced the sitting for eight o'clock, felt himself properly excused by the shortness of the time from causing any notification to be made to the contrary. Bailly answered the master of the ceremonies' note by one equally laconic*, and proceeded to the place of assembly, where the deputies were standing in the midst of a crowd of persons before the outer door of the chamber, after having in vain demanded admission within its walls. They now prevailed upon Bailly to conduct them to another place of assembly, where they might deliberate upon the occurrence which had just taken place. Mirabeau and all those who had emissaries and informants about the court knew, and the rest suspected, that a *coup d'état* was intended, and they resolved to set the weak government at defiance. They immediately retired to a neighbouring tennis-court, and there proceeded to hold their sitting. The whole of this sitting, or more properly speaking *standing*, had something theatrical in its character, which with French tact was turned immediately to good account. Every one emulated his neighbour in a display of resolution and courage, under circumstances in which there was in fact no real danger. A multitude of people accompanied the deputies as they proceeded in solemn procession through the streets seeking for a shelter: in

* “Je n'ai encore reçu aucun ordre du roi, Monsieur, pour la séance royale, ni pour la suspension des assemblées, et mon devoir est de me rendre à celle que j'ai indiquée pour ce matin à huit heures.”

the tennis-court there were no seats, and even the president declined to employ the arm-chair which was brought for his use, and conducted the deliberations of the assembly standing, for there was only one table and a few benches brought into the court: this theatrical scene was rendered more characteristic by a number of academic orations, and gave a singular degree of importance to the resolution unanimously adopted, and which was as follows:—

“The national assembly having been convoked with a view of drawing up a constitution for the kingdom, of restoring public order, and of declaring the true principles of a monarchical government, cannot suffer itself to be impeded in the discharge of those duties by any obstructions whatever, and it hereby declares, that wherever the members of its body are met, there is the national assembly; it moreover decrees, that all the members now assembled shall bind themselves by a solemn oath never to separate, or suffer themselves to be separated, and if dispersed to re-assemble wheresoever circumstances permit, until the new constitution of the kingdom be framed and public order fully established on a solid foundation.” The whole body of the deputies solemnly took this oath, and confirmed their public act by their signatures. There was a single deputy, Martin d’Auch, a jurist and representative of Castelnaudry, who indeed subscribed the oath, but added, *not with full accord*. Full accounts of the annoyance and persecution to which he was subjected in consequence of his refusal to concur fully in the terms of the oath may be seen in Bailly’s ‘Mémoires.’ He no doubt thought, and certainly not erroneously, that the administration and taking of this oath were acts of rebellion. It was not however till the following day, when the majority of the clergy joined the third estate, that a legitimate opposition arose out of this illegal separation.

In the meantime the king was besieged by the queen and the princes, and according to his usual weak and vacillating conduct, he put off the royal sitting which he had appointed for the 22nd till the 23rd, caused notice of the change to be given to the president on the night of the 21st, and changed the notice, which Necker had advised him to give to the estates on the 22nd, at the very time in which the majority of the clergy separated from the minority, and the minority of the nobles were protesting against the resolutions of the majority of their estate. The nineteen clergy who had allowed their powers to be examined and

verified in the assembly of the third estate, prevailed upon one hundred and forty of their brethren to go to the deputies of the commons, just at the very time in which they were holding a second sitting in the church of St. Louis in Versailles, after having been refused the use of the tennis-court a second time at the instigation of the count d'Artois. The clergy having thus split into two unequal parts, the liberal-minded members of the estate of the nobles* protested against the language which had been held by a deputation of their estate on the 21st in consequence of a resolution passed by the majority on the 19th.

Mirabeau in his 'Courrier de Provence' and the 'Journal de Versailles,' availed himself of the address presented by a deputation of the nobles to the king, to cause such an excitement among the people, then vehemently embittered against the nobles, that from that time forward, every one belonging to the class of the high nobility was vilified and abused in public, without the police being able to render them either aid or protection. Necker hoped, by recommending the king of his own accord to propose a representative constitution, to be able to restrain the continually increasing impetuosity of the lower classes and the mob, which had been partly at least artificially roused, and who now hovered like ravens around the expiring state. The king consented to the plan. This constitution, or as it was said, royal declaration, was drawn up in Marly, and was to have been made public in the royal sitting appointed to be held on the 22nd, but

* This protest was signed by forty-four, among whom the name of Lafayette is not to be found, because he was hampered by the instructions of his constituents. It contains, however, the names of Clermont Tonnerre, Lally-Tollendal, duc d'Aiguillon, prince de Poix, baron de Wimpfen, Sandrouin, d'Aynot, de Tessé, Noailles, de Beuron, Duport, Crillon, baron de Menou, de la Touche, la Tour du Pins, de Maubourg, Phelines, Puisaye, Chastenay, de Lusignan, de Pardieu, de Montesquieu, de Beauharnais, Meaulette, la Coste, Desprès de Groslier, Champagni, baron de Harambure, de Montmorenci, de Toulangeon, de la Rochefoucauld, Dionis du Séjour, Biencourt, Rochechouard, Alexandre Lameth, le prince de Broglio, Marnezia, Sarrazin, de Croix, de Crillon, Massone, Fréteau, and the duc d'Orléans. [An emigrant, whose manuscript observations on the 'Histoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans,' I possess, remarks with regard to two others, "Le marquis de Lancosme a fait peu de tems après abjuration de ses principes démocratiques, et il s'est fort bien conduit depuis cette époque ainsi que le compte de Virieu."] These gentlemen declared, that they regretted the length to which the chamber of their estate had gone, who according to their views should have confined themselves to the expression, "de ses sentimens pour le roi et à écarter du discours tout ce qui peut rappeler l'idée d'une funeste division entre les ordres, ou présenter sur la légalité des impôts des principes inadmissibles et indiquer une dénonciation de l'un des ordres."

which was unexpectedly put off till the 23rd. The scheme drawn up by Necker was subjected to such alterations on the 22nd in Versailles, that he was no longer willing to acknowledge the declaration which was read as his work, and for that reason absented himself from the sitting. We do not venture to specify these charges particularly, because even Necker himself in his work on the revolution, published in 1797, does not give particular details; and Bertrand de Moleville appears to us to be throughout a source on which no reliance can be placed, because as a historian he was bold enough to continue to play the same character which he had so long been accustomed to play as a statesman*.

Necker besides expressly says, that the queen disturbed the deliberations at Marly respecting the royal declaration, and called away the king from the council. He adds, that his colleague Montmorin, who at the time of this unseasonable interruption was seated near him, immediately whispered to him, that now all was over with the declaration, for the princes had urged the queen to disturb the whole proceeding. Bailly states, that three deputies belonging to the nobility had awaked him on the night between the 22nd and 23rd, and informed him that Necker was dissatisfied in reference to the royal sitting and would withdraw from the king's service†. In this way the assembly was made acquainted with the views of the honourable gentlemen, the extent of whose liberalism reached to the realization of an English aristocracy, and shown what the whole class of citizens had to expect from the constitution to be announced to them on the

* In the first edition of this History of the Eighteenth Century, some reference is made it is true to the 'Mémoires Secrets' of Bertrand de Moleville; he is not however to be trusted. He occasionally takes the liberty of inventing whole speeches, as for example, on the occasion of the union of the clergy with the deputies of the third estate at the end of June.—Beaulieu, Essai, &c. i. p. 262: "Quelques écrivains, entre autres M. Bertrand de Moleville, rapportent un long discours prononcé à cette occasion par M. de Boisgelin, archevêque d'Aix. L'auteur de ces Essais assistait à la séance, et il peut certifier que M. l'archevêque d'Aix n'y prononça pas de discours." Everything which can be derived from Necker's work 'Sur la Révolution Française,' and from the 'Déclaration du Roi' of the 23rd of May, will be found in the 'Geschichte der Staatsveränderung Frankreichs,' 2r Theil, s. 317 und folgende.

† Bailly, Mém. i. p. 261: "Ils me dirent, qu'ils étoient MM. le baron Menou, le duc d'Aiguillon et le comte Mathieu de Montmorenci, qu'ils étoient instruits qu'il y avoit eu beaucoup de débats au conseil tenu le soir; que M. Necker n'approuvoit point les mesures qui avoient été prises; qu'il avoit déclaré qu'il n'assisteroit point à la séance royale, et que toutes les apparences annonçoient qu'il seroit renvoyé dans la journée."

23rd. This report was fully confirmed by the non-appearance of Necker in the place which he ought to have occupied among the ministers at the royal sitting. Mirabeau, who on other occasions was one of Necker's most vehement opponents, appeared therefore on this to lament his absence, and willingly allowed all the liberal points of the declaration read to the assembly to be ascribed to the absent minister, whilst all its hateful principles and commands were assigned to the court and to the ministers present at the sitting. The whole affair was doubly welcome to those who wished for a change in the state, because they were determined, right or wrong, to undervalue every constitution conferred by the king and not drawn up by themselves.

The declaration read before the estates in the sitting of the 23rd was contained in thirty-five articles; and this royal draft of a new constitution might at least have served as the basis of a negotiation with the assembly, had not the presence of the guards who surrounded the chamber, the words which were put into the mouth of the king at the commencement and the conclusion of his address, and the fifteen preliminary propositions which he dictatorially prescribed, prevented the meeting from putting any confidence in the uprightness of the king's liberal views. The words which were put into the king's mouth on this occasion were by no means in accordance with his weak and effeminate character. His ministers suffered him to begin with reproaches, and afterwards he proceeded to assure the assembly of his determination to maintain the integrity of the ancient laws, and of his intention to visit every violation of them with his displeasure (*réprimer les atteintes qui ont pu y être portées*). This despotic announcement was immediately followed by the fifteen articles specially directed against all attempts at innovation, and which constituted the preliminaries to the thirty-five fundamental articles of the promised new constitution. Of this constitution we shall take no further notice, because it proved completely abortive, and no means were adopted to compel its acceptance, although it is said 4000 men had been called out for the purpose.

We shall refer to a few points in the fifteen conservative preliminary articles, and to one of the fundamental principles of the constitution, in order to show, that after all that had happened, the acceptance of such a constitution was absolutely impossible. In one of these preliminary articles, everything which had been done since the 17th was declared to be null and void. The prin-

ciple of the separation of the estates into three chambers was maintained, with the exception of the meeting then assembled, in which they were to be regarded as one body and to decide according to majority of votes. A third preliminary article determined, that in all questions involving the abolition of the privileges of any of the estates, the concurrence of the estate in question should be considered essential to give validity to the resolution. A third forbade the assemblies to give publicity to their proceedings. The government were desirous, when it was too late, by these preliminary articles, to annul the instructions which had been given to the deputies by their respective constituencies, and which were indeed afterwards disallowed by the deputies themselves, as inconsistent with the design of an assembly of the estates. The article of the proposed constitution to which we have promised specially to allude was the twelfth, in which it is declared, that the king was ready to consent to a radical reform, but that in its accomplishment the rights of property must remain intact. At first sight this would appear to be a necessary condition of every political reform; but in a case like this, where no radical reforms could be effected without the complete abolition of feudal privileges, it sounds somewhat singular, that everything, whose abolition the great body of the people earnestly desired, should be expressly designated by the name of property*. Mirabeau therefore, in the '*Courrier de Provence*,' made the most vehement attacks upon this article in the proposed constitution.

The commencement and conclusion of the royal speech, which the king on this occasion repeated from memory, were composed in the decretal style of parliament by Barentin, minister of justice. At the conclusion of his address he puts language into the mouth of the king which none of his royal predecessors had ever ventured to employ against the parliament. The speech began with a few dictatorial sentences, and then the king is made to utter a declaration which certainly sounded somewhat peculiar in the good man's mouth,—that he alone had hitherto been deeply anxious for the well-being of the people, and that the case was one of very rare occurrence in which a king has made it a matter of personal ambition to prevail upon his sub-

* " Les dîmes, cens, rentes, droits et devoirs féodaux et seigneuriaux, et généralement tous les droits et prérogatives utiles ou honorifiques attachés aux terres et aux fiefs ou appartenans aux personnes."

jects to come to an agreement with one another respecting the acceptance of the benefits which he proposed to confer. The whole concluded with the following sentence:—"I command you, gentlemen, immediately to separate,—to assemble early to-morrow, each estate in the chamber appointed for its separate use,—and there again to begin your sittings. At the same time, I command the chief master of ceremonies to prepare the chambers for your reception." These words were the signal for a revolution. Either they ought not to have been put into the mouth of the king, or, as Buonaparte had on the 18th Brumaire, his advisers should have had a number of grenadiers with charged bayonets in readiness, prepared to drive out every deputy from the place of assembly who exhibited any desire to remain after the departure of the king.

Up till this time, Bailly's academic phrases, his inspiration and sentimental patriotism had been admirably fitted for the contingencies which had arisen, but now another tone was absolutely demanded, which was speedily adopted by Mirabeau, Pétion, Buzot and others; and although Bailly continued to be treated with every demonstration of respect, it was rather on account of the electors of Paris whom he represented, than from any regard for himself. The members of the third estate remained in the hall in spite of the king's command; Bailly appeared too courtly to give a prompt answer to the chief master of ceremonies when he reminded him of the king's desire, and Mirabeau therefore assumed the lead. Bailly avoided a dispute with the master of ceremonies, who had returned into the hall to repeat the king's command, by answering, that he must consult the assembly*. Immediately after the withdrawal of the king, Mirabeau encouraged the assembly to resistance by very vehement expressions, and at the same time gave a rude and violent reply to the royal messenger, although he was by no means justified in assuming the duties of the president. On this occasion, he sent verbally to his own king a message similar to that which he had sent in print in 1777 to Frederick II., the landgrave of Hesse, in consequence of the prince's sale of his Hessians to the English†. Mirabeau's expression—"Tell your

* Bailly, i. 272:—"Monsieur, l'assemblée s'est ajournée après la séance royale." "Je ne puis la séparer sans qu'elle en ait délibéré." "Est-ce là votre réponse, et puis-je en faire part au roi?" "Oui, Monsieur."

† Mirabeau's first and much-read '*Essai sur le Despotisme*' was written in

master . . . that we shall only retire from the chamber at the point of the bayonet,"—was a violation of all the proprieties of form and prudence. Bailly, who was highly dissatisfied with Mirabeau's interference, disapproved of his language, and Mirabeau in his letters to his constituents, published in his journal afterwards, omitted the offensive form of his message. The same course was adopted in all subsequent reports of the occurrences of the day, till Beaulieu in 1801 first directed public attention to the fact, and showed how much more eloquence there was in the original words, uttered in a voice of thunder, and enforced by the dreadful expression of Mirabeau's Medusa-head, than in what he afterwards is reported to have said*.

The courtier undoubtedly made no mention whatever of Mirabeau's manner, of the words which he employed, and of the bayonets, all which it would have been impossible to state to the king; but he must necessarily have made him acquainted with the fact of their refusal, which the king should have met in a very different manner from that which he really adopted. He made the same sort of indolent and weak reply on this occasion which he had previously given to the shameless question of the duke of Orleans before the parliament in 1787. He said, "*If the gentlemen of the third estate refuse to retire from the chamber, they must be allowed to remain*†." The fact of the government having collected the household troops and a number of soldiers around the place of assembly, and not venturing to make any use of them, furnished a new ground for believing that the court was full of evil intentions, but had neither courage nor power to at-

his twentieth year and printed in Switzerland; the '*Avis aux Hessois et autres Peuples de l'Allemagne vendus par leurs Princes à l'Angleterre,*' was first printed in Cleves in 4to, and afterwards in Amsterdam in *one* sheet 8vo in 1777: this masterly appeal to the German people will be also found appended to the third edition of the '*Essai sur le Despotisme,*' Paris, Le Jay, 1792.

* The first part of Beaulieu's '*Essais Historiques sur les Causes et les Effets de la Révolution de France, avec des Notes sur quelques Evénemens et quelques Institutions à Paris,*' an. ix. 1801, contains a more complete account and collection of the documents and original reports than any other history of the year 1789. We do not indeed subscribe to his views and opinions. At p. 256 we find Mirabeau's fearful words:—"Les communes de France ont résolu de débâter; nous avons entendu les intentions qu'on a suggérées au roi, et vous, Monsieur, ne sauriez être son organe auprès de l'assemblée nationale, vous qui n'avez ici ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes pas fait pour nous rappeler son discours: allez dire à votre maître que nous sommes ici par la volonté du peuple, et qu'on ne nous en arrachera que par la puissance des baionnettes."

† "Si Messieurs du tiers état refusent de quitter la salle, qu'on les y laisse."

tempt to carry through any of their designs. The plan of sending workmen into the chamber with a view to drive out the deputies by hammering was so absurd and contemptible, that the measure cannot be ascribed to any higher source than that of a master of ceremonies or court-page.

Mirabeau's vehement expressions, and the victory which he gained over the king and his master of ceremonies, prompted a number of members of the assembly, who were by no means very republican in their sentiments, to mount the tribune. Camus, Sièyes, Barnave, Pétion, Garat, Glaizet, and Buzot, one after another, either made the boldest proposals to the assembly or defended those which were brought forward by others. There can however be no doubt that Mirabeau, as well as the abstract and systematic zealots to whom we have referred, would with difficulty, and probably not at all, have gained the upper hand, had the two other estates quickly and willingly united with the third; for the resolutions so offensive to the king and derogatory to his dignity which were adopted were passed by a very small majority, notwithstanding all that had occurred since the 17th: 493 voted for their approval and 340 against. The motion for the adoption of the resolution was brought forward by Barnave, who added a second, by which the persons of the deputies were declared to be inviolable, which was also voted by a large majority, and thus the courage of the most timid was re-animated and assured. The personal inviolability of the deputies was not only decreed, but a species of ban was pronounced against all authorities, civil or military, who should suffer themselves to be employed as instruments for the execution of the royal commands against the representatives of the people*. The king failed in energy, and did not offer the determined resistance to those measures which he ought to have done; on the contrary, he conceded to obstinate insolence what he had refused to humble and earnest petitions, and from this time forward the whole

* "L'assemblée nationale déclare que la personne de chacun des députés est inviolable, que tous individus, toutes corporations, tribunal, cour ou commission, qui oseraient pendant ou après la présente session, poursuivre, rechercher, arrêter ou faire arrêter, détenir ou faire détenir un député, pour raison d'aucunes propositions, avis, opinions ou discours par lui faits aux états-généraux, de même que toutes personnes qui prêteraient leur ministère à aucuns des dits attentats de quelque part qu'ils soient ordonnés, sont infames et traîtres à la nation et coupable de crime capital. L'assemblée nationale arrête que dans les cas susdits elle prendra toutes les mesures nécessaires pour faire rechercher, pour suivre et punir ceux qui en seront les auteurs, instigateurs ou exécuteurs."

power of the state passed like a charm from his hands into those of the leaders of the third estate.

The consequence was that the king and his court were again obliged to entreat Necker to undertake the charge of the public business, from which he had now withdrawn for several days. He became the idol of the people, and he and his whole family were delighted with the honours which at this moment were heaped upon him, although the admiration entirely ceased as early as the following year. They willingly suffered themselves to be made the tools of such men as the Talleyrands, Mirabeaus, and others, who found it advantageous to their views to deliver speeches concerning freedom. Necker therefore even persuaded the king—what indeed under the existing circumstances might have been advisable—openly to renounce the measures which Barentin and Breteuil had persuaded him to adopt, and to endeavour to prevail upon the deputies of the two higher estates to yield to the demands of those of the third, and unite with their assembly. As early as the 24th, 150 of the clergy who had submitted their powers for verification in the church of St. Louis formed a permanent union with the third estate. On the 25th their conduct was imitated by eight of the clergy of a higher rank, and on the 26th six bishops presented themselves in the assembly, among whom were Talleyrand Perigord, bishop of Autun, and Juigné, archbishop of Paris. On the 25th, forty-seven members from the estate of the nobles forsook their own body and joined the *tiers état*, and among them the duke of Orleans. The number of those who were dissatisfied with the conduct of the majority of their order was indeed much greater than forty-seven, but many were restrained from following their example, as was the case with Lafayette, by the express instructions received from their constituents. A step was now resolved upon by the court, for which it was neither entitled to nor received any thanks, but which rather necessarily called forth new efforts and gave rise to new pretensions on the part of the violent agitators. The king, by a letter, prevailed upon the minority of the clergy and the majority of the nobles to join the common assembly on the 27th of June. This occurred at the same time in which the people, by universal rejoicings, eulogies in the newspapers and journals, and the most splendid fireworks, were celebrating and doing honour to Bailly in consequence of his energetic resistance to the mandates of the crown, and when Necker's

name was everywhere associated with that of Bailly in the mouths of the people.

It is evident from the account, which Bailly himself has given us in the very commencement of the second part of his memoirs, of a conversation between him and Necker, how totally unequal such men as Bailly and Necker were to the undertaking which was committed to them by the innumerable periodicals, newspapers and placards of the year 1789. Both of them speak like a book; neither of them appears to be the least aware of the real condition of things, but each continues to indulge in his own dreams. How is it otherwise possible that Bailly should have approved of the pretensions of the Parisian women, or that Necker should have endured the scandalous audacity of the people, who at that time exhibited in the Palais Royal the prelude to the subsequent assemblies of the sovereign people, and took the part of the soldiers who were punished by their superiors for breaches of military discipline? The electors of the city of Paris did not at the commencement attempt to carry out their resolution of forming a kind of second (Parisian) national assembly. They were afraid to act in direct contravention of the authority of the government, and to prolong their sittings; but now, in spite of the authority of the superior magistrates and of the *prévôt des marchands*, who was then president of the town-council, they began again to hold assemblies, and act as if they themselves constituted a legal body. Bailly, who was an elector and deputy of the city, and then president of the national assembly, had several times attempted in vain to induce the minister (Villedeuil) in whose department it was to allow the electors the privilege of holding assemblies; but he had always refused, and Bailly admits that he was right. Encouraged by the resistance which had shed such a high degree of glory on their deputies in the late transactions at Versailles, the electors again met together on the 25th, in contempt of the prohibition, and therefore constituted themselves as it were into a college. They were prevented it is true by the proper city authorities from holding their assemblies in the Hotel de Ville, but they selected a room in the Muséum, Rue Dauphiné, and immediately sent a deputation to Versailles. Bailly not only procured this deputation an audience in the national assembly, but allowed himself to be strewed with their profuse incense. The spokesman of the embassy (Moreau de St. Mery) employed the most splendid academic eloquence

to exalt Bailly to the stars, and the latter did not fail to return like for like. He assigned seats of honour in the national assembly to the deputation of an illegal body, who should never have been admitted within its walls; but he himself admits that he lived long enough to see to what evil consequences this dangerous example led*.

The immediate effect of the interference of the tumultuous assemblies in the Palais Royal with the exercise of military discipline was, that the city police was no longer sufficient to repress the violence and tumult of the lower classes of the people, who were roused into fury by means of every description, and that the authorities no longer ventured to employ the Swiss troops; the superintendence of public order therefore was necessarily committed to the French guards, who were 4000 strong. This strong regiment filled the posts alternately in Paris and Versailles, whither companies were sent from time to time, which relieved each other. The soldiers of this regiment were the more easily seduced from their duty by means of money and courtezans, in consequence of their dislike to the duc de Chatelêt and the useless severity of his discipline, which formed a strong contrast to that of his predecessor the duc de Biron, to whom they were warmly attached. The defection of the French guards and their adoption of the cause of the people was effected by a nobleman, who, like Lafayette and Bailly, was filled with an enthusiastic longing for the improvement of the miserable condition of the people. This man was Izarn, marquis de Valady, who at a later period became a member of the national convention, and was one of those who fell a sacrifice during the reign of terror. In 1789 he served as an officer in the guards, and was sedulous in exhorting them not to suffer themselves to be employed by the enemies of public freedom against the friends of this noble cause. The effect of the various means employed by the rich and distinguished opponents of the old *régime* to win over the guards began to appear as early as the 24th. The archbishop of Paris was accused of having thrown himself at the king's feet in order to induce him to do what was done on the 20th and 23rd; when therefore his house was attacked on the 24th, and his life in danger, the guards refused to employ their arms for his protec-

* "La députation," he says, "a été invitée à s'asseoir, à assister à la séance; et ce sont les premiers étrangers qui ont reçu cet honneur si prodigué depuis."

tion. When on the 27th the public demonstrations of respect were made in honour of the patriotic Bailly and Necker, and the people indulged in excesses against those who were called aristocrats, the guards also refused to act against their fellow-citizens.

The disobedient soldiery were extolled as patriots, led about in triumph, loaded with presents and treated, till they became so bold as to disobey the command not to leave their barracks, and went about among the people. These breaches of discipline were overlooked for three days, but at length, on the 30th, eleven of the most forward were arrested and sent to the *Abbaye* (a military prison); the consequence was that they were immediately rescued by the people. The liberated guards were led in triumph to the Palais Royal, and looked upon as patriots who had suffered in the cause of the people; and the masses there assembled, who had already sent deputies to the national assembly on the 26th, resolved to make an application in favour of the guards. Bailly states that, although contrary to order, he had procured an audience for the deputies on the 26th, with the view of avoiding a greater tumult, allowed the leader of the deputation to deliver an address and given him a formal reply*. In consequence of this precedent, the assembly found itself constrained to admit the second embassy, which was to present a petition on the 1st of July in behalf of the guardsmen; and yet the national assembly, which was just then strengthened by the adhesion of the two higher estates, clearly saw that it was altogether repugnant to law for them to mix in the affair; they therefore apparently refused to receive the deputies, but adopted a middle course. Bailly had concerted measures with Necker; and the national assembly, without any reference to the meetings at the Palais Royal, made an application in favour of the soldiers, who were pardoned†.

* “*Quelque irrégularité qu'il eût à recevoir une députation de personnes inconnues et réunies sans qualités, j'observai à l'assemblée qu'il y aurait du danger au refus, et j'obtiens leur admission.*”

† Bailly, vol. ii. p. 4, relates his conversation with Necker respecting this embarrassing affair, and observes: “*Ses principes à cet égard étoient ceux de l'assemblée, qui improuvait toute émeute populaire, et qui l'avait fait connaître en faisant respecter par ce peuple une consigne illégale contre laquelle elle réclamait, mais je lui observai aussi le danger de la sévérité.* On ne pouvait pas se proposer de reprendre ces hommes, retirés de la prison et actuellement sous la sauvegarde du peuple. Il fallait donc, coupables ou non, leur donner leur liberté, mais d'une manière qui ne compromit pas l'autorité. Nous convinmes qu'il fallait tâcher que l'assemblée les recommandât à la bonté du roi.”

Necker gave the clearest proof of his want of knowledge of the real state of affairs, by recommending at this moment the institution of a citizen guard in Paris, such as was employed in his native city, in order to avoid the necessity of employing soldiers against the people *. In this the Parisians, after having formed themselves into a species of national assembly of electors, procured from the minister himself an army, of which the regiment of guards which deserted the royal cause and was paid from the city chest afterwards formed the kernel. However readily all the opponents of the existing order of things fell in with the idea of a citizen guard, the queen, the princes, and all the friends of the old *régime*, saw clearly that Necker's hand was by no means powerful enough to guide the helm of the national ship in the dreadful storm which was beginning to rage; they however unhappily recommended the weak king to select men for ministers in his stead, who were desirous of effecting by the strong hand of power what was utterly impossible. The idea no sooner got abroad that the king intended to remove Necker from the management of public affairs, and to maintain the old *régime* by military force, than tumultuous and predatory bands of ruffians began to show themselves in Paris, and then throughout the whole kingdom, who committed excesses of every description and forced the citizens of all classes quietly to provide themselves with arms. The same members of the assembly who were the secret contrivers of this machinery, then succeeded in procuring a decree by which this general arming was recognized as legal. They procured an address from the national assembly to the king, in which they required the establishment of a national guard throughout the whole kingdom, and before any answer could be received from the king they took measures for the realization of their demand.

At the very moment in which the people were engaged in arming for their self-defence, the unholy party of licentious unimprovable, as well as the frivolous circle which surrounded the queen, began to entertain the idea of having recourse to a *coup d'état*. A considerable number of regiments, especially the

* *Loc. cit.* p. 5: "Mons. Necker me dit, que le meilleur moyen de remédier aux agitations et aux troubles qui avaient lieu dans Paris, étoit d'établir une garde bourgeoise. Mons. de Bonneville, électeur de Paris, en avait déjà fait la proposition à l'Assemblée des électeurs, tenue au Musée le 26 Juin. J'ignore si Mons. Necker étoit instruit de ce vœu, ou s'il y pensa lui-même, en appliquant à la sûreté et à la police de Paris ce qui se pratiquait à Genève."

Swiss and German regiments in French pay, received orders from the 2nd till the 9th of July, to concentrate around Paris and marshal Broglio was appointed to the command; the marshal and his staff came to Versailles. This operation was to be kept a profound secret*; but Lafayette, Mirabeau, Talleyrand and many others of the higher estates, were too intimately acquainted with the court and too superior to those who were recommended by the princes, to allow the designs of their opponents to escape their observation, and Mirabeau revealed the whole scheme in a remarkable speech which he delivered on the 8th. In this speech he demanded the adoption of an address to the king, in which he should be earnestly besought to remove the troops from Paris, and immediately to institute the proposed citizen-guard for the preservation of the public peace. The Parisians did not wait for the royal ordinance for the purpose of organization, but regarded the removal of Necker and his liberal colleagues from the ministry as a signal for military movements and rebellion. It was publicly known in Paris on the 12th that Necker had departed quickly and secretly from the country; that his colleagues, St. Priest, Montmorin, La Lucerne, had retired, and that Breteuil and the absolutists, the duc de la Vauguyon, Broglio, Foulon, Laporte, La Galezière and Barentin, had taken the reins of government: this led to a general commotion. A tumultuous mob marched through the streets, and orators who promoted the rebellion, presented themselves in all directions in the Palais Royal. The measures of resistance which were adopted were weak, and rather calculated to infuse the spirit of rebellion into the whole population of the city than to repress the tumult.

* Besides what is said in the text, another reason is assigned in the 'Mémoires de Ferrières,' vol. i. p. 72: "La reine, le comte d'Artois, les princes, les courtisans, les ministres, les évêques, les nobles entourés d'espions, de domestiques infidèles, suivis jusque dans l'intimité de la confiance, jusque dans le repos de la nuit, n'exprimèrent pas un sentiment, ne marquèrent pas un geste, qui ne fût rapporté."

§ II.

FRANCE FROM THE 13TH OF JULY 1789 TILL THE 14TH OF JULY 1790.

No one had foreseen the complete overthrow of the monarchy in the days from the 12th till the 17th of July; it was therefore indisputably brought about more by the folly of the court, the high nobility and clergy, than by the tumultuous proceedings of the mob, which was a mere machine. In the riots which took place on the 12th, during which toll-bars and toll-houses were broken down and burnt, and all sorts of mischief perpetrated, there was manifest evidence of the influence of the Breton deputies, who had formed a club in Poissy, which may be regarded as the origin of the jacobin club in Paris; but this club only attained an important influence from the unseasonable and brutal expressions and measures of the courtiers, nobles and clergy, who preferred the splendid slavery of a court life to any kind of social freedom. It was the appearance of the German and Swiss troops accustomed to passive obedience, and particularly the haughty prince de Lambesc, by his gestures and his mad charge sword in hand through the Place Louis Quinze and the gardens of the Tuileries, which properly speaking alone did violence to the feelings of the Parisians in favour of freedom; for the ‘Injuries of a Pedestrian,’ which were brought conspicuously forward in all the papers of those days, produced but an insignificant effect. We have the testimony of an eye-witness* whose authority is above suspicion, that the thirty regiments, whose march was greatly delayed by inadequate supplies and arrears of pay, were really intended by the unimprovable of the court to disperse the assembly and restore the old order of things. The conviction that one extreme could only be destroyed by an opposite extreme—that the rude power and deeply-rooted prejudices of the great would only yield to the blind delusion of the fanatical masses—caused the most moderate and intelligent men of the age for a while to step aside and to give full scope to the

* Beaulieu, *Essais Historiques*, vol. i. p. 284, says: “Beaucoup de personnes ont refusé de croire, qu’un parti de gentilhommes et de princes eût formé le projet de disperser l’assemblée, et encore moins que ce projet fût sur le point de s’exécuter. Ce que nous avons vu nous-mêmes à Versailles à cette époque, joint à ce que nous avons appris depuis, nous met à même de certifier le contraire.”

visionaries and fanatics. These inspired lovers of freedom placed themselves at the head of the people on the 12th, who were marching through the city without leaders, and used every means in their power to inflame the popular indignation.

One of the most remarkable of those who in these days contributed the most to kindle the patriotism of the people and to encourage them to resistance by vehement harangues, was an old schoolfellow of Maximilian Robespierre, named Camille Desmoulins. This young, impetuous and clever advocate was afterwards influenced much more by the power of Danton's warm, immoral, but kindly nature, than by the cold, tenacious, envious and domineering disposition of Robespierre; in the earlier part of his career, however, Robespierre, who was deputy from Arras, was intimately connected with Camille. To his great vexation, Robespierre played but a very subordinate part among the distinguished men of the first national assembly; he first became a man of importance when he began to rule the town-council of Paris, through the instrumentality of the jacobin club. From the very commencement Camille was the leading orator in the coffee-houses of the city and in the Palais Royal, but he was also unhappily the first who broached and announced the dreadful doctrine, that freedom could only be established by murder and blood. His written appeals were as vehement as his speeches, and his bold gesticulation imparted to his words a double power. From the 11th and 12th he continued publicly to proclaim war upon the higher estates, and to announce murder and assassination to the enemies of the people; but in spite of the cruel and violent language which he employed, he was a noble enthusiast. Robespierre, on the other hand, was a sturdy, envious, vain demagogue, who was born and educated to win that class of men which in former times and now again are accustomed to collect around missionary preachers, jesuits, capuchins and methodists.

In the commencement of these public commotions, Camille Desmoulins published a journal entitled 'Revolutions in France and Brabant,' which was the forerunner of Marat's 'Friend of the People,' and preached up the complete annihilation of the existing order of things. From the tone of this journal one can scarcely fail to be convinced, that he had the feelings of a cannibal like Marat, for he does not hesitate to declare the title of *defender of popular justice* (*procureur de la lanterne*) to be a title of honour, and yet he was led astray by his inspiration for

freedom. His later journal, '*The Old Franciscan*' (*le vieux Cordelier*), was also murderous in its language and sentiments, and was the cause of the most cruel and barbarous crimes; but these unhappy excesses were all the result of Desmoulins' delusion, that a new system of law and morality could only be raised on the ruins of the old, as the well-disposed Grégoire also believed with regard to religion.

On the 12th of July, Camille, with the same glow of inspiration and eloquence which pervades his journals, mounted one of the temporary tribunes erected in the Palais Royal, called his fellow-citizens "*to arms!*" and the whole multitude by which he was surrounded echoed the appeal. Armed with a sword and pistol he placed himself at the head of the masses, which proceeded to march through the streets; the shops and theatres were closed, and the soldiers and people soon found themselves in hostile array against each other in the Place Louis Quinze and the Champs Elysées. On this day also Camille Desmoulins first displayed the distinctive emblem which constituted the rallying signal of the patriots, first in Paris and then throughout the whole kingdom; an emblem by which the majority, consisting of the friends of democratic principles, might always be distinguished from the minority, or defenders of the ancient feudal privileges. The first emblem was a green branch, and next a bow of green riband; but because green was the colour of the enemy of the people and prince of the nobles, the count d'Artois, it was afterwards changed to the tricolor, consisting of the royal white and the two colours of the city of Paris, which continued to be the emblem of the defenders of the sovereignty of the people, whilst the white cockade was the designation of those who maintained that the king was the vicar of God upon earth.

As early as the 12th arms of all sorts were carried away by force from the shops of the gunmakers and sword-manufacturers, and immediately afterwards, the irresolution of the government, the repugnance of the most distinguished officers and civilians to the newly-restored ministerial and court despotism, and many other rarely or perhaps unparalleled concurrent circumstances, combined to render a formal military organization of the citizens possible. Several hundreds of the French guards, incensed at the appearance of foreign troops and the brutality of their commanders, had united with their fellow-citizens on the night be-

tween the 12th and 13th in an attack upon the German soldiers, who were encamped in the Champs Elysées: the royal authorities were greatly alarmed by this event. The troops were withdrawn from the city at the very moment in which it was threatened with murder and pillage by the unbridled mob, and therefore the long-desired military organization of the national guard and the incorporation of many of the French guards was not only to be excused, but had in fact become almost indispensable. The national or citizen guard of Paris was then organized by the sub-officers of the regular military, to whom at that time in France, as at present in England, the whole mechanical part of the service was entrusted, and from among whom sprung most of the greatest generals of the revolution. There immediately sprung up a dreadful army, when on the night just referred to, the tocsin was sounded in the whole of the sixty divisions of the city. The citizens themselves instituted a species of democratic police for the safety of property and life, and sent out patrols, and the electors of the city availed themselves of this moment of terror and confusion to realise the privileges already extorted from the government, to make themselves masters of the capital, and to form as it were a second public magistracy.

It was said that the old magistracy, which had a president (*prévôt des marchands*) appointed by the court and cleaving to the social usages of the middle ages, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the citizens, and therefore it was necessary to strengthen the public authority by the appointment of men on whom the city was disposed to place the fullest reliance. This revolutionary council now proceeded to name a committee of safety from amongst its members, who were to enroll all the citizens of the sixty districts of Paris in battalions and companies, give them a military organization, and at the same time to provide the means of paying the soldiers of the French guards who were incorporated with the people. A magniloquent proclamation was immediately issued for the organization of the national guard. It was declared in the proclamation that this new national guard should in future consist of sixteen legions, and the whole body of 48,000 men. This force was to be placed under the orders of a general commandant, under whom a lieutenant and a major-general were to hold commissions, and these three to constitute the general staff. In addition to this, each of the legions was to

have its own particular staff, the city to appoint the officers, and every soldier to wear a red and blue hatband, the colours of the city. This citizen army was actually called into existence before a deputation was sent to the king to request him to remove the troops from Paris, and to sanction the extraordinary measures which had been adopted by an illegal assembly. According to Bailly's testimony, the commencement of the institution of this novel force which the city of Paris arrogated to itself and continued to increase till its town-council finally tyrannized over the convention, and by means of the convention over the whole kingdom, was made as early as the 9th and 10th, so that there was time enough to take similar steps in all the great cities, before Necker's dismissal became the signal for a general rising. On the 11th, when at table, Necker received a note from the king, in which the latter besought him in a friendly manner quickly and secretly to retire from France. This news soon reached the ears of the Parisians, and Camille Desmoulins and his companions availed themselves of the minister's removal as a pretence for exciting a popular commotion. The people carried the busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans in procession, in order to do honour to these two friends of the people; the royal German regiment made an attempt to stop the procession, and in consequence came into bloody collision with the masses of which it was composed. The result of the strife was doubtful, because only a very small number of the troops then encamped around Paris were in quarters at the Tuileries, and these were not reinforced even on the 13th. The most of the regiments were at Sèvres, St. Cloud and St. Denis, and some of them remained quite tranquil in the Champ de Mars, whilst on the same day the Parisian military force destined to act against them was organized.

These new levies were strengthened by numerous deserters from the newly recruited troops, consisting of those whose sentiments harmonized with the party of the movement, as well as of those who only looked for the best paymasters. On the evening of the 13th, the city guard, which then performed the duties, now discharged by the *sergents de ville*, offered their services to the committee of public safety, and the French guards no longer joined the citizens in small numbers, but, with the exception of the officers, came over to the popular cause in a body. This was the consequence of the reception which the new government of

Paris had had from the national assembly. The national assembly did not indeed by any means approve of the formal revolt of the Parisians against the royal authority and the erection of a new force consisting of the armed citizens themselves; but they resolved to give their most vigorous support to the petition of the corporation of Paris for the confirmation of their new council and of the erection of a burgher guard, as well as for the removal of the troops from the city and its neighbourhood. Eighty deputies of the national assembly, selected from all the provinces, together with all the deputies of the city of Paris, united with a deputation from the corporation, waited on the king with their petition, but he declined to comply with its prayer. The king's refusal called forth a hostile resolution from the national assembly, of whose tendency Bailly has given us a short but striking representation*.

The immediate consequence of this decree was the adhesion of the city guard and of the French guards on the evening of the 13th, and an attack upon the Hospital of the Invalids in the morning. On this occasion they compelled the authorities by threats to deliver up to them 30,000 stand of arms and 20 pieces of cannon, which had been refused two days before. Immediately after this success, the French guards formed along the banks of the Seine and pointed their cannon against the king's troops, who were encamped on the further side of the river, but did not venture to move. The only point from which it was now possible to annoy the city and to facilitate any attack which might be contemplated on the part of the king's troops was the Bastille, so infamous as a state prison. The small extent of this fortress did not afford room for any very considerable garrison, and it was impossible to defend it with success against any serious attack; but had it been provided with good artillerymen, with abundant supplies, and even a small number of resolute defenders instead of a corps of invalids†, the tumultuous mob of Paris would have hesitated to attack it. The chief object of the attack was the destruction of a stronghold from which the

* Vol. ii. pp. 96–98. Bailly gives the resolution of the assembly at full length, and adds: “L’assemblée, par cet arrêt, interdisait la ressource de la banque-route sous peine d’un soulèvement général; elle effrayait les ministres, qui sont avertis que les suites peseront sur leurs têtes; en parlant des conseils du roi, elle vouloit atteindre plus haut; elle annonçait du danger à ceux qui mettaient et la chose publique et le peuple en danger.”

† The whole garrison consisted of eighty-two invalids and thirty-three Swiss.

royal troops might overawe the city, a fact which in our own times the citizens seem to disregard; there was however also a secondary design, and that was to announce to the kingdom, by razing this citadel of despotic power, that despotism in France was no more. This fortress had seen within its walls Voltaire, Marmontel, and innumerable other well-known men, who had been arrested upon *lettres de cachet*, and the destruction of the Bastille must therefore have appeared the most suitable demonstration, in order to proclaim to all France the destruction of the institutions of the middle ages. The ruins of this dreadful state prison were moreover an honourable memorial of the courage and resolution of the citizens of Paris in the arduous struggle to deliver themselves from arbitrary rule.

The storming of the Bastille was effected by a tumultuous mob composed of some of the guards and a motley crowd of Parisians, and not by the city militia; when the crowd succeeded in forcing an entrance, the governor's conduct was precisely the same as that which was usually pursued by the king. He had neither resolution enough to risk his own life and that of the few invalids and Swiss who formed the garrison and to defend his post to the uttermost, nor to surrender unconditionally to the assailants. Crowds of infuriated people were first suffered to penetrate into the inner court and then firing was kept up, when all hope of defending the fortress was past; the consequence was, that many persons—some say nearly a hundred—were killed. This gave rise to a horrible retaliation; the people, intoxicated with success and eager for revenge, brutally murdered the governor, the marquis de Launay, de Losman Solbray the commandant of the garrison, his adjutant, two lieutenants, and three invalids. The subsequent conduct of the multitude was still more horrible than the murder itself; in their cannibal fury they decapitated their victims, fixed their heads upon pikes, and bore them in triumph through the streets of Paris. This horrible custom gave rise to the formation of a band of bloodthirsty murderers among the lowest and rudest of the people, who were inspired with the spirit of tigers, and continued henceforward to play a most important part on every fresh outbreak of the new revolution. The crimes and cruelties of these men were afterwards attributed to that portion of the French who were the very persons most averse to every deed of violence.

The complete destruction of the Bastille was first decreed at a later period, but it was quite impossible to put any bounds to the mischiefs practised by the populace after their success in its capture, partly because an antimonarchical direction had been already taken and promoted by the club at Poissy and by many of the Parisians also, and partly because it was necessary to hold up such examples as a terror to the adherents of the old *régime* and their creatures. The Palais Royal was changed into a sort of den of thieves, where not only those assembled who found their advantage in the complete dissolution of all the bonds of society, but where consultations were held with respect to those cruel modes of popular justice which had been commenced on the 14th with the murder of the officers of the Bastille, and were afterwards practised throughout the whole of France. One of the first who fell a sacrifice to the public indignation against the old system was Flesselles, formerly president of the town-council (*prévôt des marchands*), who had fallen under suspicion as chairman of the new college of electors and been deposed by the committee. He was murdered by the people as he came out of the Hotel de Ville, and his head like that of others was carried to the Palais Royal. At a later period (on the 22nd) Foulon and his son-in-law Berthier, according to Eastern usage, were pointed out to the people as the authors of the general dearth, that they might be disposed of in a similar manner.

Whilst a new power was organized in the kingdom on the 13th, the national assembly continued to hold an uninterrupted sitting during the whole of that day and night, on the day and night of the 14th and till the 15th, and affected to be full of Spartan resolution. They pretended to be busily engaged on the new constitution, unaffected by fears whilst the storms of revolution were raging around them and everything was threatened with destruction or death. One of the members availed himself of the occasion for mere rhetorical effect, and said, "*On the morrow indeed we shall no longer be in existence, but the new constitution will remain.*" The stroke was well-calculated and he won the expected applause, although Bailly admits that there was in reality nothing to fear*. During these tumultuous proceedings in Paris, the court remained in such an incomprehen-

* Bailly, vol. ii. p. 98: "Je n'ai jamais été fort alarmé du péril que nous (the deputies) pouvions courir nous-mêmes."

sible feeling of security, that a grand court-ball was given on the night between the 13th and 14th; and even on the first news of the revolt on the 14th, two deputations from the national assembly could obtain nothing more from the king than that the troops should be removed from Paris and the new magistracy acknowledged, on condition that the president and officers should be appointed by the king. On the 15th however he held very different language. During the night the king was informed that the soldiers had renounced obedience to their noble officers, the Bastille was taken, deeds of violence begun, and a new order of things had been introduced, and therefore it was necessary quickly to remove the regiments farther from Paris; on the next morning the king took a step, which, under the then existing circumstances, must have deprived him of all feelings of respect.

The king in person, accompanied by his two brothers, without any signs of royalty and without the observance of any form, which above all he should at this moment have maintained, presented himself in the national assembly and greeted its members by that significant name which they had arbitrarily assumed. On this interview he publicly declared his own inability and his despair for the kingdom, and that he placed in their hands the arrangement of the matters in dispute with the Parisians. What the king lost on this occasion was only apparently gained by the ideal and philosophical portion of the assembly, who were inspired with a longing desire for a utopian constitutional monarchy, and which was represented by Bailly, Lafayette and others, but who never suspected that, like unpractical men, they were in reality mere tools in the hands of such practical men as Mirabeau. The assembly sent eighty-two deputies to Paris, headed by Lafayette, who began at that time to play the great character which he repeated in 1830,—a character which does far more honour to his heart and his imagination than to his understanding. His course however remains quite unexampled in this respect, that at the end of the piece both in 1792 and 1830, he himself acknowledged that his services had been misused, and that he entertained no suspicion of the fact.

Lafayette and Bailly, as well as the whole of the deputation, by whom they were accompanied, were received in triumph in Paris; they announced the victory over the king and his readiness to make every concession to the people, and confirmed all

that had taken place, at least temporarily, till the assembly had come to a resolution on the subject. The highest offices under the new order of things were afterwards destined for these two individuals by the people of Paris. On the 16th, the sixty sections of Paris already formed a great republic, whose centre was the great council, and whose president was to be the mayor of the city freely elected; this office was designed for Bailly. The army of this republic, called the national guard, was to be under the command of Lafayette. On the 16th the enemies of all improvements among the lower and middle classes,—the whole unimproveable body of adherents to the feudal system, withdrew, indisputably with indiscreet haste, from the scene. These were men who combined polished manners, easy address, and a happy use of language, in which rude squires and petty dynasts are so often deficient, with all the pride and arrogance of the high nobility of Venice, Berne, Germany and England. Artois, the Polignacs, the most hated princes and their licentious companions, the generals, and among the rest even Broglio, left the kingdom and commenced that stream of emigration which continued to flow from July 1789 till July 1792, and turned the indignation of all the enlightened men of all parties against the king. He was undoubtedly led astray by the queen, who by her own incautious public declaration preferred* a handful of noble courtiers to millions of the people, whilst her husband always promised what he never wished to perform. The king's aunts and his eldest brother were the only parties who remained behind, till at length he himself attempted to escape.

Did we not know the contrary, we should be disposed to regard the king's visit to Paris on the 17th as the malicious recommendation of one of his bitterest enemies, who wished by the instrumentality of the king to confirm the people in their

* That portion of the nobility who still stood out sent a deputation to the palace on the 24th of June, in order to thank the king for his declaration of the 23rd, which was designed to maintain the principle of a separation of the estates. This deputation first went to Artois, who received them as their protector, then to the comte de Provence, who gave them no formal answer, and finally to the queen. *Mémoires de Ferrières*, vol. i. p. 60 :—"La reine sortit dans le salon du jeu; elle tenoit madame par la main et portait le jeune dauphin sur son bras. Tableaux délicieux d'une mère! douce expression de la nature! La reine présenta M. le dauphin aux députés, leur disant avec beaucoup de grace, *qu'elle le donnait à la noblesse, qu'elle lui apprendroit à la chérir et à la regarder comme le plus ferme appui du trône.*"

revolt against their ancient rulers and in their dislike to the old *régime*, and to expose Louis in person to the contempt and scorn of the people. The journey and procession of the court on their appearance in Paris, the boldness displayed in putting forward Bailly as mayor and Lafayette as commandant of the national guard, before their appointments were sanctioned by the crown, the speeches with which he was greeted, and the national cockade which was forced on his acceptance, were all deeply humiliating to the king. From this time forward he regarded everything which he promised as extorted from him by force, which however could only hold good as long as violence endured. The promoters of these innovations soon became aware of this feeling, and they no longer placed any confidence in anything which emanated from the court; the king's word was no security to the people*.

Previous to this the national assembly had so importunately urged the immediate recall of Necker, that Dufresne de St. Leon had been despatched with courier horses in order if possible to overtake him on his journey and bring him back to Paris. From the 11th till the 23rd Necker had first travelled to Brussels, from thence to Basle, and there he first received a long letter from the king, and one still longer from the national assembly, which concluded with these words, "*The king and the nation expect you.*" The vain man was intoxicated with delight, and his daughter (madame de Staël) cannot find words enough to express her joy and that of her party; it was in fact the absurd manner of showing her joy at her father's recall which prompted Mirabeau, in the very midst of the triumph, to prepare a humiliation for him, in order that he might learn not to overvalue himself and to mistake the triumph of the principles of freedom for his own. We see at once, from the manner of his triumphal entry into Paris, how little he was acquainted with the democratic spirit of the age from which the whole movement sprung, and which was wholly opposed to the tone of the saloons; without alluding to other points, it is sufficient to say, that he

* Necker, who in this respect uses the language of a long experience, when speaking of the half measures recommended by his successors on the 11th of July, observes: "Ils éprouvèrent aussi, l'on doit le croire, ils éprouvèrent une contrariété, bien connue de tous ceux qui entreprennent de porter un prince hors de son caractère. On dispute, on combat, on persuade à demi, et d'une pareille lutte résulte le plus souvent ou une décision qui n'a point de vigueur, ou une sorte de composition qui ne satisfait aucun système."

was accompanied in his carriage by his daughter and two Polish princesses. By the manner in which he speaks of his own reception, in the second part of his work on the revolution, he furnishes us with abundant proof that he was indeed the idol of the unpractical portion of the nation, who wished to introduce the tone of the saloons into politics, but that on the other hand he found vehement opponents amongst practical men, and especially in Mirabeau. At the place just referred to, he describes at great length and with extraordinary self-complacency the manner in which he was idolized and his talents honoured by Bailly, Lafayette, and their friends, and the electors and municipality of Paris; and we may add to his account, that they exhibited him upon a balcony like a god. It was these originators of the first untenable constitution who at Necker's request effected Bezenval's safety, after he had been threatened with the fate of Foulon and Berthier. Necker therefore pours out all the vials of his resentment upon Mirabeau, because he at once deprived him of his splendour. Mirabeau however was completely consequent in his conduct and acted like a genuine statesman, however bad his character was in other respects, and however ambiguous his motives for resisting Necker's application on behalf of Bezenval may have been.

Mirabeau always kept the practical side of every question in his eye, and was therefore opposed to prefixing any general declarations upon the rights of man to the constitution, or allowing the intermixture of the speculations of the saloons and the pretensions of the town-council of Paris in the affairs of the state. Supported on this occasion by Robespierre and Barnave, he induced the national assembly to annul the resolution of the electors and of the municipality of Paris, which had been instituted only for the moment and in a tumultuary manner. The chief object of this surprising resolution was the humiliation of Necker, his daughter, and all those who now hoped to govern the state by the theories of the saloons, as it had hitherto been governed by the cabals of the court; the reason however which was given for passing the resolution was subtle and striking. The national assembly declared that it could not recognise the acquittal of Bezenval, nor acquiesce in the deference shown by the municipality to the intercession of Necker, because the electors merely constituted a club, and the representatives of the city only possessed an executive authority. As it appears

from his own words*, Necker felt that this resolution implied a declaration condemnatory of himself, although his friends Bailly, Lafayette, Laroche-foucault, and all the barons who had been in North America, believed that the æra of their influence was now only beginning. Necker admits that he ought at that moment to have left France, but he waited till September, and therefore till the glory which the saloons for twelve years had shed around him was completely dissipated. All theories were then obliged to give way to the genial energy of the people, who, unembarrassed by any ideas concerning God or his commands, obtained the victory for the democrats in France, in the same manner as the English aristocracy have gained their triumphs in India and China, and the Russian aristocracy in Poland.

Necker and his friends wished to maintain order, and to proceed upon a systematic plan of improvement, whilst Mirabeau, the men of Poissy who afterwards formed the jacobin club of Paris, Sièyes, and all those who were usually distinguished as adherents of the duke of Orleans, or as the club of Montrouge, clearly perceived that what was wanted was not eloquent speeches or philosophical disquisitions, and that there must be no shrinking from any deed of violence, if they meant to be successful in annihilating a constitution which had subsisted for a thousand years. Immediately after the public outbreak in July, when the ancient order of things was dissolved and no new one introduced, confusion and destruction began to prevail over the whole kingdom, the whole social system was completely disorganized, and a mad inspiration for freedom and equality broke down every distinction and led to the most dreadful excesses. All the works upon the revolution are filled with the most horrible descriptions of the disorders, brutality, cruelties and crimes which were perpetrated in the name of freedom by men who availed themselves of the overthrow of the ordinary tribunals of police and justice to gratify their passions. We do not dwell on this point, because all this was the necessary consequence of the former neg-

* Necker, vol. ii. pp. 29 and 30 :—" Ce fut M. de Mirabeau, l'un des personnages du moment le plus en vue par ses rares talens et par son audace ; ce fut M. de Mirabeau, tribun par calcul, patricien par goût, et toujours immoral, toujours homme d'esprit ; ce fut lui, qui ayant destiné le trouble et la division à l'avancement de sa fortune, se crut appelé en défensive à contenir de tous ses moyens le premier retour aux idées d'ordre et aux sentimens patriotiques." Lacretelle, vol. vii. p. 20, says of Mirabeau : " C'étoit un orateur incorrect, brusque, pénible, mais adroit, puissant, redoutable, quelquefois sublime. La vertu en eût fait un orateur accompli."

lected education and miserable condition of the lower classes, who were regarded merely as the servants of the upper ranks, excluded for the most part from all participation in the property of the soil, and obliged alone to bear all the burthens of the state. The spirit of the age soon reached the army also. The officers, who belonged to the nobility, first endeavoured to resist the movement and to counteract the proceedings of the national assembly, then emigrated, and the old army was dissolved. A new army was immediately formed of the national guards, as had been done in Paris, by means of officers who had either imbibed an enthusiasm for freedom, or were anxious for a rapid re-organization of the new order of things, as well as by non-commissioned officers, who were well acquainted with discipline. This change however necessarily required time, and four years were consumed before the old royal army, recruited from the dregs of the populace, was replaced by a truly national force.

In the provinces in which feudalism had been most oppressive, Provence, Franche Comté, Alsace and Lorraine, it scarcely required the vehement stimulants which were applied to excite a war among the peasants and cause such scenes, as were exhibited on the banks of the Rhine, Neckar and Main, in the district of the Saale and Westphalia, in the course of the sixteenth century in Germany. The castles of the feudal nobility were reduced to ashes, they themselves persecuted with fire and sword, and the name of an aristocrat was sufficient to bring down public hatred and persecution. A new municipal police was soon established over the kingdom, travellers were stopped at the most insignificant places and their passports examined by peasants and citizens. By the establishment of a committee of police (*comité des recherches*) the national assembly soon made themselves immediate masters of the whole police of the kingdom and government, caused letters to be opened, servants to be interrogated, spies to be employed, houses to be entered, papers examined, seized and carried away on the slightest suspicions, and the accused to be kept in secret confinement for months. These measures were indeed rendered necessary by the circumstances, and constituted a means of defence against the senselessness of the court, the nobility and the priests; they were not however the less tyrannical. The national assembly moreover made everything in the kingdom, person and property, wholly dependent on its members; the body was divided into committees

which exercised almost the whole functions of government in the various departments of war and diplomacy,—marine, legislation, tithes, feudal rights, and mintage. The old authorities and courts soon lost all their distinction; couriers from the national assembly were sent in all directions to encourage the peasants and citizens of the towns quickly to avail themselves of the favourable moment, in order to deliver themselves completely from their ancient oppression, and to persecute or annihilate their former oppressors.

The municipality of Paris, of which Bailly was at the head, in its first tumultuary organization was completely democratic, and was in all its essentials confirmed by the national assembly in October. Some few alterations were made at that time, but it was not till May 1790 that the common-council of the city received that form from the national assembly, which, in the time of the convention, brought so many evils upon France, because the municipality of Paris tyrannized over the convention, and the convention over the whole of France. Till May 1790, each of the sixty sections of the sovereign communes sent two deputies to the Hotel de Ville, and eighty others were from the beginning added to these 120 representatives of the sovereign people of the capital. This democratic assembly was afterwards increased to the number of 300 persons. This assembly was called the great council of superintendence, and sixty of its members alternately formed the executive government of the city. On the definite organization and new appointment of the several authorities on the 21st of May 1790, a change was introduced by which the number of the sections was reduced from sixty to forty-eight. These forty-eight sections received a council, composed of thirty-two municipal councillors and ninety-six notables; the management of the public business was committed to sixteen administrators, who were presided over by the mayor, as the chief of the corporation, and he was assisted and advised by an assessor and two substitutes. The government of the city was carried on by the council and executive (*bureau*); the mayor and the sixteen administrators formed the executive, the thirty-two the council; and all united together with the notables constituted the great council. In this new constitution, as well as afterwards in the departmental administration, everything wore the appearance of monarchy and aristocracy, but in fact the whole rested upon an absolute democracy.

The seat of this overruling democracy was in the sectional assemblies, where every question was decided much more by numbers than intelligence; for these sections in their primary assemblies not only chose those who were to elect the deputies to the national assembly, but they also passed sovereign decrees. The example of Paris was universally imitated, and the basis of administration was as little fixed and solid in all the departments, districts and cities, as it was in the capital; though the constitution was in the latter at least monarchical, there was no uniformity in its elements and members. For these reasons it was from the very first seen to be untenable. The terms and form of this new constitution constituted the sole subject of deliberation in the national assembly from the 14th of July. It was led astray by Montesquieu's writings and the ideas of the friends of Washington and Franklin, who had North America always in their eye, in the same manner as the orators of the national convention, and especially St. Just, were misled by Rousseau. Lafayette, Laroche-foucault-Liancourt, Montmorency, and a great number of the noblest and best men of France, irresistibly hurried on their colleagues, whose minds were easily excited and full of inspiration for freedom, to the adoption of unpractical though in themselves praiseworthy views, or to what Napoleon called *ideology*. The men who, in July and August, were desirous of laying deep and strong the foundations of freedom and equality in the constitutional monarchy of their native land, by the greatest sacrifices of private advantages which were ever made by any assembly, by means of three decrees effectually destroyed all that they wished to maintain, without knowing or suspecting the result; and afterwards they shrunk back with horror from the consequences of their own conduct. All the high nobility and persons of distinction who gave the tone to society in 1789 (with the exception of Lafayette) have, as enthusiasts usually do, who are the mere creatures of fashion both in literature and life, not only cursed their own blindness, but shown their hatred to, and as opportunities served, persecuted, every appearance of civil freedom or religious enlightenment in our own days.

The first of these three well-meant but highly injurious resolutions related to the celebrated demand, which had been often made since the 11th of July, to prefix an abstract declaration of the rights of man to the new constitution, without paying any

attention whatever to the existing social condition of Europe. The second decree was the renunciation of all the rights, privileges and immunities of ancient times, which the assembly passed into a law, without having, first, maturely weighed the consequences of their proceeding, or without having even recollected that they themselves might from magnanimity alienate their own properties or privileges, but had no right to compel others to exercise such magnanimity. The third precipitate and injurious determination of these honourable visionaries affected the catholic religion. Instead of fixed definite limits, beyond which the discipline of ecclesiastical communities should not extend, and leaving the whole internal regulations of the church to its own members, they proceeded to interfere with the internal discipline of the church, and by this step destroyed on the one hand the religious character of the masses, which is almost wholly dependent on rites and ceremonies, whilst on the other they roused a spirit of fanaticism.

Even Mirabeau was opposed to the declaration of the rights of man, although he was not at that time paid by the court to endeavour, by means of secret cabals, again to overturn what he, as chief organ of the enemies of the court, had been the means of building up. The precipitate renunciation of all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by certain classes was bitterly repented of by most of the deputies, no later than three days after it had passed. It was in fact the result of a long night-sitting held between the 4th and 5th, after the assembly had resolved in the morning on the declaration of the rights of man. It was all in vain that Mirabeau, during the morning sitting, had directed the bitter sting of his irony against the proposals of his theoretic friends; they even rejected the counsel of the pious Grégoire, who on almost all occasions was prone to yield to the most utopian dreams*. The assembly was mainly led to the adoption of the resolution abolishing all seigniorial rights and political immunities by the accounts which were constantly arriving from various quarters of the kingdom, of the devastations which were practised,—the burnings, pillage, and destruction of

* Grégoire observed with great truth: "On vous propose (to the young vicomte Montmorency) de mettre à la tête de votre constitution une déclaration des droits; un pareil ouvrage est digne de vous; mais il seroit imparfait, si cette déclaration n'étoit pas aussi celle des devoirs; les droits et les devoirs sont corrélatifs."

the castles of the nobility and great landed proprietors. It was proposed to anticipate the wishes of the people by a self-sacrificing ordinance, and thus to put an end to the rustic war. A motion to this effect was no sooner made in the assembly on the evening of the 4th, than a universal enthusiasm pervaded its members, and spread like the contagion of a violent fever*. One wished to outdo the other; laymen and clergy emulated each other in their promptitude to offer all the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed as sacrifices upon the altar of their country. The offers of the evening were afterwards embodied in formal resolutions, and reduced into the form of seventeen articles, which were then made public in all the churches of the kingdom. The changes effected by these resolutions of the night between the 4th and 5th have with great justice been designated as the fourth act of the revolution, which suddenly broke out in 1789. The first was on the 5th of May, when the third estate summoned the members of the other two to appear in their chamber; the second was the act of holding the assembly on the 20th in the tennis-court, in contempt of the royal authority; the third, the storming of the Bastille on the 14th, and the institution of the national guard, together with the municipality of Paris. The resolutions of the 4th and 5th having been drawn up with too great precipitancy, and their authors neither having thought of the manner in which they were to be carried out, nor of the advantages to be reaped from them, were afterwards involved in great difficulties, when it appeared that the only benefits which were likely to accrue fell to the lot of persons for whom they had not been intended†. On the 10th the ecclesiastical tithes were abolished, without any compensation or any new provision for the clergy, but it very soon appeared how precipitate all these

* On this as on similar occasions Lafayette and Montmorency led the way, and were followed by Noailles (cadet), the two Lameths, D'Aiguillon, Larochefoucault-Liancourt, and Victor Broglio. The rest were carried away by the impetuosity of their leaders.

† All rights of personal vassalage were surrendered, and the nobles agreed to receive compensation for all dues and services paid to the feudal superiors, as well as to the abolition of their local courts and jurisdiction. The rights of the chase were relinquished, and the exclusive privilege of warrens and dovecots; consent was given to a composition for tithes and equality of taxation. All citizens were to be eligible to all military and civil offices; the purchase of public situations was abolished, and a total abolition was decreed of all the privileges and immunities, whether possessed by cities, provinces, corporations, guilds or individuals. And finally, all pensions granted merely from favour were to be withdrawn.

measures had been. Every one, however, who considers the direction which the public mind in Europe, and especially in France, appears to take in the middle of the nineteenth century, will see that nothing but the senseless precipitancy of the 4th of August, and the shameful and inhuman murders and robberies of the times of terror, have rendered the restoration of all the mischiefs of the eighteenth century impossible, which otherwise would certainly have taken place, or would still be effected. In the same manner as the furniture and taste of the times of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. are now everywhere to be seen, monks and petty tribunals would have been or would be everywhere restored, such as they are at this moment to be met with in several parts of Germany and in Switzerland. It was however impossible at that time to foresee the change which has taken place in the prevailing customs, and the renunciation of every form of freedom of thought, and therefore even Sièyes offered a strenuous opposition to the abolition of tithes, and proved that this step would only be advantageous to persons of property*. The most violent debates afterwards arose on single points, during which Necker, and the ministry which he had chosen, used every possible means, but in vain, to prevent a complete remodeling of the whole life and usages of the French. It was clearly seen that the national assembly was beginning to split into two great parties, one of which was completely revolutionary in its views, and the other favourable to a constitutional monarchy. Among the adherents and most distinguished men of the former, we may mention the names of Mirabeau, Chapelier, Barnave, Sillery, Latouche, Menou, the two Lameths, and the deputies from Brittany. The heads of the constitutional party were Necker, Mounier, Lally de Tollendal, Clermont Tonnière, Virieu and others.

The confusion in Paris was still greater than that in Versailles, for every class and every portion of the citizens laid claim to some share of the sovereignty of the people. The soldiers of the French guards formed a deliberative body in the Oratoire, the journeymen tailors in the Colonnade, the wig-makers in the

* Sièyes and others proved, that instead of making a present of the tithes to the landed proprietors, they should devise means of helping the state without robbing the clergy. The ecclesiastical tithes amounted to 80—90 millions of livres per annum, and therefore to a capital of about 2,000,000,000; and if therefore the landed proprietors had been required to pay off this capital in ten years, the state would have obtained 200,000,000 yearly.

Champs Elysées, 4000 servants in the Louvre, and 13,000 shoemakers on the Place Louis Quinze. The most dreadful of all those assemblies however were the district meetings, in which the rudest and most violent artisans governed by the fist. Every district appointed a permanent committee, a committee for police, another for military affairs, a third for questions of civil administration, and finally a committee of subsistence. Each committee had its own president, vice-president and secretary; whilst every district laid claim to legislative, and every committee to executive power. The districts presently fell into vehement disputes among themselves, and with the common-council of the city, whose members they were disposed to regard as their servants. The most active persons in these committees were, generally speaking, advocates without practice, ruined notaries and attorneys; these men pronounced judgments, and caused their fellow-citizens to be arrested and thrown into prison. On the orders of one of these district presidents men and women were often dragged out of their beds, and led through the whole city on foot between soldiers with fixed bayonets, and placed before a commissioner of police; and young ladies of respectable families were carried away from their own doors and locked up in company with the most degraded of their sex. The national assembly therefore became anxious in August quickly to complete their draft of the principles of the new constitution, in order to put an end to anarchy by a new organization.

Whilst the king still continued to hesitate, whether by his confirmation he would give the validity of law to the resolutions of the national assembly, founded on the deliberations of the 4th and 10th of August, Mounier, in the name of the committee on the constitution, brought the six fundamental articles of the new constitution before the assembly on the 28th. Noailles and Lameth however maintained, that before these fundamental articles, which were completely monarchical in their spirit, should be received, it must first be determined whether the legislative body should continue to hold permanent sittings, or should be called together from time to time; whether it should consist of two or only of one chamber; and whether the king's assent should be in all cases absolutely necessary to give their resolutions the force of law; or finally, whether the king's refusal should only be temporarily obstructed. It was no sooner resolved that the legislative body should consist of one chamber only; that its sittings

should be permanent, its members elected every two years, and receive allowances for their expenses; that the army should not be subject to the king alone, but take an oath to be faithful to the king, the nation and the law; than Mounier, Lally-Tollendal and other liberal but monarchical members, began to see the impossibility of founding any permanent constitutional monarchy on such a basis, and left the assembly at the end of the year 1789. The debate respecting the prerogative of the crown was the most vehement, and the advocates of an absolute, or as they expressed it, a suspensive *veto* on the part of the king, were zealous and energetic on behalf of their respective opinions.

Mounier, Lally-Tollendal and other liberal deputies began to tremble, because Mirabeau and his revolutionary adherents appeared to them too powerful; and Mirabeau himself, on the other hand, was anxious lest his adherents might go further than he thought advisable. In the discussion on the absolute or suspensive veto he took the side of the royal party, although his conduct on that occasion exposed him to the suspicion of the mob, and he was pointed at as a candidate for the lamp-post. In May of the following year he succeeded in inducing the assembly to agree that the king should have the right of declaring war and concluding peace, and went in consequence for several days in continual danger of his life. He contributed also to the success of the motion by which it was conceded that the king's veto should hold good for the space of two sessions (four years); but a means was devised either to compel him to confirm the resolutions of the national assembly, passed from the 4th of August till the 15th of September, or to make such confirmation unnecessary. It was maintained that the articles of the constitution stood in no need of confirmation from the king, but only required publication in his name; whereas it was different with laws. The other points were communicated to the public with the king's consent, but he was unwilling to proclaim the speculative doctrines concerning the rights of man, and the national assembly therefore caused the articles touching these fancied primitive rights to be published on the 1st of October.

Necker had already lost all his influence, for Marat by his journal, and Danton by his voice of thunder, had succeeded in terrifying all those who were not filled with the enthusiasm of the moment, and the court stood openly in such a hostile relation to the national assembly, that it was no longer possible to

place any confidence in the king's promises. The mistrust of the court, the idea of the possibility of subduing the prevailing disorders by military force, and the imprudence of the queen, who neither would nor could conceal her dislike to the estates, her detestation of liberalism and the liberals, or her contempt for the duke of Orleans, who had at least adherents, if not, properly speaking, a party;—all these things were hailed with satisfaction and magnified by those whose hopes lay in promoting every species of disorder, and longed to profit by public confusion. Such were the men whose voices ruled in the districts and even in the corporation of Paris. They wished to bring the king and the national assembly to Paris, where both would be in some measure their prisoners; and in order to obtain their desire, they made a masterly use of an occurrence in Versailles, which was in itself unimportant.

Two circumstances were turned to account, in order to suggest to the minds of the Parisians, or rather those classes who gave the tone in the sectional meetings, the idea of compelling the king to come to Paris. The first was the prevailing want and dearth of provisions, which however, with most authors who have written on this point, we do not venture to ascribe to any artificial or malicious means; and the second was the appearance of the Flanders regiment in Versailles. A report was assiduously spread among the lowest class of the people, that the presence of the king in Paris would be the means of relieving the dearth; and by the queen's imprudence, the incidents connected with the arrival of the Flanders regiment enabled Mirabeau and his friends to attain their object.

In the commencement of October, the constitutional resolutions of the national assembly already issued were to be changed into formal laws, and published with the sanction of the king; Louis however continued to hesitate, particularly with regard to the nineteen preliminary articles; and a report was spread, not wholly without foundation, that the queen and her advisers were plotting a counter-revolution, and would not shrink from a civil war. The queen, who was not guided by political considerations, but by personal and female passions, cannot be reproached for entertaining such views, because she and her husband were daily abused by the populace, in consequence of which the troops on duty at the palace and the national guard of Versailles, which guarded the chambers, were excessively

harassed. Count d'Estaing, well-known as an admiral in the North American war, was at the head of this national guard: he wrote a long letter to the queen respecting the folly of the cabals which the marquis Bouillé, the baron de Breteuil, and the Spanish ambassador in her name, were carrying on with or without the knowledge of the king, entreated her to desist, and solicited an audience. This letter may be seen in the 'Mémoires' of the marquis de Ferrières; it would appear, however, that the queen at the solicited audience had been successful in changing the views of this constitutional count, for he was the very man who contributed to persuade the civil authorities of Versailles to allow some battalions of the regiment of Flanders to be ordered to Versailles, in order to lighten the severity of the duty,—a step moreover which the national assembly did not disapprove. The soldiers were to take the duty outside the palace in common or alternately with the national guard of Versailles, whilst the noble guard performed the duty in the interior.

The court at that time was kept in a state of alarm by persons who formed a species of satellites to a small number of deputies who ruled the national assembly. These deputies were in the habit of collecting around the president's chair, and were called the Tatar camp. All the most violent measures which were proposed were concocted by this band, and they gave the tone to the clamours of the mob. It was natural for the officers of the Flanders regiment to sympathize with the queen, on account of the treatment to which she was exposed, and to express their dissatisfaction with the rudeness and insults which were heaped upon the daughter of a very ancient imperial house. These officers, according to custom, were invited to a banquet by the garde du corps, and the queen not only rejoiced in their monarchical enthusiasm, but was imprudent enough to give public expression to her feelings. The banquet was suffered to assume an official character, and was held in the opera room of the palace, which had not been used on any festive occasion since the visit of the emperor Joseph II. to the French court. During the banquet the king also appeared, accompanied by the queen and the dauphin, at first above in the royal box, but afterwards below, where the officers dined. The queen and her ladies have been accused of the imprudence of distributing white favours on this occasion, but the fact is not clearly established. Unfortunately, D'Estaing, in consenting to the call of the Flanders regi-

ment to Versailles, had only consulted his staff, and not the national guard itself, and the citizens therefore became loud in their complaints, as well as the corporation of Paris. The pretence alleged by the latter for interfering in the affair was, that the numerical strength of the battalions had been intentionally increased. It had also been discovered that many constitutional royalists, and among the number even Malouet, had advised the king to remove the meetings of the national assembly to Tours, and to go thither himself. The banquet therefore was regarded and proclaimed by the populace as a conspiracy of the court against the nation.

On any other occasion it would have excited no surprise, that officers and soldiers at a banquet at which the royal wines were not spared should have been guilty of many follies, and have expressed in exaggerated terms their attachment to the queen; but on this it became, and was made, a grave matter of accusation both against themselves and the court. In their loyal enthusiasm and intoxication they used the most violent gesticulations, drank deep to the health of the king and queen, and were clamorous in the expression of their feelings, whilst they never thought of the nation. They sang the famous monarchical song, "*Oh! Richard, oh! mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne,*" which afterwards became the watchword of the royalists, when the Marseillaise was adopted as the gathering of the republicans. This act of imprudence on the part of the court was very welcome to the enemies of the queen, to Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans; and Gorsas, one of the most violent and able among the legion of newspaper writers*, published an

* In order to show what means were employed for working upon the people, how these means were employed, and how unexampled the participation of the people was in the events and news of the day, we shall here refer to some of the most distinguished of the journals, without laying claim to a complete list, or even alluding to those which were called journals of the revolution. The first journal of this kind was undertaken by Mirabeau, in connexion with some friends. This was first called '*Etats Généraux*,' next, '*Lettres du Comte de Mirabeau à ses Commettans*,' and then, '*Courrier de Provence*,' which ceased in June 1790. The '*Mercure de France*,' by Mallet du Pan, and the '*Journal de Paris*,' by Garat, made the fortunes of their editors, but were unimportant for the revolution. The '*Gazette de France*' and the '*Journal Général de France*' do not belong to this class, but the following are particularly worthy of notice:—the '*Assemblée Nationale*,' by Haudey de Sanchefreuil; the '*Point du Jour*' of the notorious Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, who was at that time a moderate royalist, became a girondist, and afterwards in the reign of terror a companion of Robespierre and the Anacreon of the guillotine. Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély wrote the '*Journal de Versailles*' till November

article on the subject in the 'Courrier de Versailles,' which set all Paris in commotion. He described the banquet as orgies, and so drew up his report, which was afterwards read to the public in the Palais Royal, that he led the people to believe that a conspiracy was formed in Versailles against the constitution. The French guards had already entertained the idea of marching to Versailles and entering upon their former duties, which induced Lafayette to write a letter to Versailles on the 17th of September, full of anxiety on the subject. This feeling now sprung up in their minds with double force. As early as the 3rd of October, the day-labourers, fish-women, and *canaille* of the Paris suburbs were anxious to go in procession to Versailles, and on the 5th it was no longer possible to prevent them from carrying their design into execution. It is so certain that all the

1789. In addition to these, three or four other newspapers bore the title of 'Assemblée Nationale,' and found readers. The 'Patriote Français,' by Brissot; 'Chronique de Paris,' by Millin, and afterwards by Noel; and the 'Annales Patriotiques,' which was written by the raving Carra, under Mercier's name, were violent in their tone; but still more violent was that of the 'Courrier de Versailles,' edited by Gorsas, which was afterwards called 'Courrier de Paris et des Départemens.' The royalist journals, even the 'Actes des Apôtres,' produced very little effect; and the 'Journal des Débats,' 'Logographe' and 'Moniteur' have only become remarkable in our times; the first for having been during thirty years the organ of very different governments; and the last for having been obliged to receive in its immense sheets all the public documents which have been published since 1789, and to become the defender of whatever party was able to seize the helm of state. Maret, afterwards duc de Bassano, wrote the 'Bulletin,' which contained a literal report of public transactions, and was united with the 'Moniteur,' which from 1789 became at once the largest and most authentic journal. The 'Logographe,' conducted by the Lameths, Adrian Duport, and others of that party, was still larger than the 'Moniteur,' but it disappeared on the 10th of August, together with the constitution, of which it was the defender. All these papers were intended to give *daily reports*; there were other *weekly* journals, which were of a reasoning description. The 'Courrier de Brabant,' by Camille Desmoulins; the 'Révolutions de Paris,' which appeared under Prudhomme's name, who from being a stationer became a bookseller, was first edited by a person called Tournon, and afterwards gained great importance in the hands of a fanatical jacobin of the name of Loustalot. Cerutti, Rabant de St. Etienne, made the country people alive to the cause of the revolution by means of the 'Feuille Villageoise.' The chief supports of the democracy however were Fréron by his 'Orateur du Peuple,' and Marat with his 'Ami du Peuple,' whose influence and effect were quite unexampled. On the other hand, the 'Ami de la Constitution' and 'L'Ami des Patriotes,' whose tone was moderate, produced but small effects. There were papers called flying sheets, among which 'Le Chant du Coq,' by Esmenard, was published every second day and printed like a placard, and afterwards distributed by the bill-stickers under the name of 'Babillard.' Among these flying sheets, the 'Argus' was famous for having destroyed the popularity of Brissot in 1793; and its editor, Feydel, said of the 'Observateur,' that it was intended for the water-carriers, and in fact it exercised an immense influence over the *prolétaires*.

dreadful scenes in Versailles were previously prepared, that even the national assembly afterwards commissioned the criminal tribunal (*Châtelet*) to investigate the affair. The investigation was commenced in the year 1790, but the storm of the revolution scattered the tribunal and put an end to the inquiry, and the three volumes of minutes which are now printed throw but little light on the subject; certain it is however that Mirabeau was actively concerned, and that the duke of Orleans supplied money.

The masses of the Parisian populace no doubt believed that the king's presence in the city would tend to a better supply of provisions and an abatement of the dearth, and therefore resolved upon a procession to Versailles; Lafayette and Bailly, on the contrary, used their utmost exertions, at the peril of their lives, to stay this absurd and insane movement, and on this occasion Lafayette experienced a great humiliation. Some days previously, Mirabeau had given proofs of his enmity to Lafayette, by showing a desire to use the national assembly as an instrument in bringing to light a letter which the general had written and despatched to Versailles, but Lafayette proved to have greater weight in the assembly than his opponent. Mirabeau, on the contrary, had contrived to secure for himself a much greater influence among the people than Lafayette suspected. The latter therefore never afterwards ceased his exertions till a prosecution was commenced against Mirabeau, and the duke of Orleans was sent for a time out of the country.

The men who at that time made it their business to have continually at their disposal a number of terrific women, clothed in frightful apparel, and a strong and reckless mob, of dread and cannibal aspect, called out their motley and fearful army on this occasion also. As early as eight o'clock on the morning of the 5th, the clamorous multitude thronged around the bakers' shops in the streets of the city, collected on the Place de Grève, and threateningly demanded to be led to Versailles. Lafayette used all his exertions to dissuade them, but in vain; as the national guard, and especially the French guards, who formed the kernel of the new force, were of a different opinion from their general. He no sooner perceived that the national guards, even without his permission or presence, would follow the thousands who were making preparations to march to Versailles, than, in order to preserve his credit and station, he suffered himself to be persuaded by Bailly and the municipal council to issue orders to

the national guard to follow the terrific procession to guard against mischief and to preserve public order. The women and the mob had already set out; they were very generally intoxicated, and dragged three pieces of artillery in their train; for at that time the lowest and rudest class of the citizens, consisting of carters, smiths, carpenters, braziers, and butchers, composed the artillery of the national guard. Multitudes of the common citizens had been already armed with pikes; during the morning these united with the women in holding the Hotel de Ville in a state of siege, and now marched out in motley array at four o'clock with the clamour of voices and discordant music, before Lafayette was able to collect the national guard and commence his march. Stanislaus Maillard, one of the heroes in the storming of the Bastille, who, without being brutal, played the brute, was the chief leader of this procession of bacchantes. He was accompanied by a butcher's man and keeper of a wine-shop named Jourdan, who regarded the title of *coupe-tête* as an honour, and with his dreadful knife ready for execution headed the frantic throng of intoxicated women who advanced upon Versailles.

This body, consisting of the refuse of Paris, and spreading terror as it went, reached Versailles about three o'clock, whilst Lafayette with the national guard did not arrive till late in the evening. It would have been easy to have checked and hunted back the savage and partly drunken hordes, for the soldiers on duty in Versailles were at first drawn up and would have easily scattered the undisciplined crowd*. The king however, whenever any bold measure was thought expedient, always spoke of the fate of Charles I. of England which impended over him; and his attendants and court were only great on questions of operas, court balls and ceremonies, of cabals, etiquette and dress; but these clever wittings had never cherished one serious thought, and still less were they capable of any energetic action. It was resolved to remove the soldiers at the very moment in which they ought to have been employed, and to bring the gardes du corps into the inner court of the palace: this resolution was probably founded on the conviction, that the national guard of

* Ferrières states,—"La milice de Versailles était en armes devant la caserne des gardes Françaises; le régiment de Flandres, posté sur la place, occupait la longueur de la grille royale; une partie des gardes du corps (in all 320 men) à cheval soutenait le régiment de Flandres; l'autre partie, placée dans la première cour du château, en défendait l'entrée; les gardes Suisses étaient rangés en bataille proche leurs casernes."

Versailles was exasperated against the gardes du corps, and on the doubt whether the soldiers of the regiment of Flanders sympathized in the feelings of their officers. The mob did not at first march to the palace, but to the national assembly, whose hall was filled by this motley crowd at the moment in which it was resolved that Mounier the president should proceed to the king and entreat him to agree to an unconditional acceptance of the declaration of the rights of man. The women selected twelve of the most decent and respectable of their body to accompany the president, by their presence and influence to enforce his demand, and prevail upon the king to accept all the articles of the constitution as agreed upon by the assembly. The women moreover added the special demand, that the king should come to Paris, by which in their opinion the evils and horrors of the dearth would be done away with, or at least diminished.

The twelve representatives just mentioned were so graciously received by the king, and were so delighted, that they would have been quite satisfied with a verbal answer to their address, but the furies by whom they had been commissioned had given express orders to insist upon a written reply. In consequence of their neglect of this point, they were threatened with death by their constituents, obliged to return to the palace, and with the fear of death before their eyes, to require a written answer, which the good-natured king then gave them. It was eleven o'clock at night, when Mounier brought this answer, which had been given to the women of Paris, before the national assembly, which had previously adjourned its sittings in consequence of the violent irruption of the women into its chamber. On Lafayette's arrival after eleven o'clock, and the restoration of some degree of order by his means, the chamber was again filled by a multitude of clamorous women, and the streets and squares with a new mob, which had accompanied Lafayette and the national guard from Paris. The march of the guards had been in fact seriously impeded, because many thousands of low and dissolute persons followed the army whose dangerous views Lafayette took all possible means to frustrate; and therefore he managed the march in such a way as to hem in the vast and disorderly rabble between the French guards, which formed the van, and the national guard, which brought up the rear. In addition to these precautions he ordered a halt on the way at Viroflay, and caused his

army to repeat their oath of fidelity to the nation, the king and the law.

Lafayette, who was always unpractical enough to rely on men's assurance and words, was again deceived on the 6th of October by the same genuinely practical and politically skilful men who had previously made a tool of him in Paris. Their object was to spread universal terror and alarm, in order if possible to force a substitute upon Louis, as had formerly been done on Henry II. This project however failed, because the duke of Orleans was no Guise. On Lafayette's arrival with his army between eleven and twelve o'clock, he immediately pledged himself for the safety of the royal family, if the whole superintendence of the means were left to him; and he required a similar pledge from those by whom he was surrounded: he therefore removed all the soldiers and the mounted gardes du corps, and again placed the French guards on their old posts. The duty in the interior of the palace still continued as formerly to be entrusted to the gardes du corps and the hundred Swiss. Soon after three o'clock everything had become quiet; and without entering for a moment into the ridiculous but much-agitated question, whether Lafayette had gone to repose or not, it is at least certain that he retired on the separation of the national assembly at three o'clock in the morning, who had left the chamber as night-quarters to the clamorous throng. All remained quiet till six o'clock in the morning; but about that hour, the whole mass of the Parisian mob, without any one seeming to know by whom it was excited, suddenly began to move towards the palace, and a crowd of persons who were either bribed or under the guidance of those who were, found one of the side-gates unoccupied.

Lafayette was indeed accused by his numerous enemies among the nobility with having intentionally left the gate unguarded, but this is without doubt a calumny. It is however by no means certain whether it was to be attributed to mere inattention or treachery, that the populace found access by the gate into the inner court of the palace; and it is further certain, that, no long time after, some of the national guards fired upon the gardes du corps in the inner court of the palace. Many of the latter were murdered in the palace, others upon the stairs and at the doors of the royal apartments, and one of them (Miomandre), when severely wounded, continued to make a deadly re-

sistance to the mob at the door of the queen's bedchamber, in order that her majesty might gain time to save herself by flight. Lafayette rescued about thirty of the guard by the bayonets of his grenadiers, whilst the dreadful Jourdan, the terror of all, cut off the heads of three of them with his huge knife, which he continually held up to the public view. During this scene of fearful commotion and murder in the court of the palace, several of the *gardes du corps* were murdered by the infuriated populace, and their heads, stuck upon pikes, paraded before the windows of the royal chambers. At length Lafayette, full of rage and shame at having been deceived, succeeded in rallying the national guards, and hastened to the relief. The king however still remained the prisoner of the people, who threatened to take vengeance, and Lafayette was compelled to consent to the queen's appearance upon the balcony: the king also afterwards presented himself, and expressed his willingness to comply with the demands of the people and to accompany them to Paris. This was an unhappy day for the constitutional monarchy, and the glory of its founder, the noble and magnanimous Lafayette. The course of events will furnish too many proofs of this fact, from which it will be seen that Lafayette was obliged, against his will, to promote the objects of the duke of Orleans, count de Mirabeau and their bandits; although at a later period he was able to bid defiance to both, and caused a judicial prosecution to be commenced against them.

He himself recommended the king to give a public proof of his effeminate despondency. The king listened to the importunate clamours of the multitude, because Lafayette assured him that the only means of setting some bounds to the public disorder was to yield to the importunities of the people, and take up his residence in the capital. When Lafayette gave him this counsel, the king was necessarily obliged to promise that he would proceed to Paris on that very day, if the queen and his family were allowed to accompany him. This promise was followed by the ignominious scene, in which the king, Lafayette, and the grenadiers of the national guards, that is, the French guards, assembled on the balcony, and condescended to beg the mob in front of the palace to pardon the *gardes du corps* who had ventured their lives for the king. On the 6th, the sitting of the national assembly appointed for nine o'clock was not opened till eleven, and Mounier, the president, was unable to prevail on the

assembly to proceed to the Apollo saloon in the palace, because his wishes *were obstructed by Mirabeau*. A deputation, consisting of only six and thirty members, was sent to the king. A resolution was afterwards communicated to the king, in which the national assembly declared, that the body was inseparable from his majesty ; to which he replied, that he was about to proceed with the queen and his children to Paris, and would therefore give the necessary orders to enable the assembly to continue their labours.

About one o'clock this shameful procession commenced, which degraded the king and the national assembly, incensed and dishonoured Lafayette, and transformed the national guard of the most refined and polished capital in Europe into the military accompaniment of cannibals and vagabonds. The procession was opened by a division, among whom were two pikemen carrying aloft the heads of two murdered gardes du corps, and then from forty to fifty disarmed soldiers of the same body surrounded by people armed with pikes and swords ; and these were followed by two wounded soldiers with torn clothes, dragged on by two men in national uniform with drawn swords ; nor was the dreadful Maillard wanting.

The number of persons who surrounded the royal carriage has been variously computed at 20,000, 30,000 and 40,000 ; a deputation of the national assembly, consisting of 100 members, accompanied the king, who might be regarded as in some measure the prisoner of the Parisians. This disgraceful procession proceeded at a very slow pace and did not reach the Hotel de Ville till six o'clock, where no measures had been taken for the suitable reception of the royal family, and they were not able to find a moment of quiet repose after two days and a night of the most harassing alarm, till they arrived at the Tuileries at nine o'clock in the evening. On the 19th of October the national assembly also came to Paris, where its members held their sittings, first in the palace of the archbishop and next in the riding-school, which stood on the site now occupied by the Rue Rivoli. They were at first desirous of depriving the sections of Paris and the corporation of the unconditional dominion which they had hitherto exercised, and on the 21st proclaimed martial law which enabled the constitutional authorities, with the aid of the well-disposed citizens, to repel force by force, and to set some bounds to the ochlocratic mischiefs which were daily perpetrated.

A judicial inquiry was also instituted with a view to discover the secret instigators of the scenes of the 5th and 6th of October, to whom Mirabeau indisputably belonged, and by threats Lafayette compelled the duke of Orleans himself to withdraw for a time to London.

Immediately after the removal of the national assembly to Paris there commenced those conspiracies entered into by the courtiers, princes, queen and king, led astray by his ministers, to whom Necker no longer belonged, with all the friends of the ancient *régime* and with foreign princes, and at the same time the institution of an anarchical government in the hands of the people. The jacobin club soon assumed the rank of an independent authority; the national assembly, the clubs and the municipal councils of the various communities appointed committees, who employed emissaries and spies, and broke open letters in order to discover the secrets of suspected parties and afterwards expose them to the merciless persecutions of a tumultuary police, which was presently organized by the popular will throughout the whole kingdom. The higher classes were everywhere alarmed at the progress of anarchy; and the people, that is, the lowest classes, practised what in America has since been called lynch law; they took the whole administration of justice into their own hands, and became at once judges and executioners. The same savage masses, under the name of the sovereign people, soon made their power felt in the district assemblies, and gave a tone to the deliberations of the jacobin club and the national assembly by loud manifestations of applause or disapprobation. Robespierre gained his first importance through the favour of these coarse and vulgar crowds, whose movements were regulated by Marat and Fréron; he understood how to flatter their passions and to accommodate his broad and forcible eloquence to their modes of thinking. Robespierre took the field as an antagonist of Mirabeau, whose ambitious and covetous speculations also found an opponent in Lanjuinais, but the latter employed only the weapons of the stoic republicanism of an ancient Roman. On the 6th of November the Breton club of Poissy was transformed into the jacobin club of Paris, under which name it soon received an immense extension of numbers and influence, because every one who wished to attain any prominence in the political world was obliged to become a member. The leading men in the club consisted of those members who gave

the tone in the national assembly, and who, carried away by their visionary notions and speculative philosophy, began to dream of a pure republicanism. Among these we may especially record the names of Pétion de Ville-neuve, afterwards elected mayor of Paris instead of Bailly, Chapelier, Buzot, Grégoire and Thuriot, all men of good education and enlightened minds, who by no means destined the new club for the purposes to which it was afterwards applied.

Buzot, who at a later period brought the Marseillaise to Paris, and without his knowledge or will became a participator in all Danton's crimes, exhibits himself in his 'Mémoires' as a disciple of Rousseau and a man of great talents and strict morals. He displayed his zeal against all the knaves of those times who preyed upon the public credulity, and especially against the duke of Orleans and those unprincipled profligates who used him as their tool; he honestly admits however that he and his friends had already laid the foundations of the republic in Versailles, and from the commencement of 1790 had carried on an incessant war with the court*. It may now be seen from the pension-list and from the publication of what was called the 'Red Book†,' what a miserable character Mirabeau played in 1789, and indeed till his death, if any stress be laid upon principles of morality or feelings of honour; we do not therefore deem it worth our trouble to follow him in his course till April 1791, in which he died, or to detail the various scenes of his activity, one while as a demagogue and at another as the mere mercenary of the court. Lafayette and his friends were at first united with the men whose names we have recorded as members of the jacobin club; but when the club became numerous, its deliberations stormy, and the language of its members vehe-

* In his 'Mémoires,' p. 165, Buzot says of himself and his friends the girondists, "Ils créèrent ce club Bréton à Versailles où se préparèrent et la révolution et les courages qui devoient la fortifier et la soutenir au milieu des plus pressans dangers." In the same place he boasts, that they were the persons "qui formèrent cette société établie aux jacobins, pour lutter contre la cour et ses nombreux partisans, son or et ses menaces."

† The contents of this 'Red Book,' whose publication Necker did everything in his power to prevent, were partially known before, under the title, 'Le Livre Rouge, ou Liste des Pensions Secrètes sur le Trésor Public, première classe, première livraison, de l'Imprimerie Royale.' 1790. p. 25. "Mirabeau (comte de), littérateur, 200,000 livres. En 1776, 5000 livres pour avoir vendu le MS. d'un ouvrage de sa composition intitulé, *Des Lettres de Cachet*, et en 1789, 195,000 livres sur sa parole d'honneur de faire avorter les projets de l'Assemblée nationale."

ment, the more refined and elevated friends of freedom formed another society called the club of 1789. This constitutional society first opened its meetings in May 1790, and from the very commencement was vehemently assailed by the two republican societies, which held their meeting in the jacobin and franciscan convents, and did not attain any great force till July 1791, when many members forsook the jacobins after the king's flight; its glory however was of very short duration and immediately afterwards disappeared.

Robespierre at this time still continued to be reserved and cunning; and the chief organ of the jacobins of the most vehement class were Marat, the author of the infuriate 'Ami du Peuple,' and Fréron, the editor of the 'Orateur du Peuple,' whilst Camille Desmoulins delivered his orations to the populace at the Palais Royal, quite in the strain of the subsequent reign of terror. The party distinguished for its especial violence was however obliged at that time to unite in a particular society, because the milder girondists for a long time held the sway among the jacobins by their talents and eloquence. Danton, Camille Desmoulins and those like-minded, who saw that no new social institutions could possibly be introduced without the forcible extinction of the old and without scenes of strife and blood, held meetings and formed a society at the convent of the franciscans, the constitution of which was such, that every member of the franciscans must be a member of the jacobins, but not *vice versâ*. In subsequent times the name of the *Cordeliers* was descriptive of the most dreadful, unsparing and wicked among the republicans, who honoured Danton as their patriarch. Pétion, Buzot and Robespierre had already attained a powerful influence in the jacobin club, whilst Grégoire, Lanjuinais and other very good and honest men sympathized with their violent tone, because they were afraid, and on good grounds, that the government of France would pass from the chambers of the courtiers to the saloons of the bankers and liberal nobility, by which little indeed would have been gained, as the experience of our own times abundantly proves. When we have read and reflected on what Necker himself, and especially his daughter, madame de Staël, have informed us concerning the subjects of complaint dwelt on by the Mouniers, Lally-Tollendal, the Malouets and Clermont Tonnère, we can readily understand why Lanjuinais, Grégoire, madame Roland

and others preferred the jacobins to these distinguished persons, who were called *Feuillants*, after the name of the monks in whose convent they assembled.

On the 4th of August the feudal nobility of the middle ages was smitten at its root, on the 6th of October the monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth century was robbed of its dazzling splendour, and on the 2nd of November fell the glory of the hierarchy, from which Dante had been formerly accustomed to deduce the seven deadly sins of the middle ages*. On the 2nd of November the national assembly passed into a law a proposition which Talleyrand Périgord had already laid before them in the preceding August. By this law the whole estates of the church were at once declared to be the property of the nation; but an express condition was added, that the state should make a suitable provision for the clergy, for the support of the church and the wants of the poor, and that a share in the administration should be given to the local authorities. This measure, as well as those afterwards adopted respecting the great landowners and the sale of the divided estates, enabled thousands who had been previously only labourers or farmers to become possessors and owners. Such a change could indeed only be effected by a complete reversal for several years of the usual order of things, as it exists in every civilized state. From this time forward the rude, servile, oppressed, suffering majority of the people, who had been obliged to submit to the law of the minority, now in their turn oppressed, persecuted and harassed the minority by their description of justice. This popular justice was indeed, as that of the rich had formerly been, really injustice, and it was enforced with more brutal and cruel violence; but the nature, relation and order of things were again speedily restored.

* Dante represents the church in purgatory under the figure of a carriage, the emperors under that of an eagle, and feudal tenure as the feathers of the eagle. After having said that Mahomet had overrun and destroyed a great part of the ancient Christian church, he says:—

“ Quel che rimase, come di gramigna
Vivace terra, della piuma offerta
Forse con intenzion casta e benigna
Si ricoperse e funne ricoperte
E l' una e l' altra ruota e 'l temo intanto
Che più tiene un sospir la bocca aperta
Trasformato così 'l edificio santo
Mise fuor testo per le parti sue
Tre sovra 'l temo ed una in ciascun canto.”

Purg. xxxii. l. 136, &c.

The new order of things proved to be wholly incompatible with the old judicial learning and tribunals; the parliaments therefore and the inferior courts strove in vain, and protested in vain against their threatened dissolution. They were first compelled to declare a vacation from November 1789 till March 1790, during which period justice was administered by provisional courts (*chambres des vacances*). As early as March the new institution began, which was first fully carried into effect in September. France received new judicial tribunals and a new and uniform code equally applicable to all places and districts, and which in quieter times was afterwards improved and perfected. It obtained also trial by jury, which in fact is the chief blessing which the French of our days owe to the revolution. In March all titles and privileges of honour* descended from ancient times were abolished, after the various religious orders had been dissolved, and the equality of all the citizens of the state established by law. Such a complete change in all social and political relations, property, names and customs as that which was resolved on in July 1790, must necessarily have immediately dissolved all the ordinary bonds of life; and France in fact appeared as if it were about to become the prey of a number of wild fanatics and of the rude masses who were their creatures. This was no doubt the opinion of Burke and thousands of others, who therefore cried aloud, stormed, and testified their dread and abhorrence, and the years immediately succeeding appeared to confirm all their prophesyings. According to appearances they were right, but appearances are deceitful, and in truth and deed they were wrong. This will more fully appear below at the conclusion of the constitutional assembly, and from the summary review of the advantages for which France is indebted to the first national assembly.

Among the chief advantages realized to the nation by the new constitution, we reckon the abolition of the old provincial divisions and the introduction of new districts, by means of which

* The decree touching this point was first passed on the 19th of June, and is as follows:—"Art. 1. La noblesse héréditaire est pour toujours abolie; en conséquence les titres de prince, duc, comte, marquis, vicomte, vidame, baron, chevalier, messire, écuyer, noble et tous autres semblables ne seront pris par personne, ni donnés à qui que ce soit." This is followed by a prohibition to use any other than the family name, arms, &c. Then:—"Les titres de monseigneur et de nosseigneurs ne seront donnés, ni à aucun corps, ni à aucun individu, ainsi que le titre d'excellence, d'altesse, d'éminence, de grandeur, de messire," &c.

all the ancient local governments and peculiarities were forgotten and the different members were united into one great body politic. The division into departments, districts, cantons and communes, and the hierarchy of administration founded upon them, has been in all its essentials still retained, although the theory of the sovereignty of the people, especially in their elective capacity, on which it rested, led to results which proved to be wholly incapable of being reduced to practice, and which furnished the most reasonable grounds to the governments, which in our days have restored the monarchy in France, for making such changes and alterations as were suitable to their objects*. According to the new constitution, even the judges were to be chosen by the people. By as much too small a qualification was required to enable a man to become an elector or a deputy, as the present one is much too high, at least as regards the electors. The general confusion, the tumultuous proceedings of the people, the discomfort of the intermediate period between the abolition of the old and the introduction of the new, the outcry and satires of the friends of the old *régime* and their own mutual criminations and recriminations, had drawn down upon the members of the national assembly much serious reproach, and brought their decrees into discredit towards the middle of the year 1790; the whole nation appeared to become colder, and it was therefore resolved to institute a grand national solemnity, in order to re-awaken the enthusiasm of the people.

* Each department formed a whole in itself, immediately connected with Paris; each had an aristocracy in the directory for the usual and general administration and in the departmental council, consisting of six and thirty members; all this however rested upon democratic elections. In the same manner as the department, each district had also a council of twelve and a directory of five members, whose resolutions required the visa of the authorities of the department. Each department possessed a civil and criminal court, and every canton a justice of the peace. This was all excellent in theory, but it proved impossible in practice, in consequence of the number of elections and officers who were to be chosen *by the people from among the people*. It has been calculated that the total of all the persons directly chosen in this way would have amounted to 1,300,000 men.

§ III.

FROM THE FESTIVAL OF THE FEDERATION ON THE 14TH OF JULY 1790 TILL THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN OCTOBER 1791.

It is impossible not to acknowledge and point out the great importance of the splendid ceremony exhibited by the French nation, her constituent assembly, the representatives of her armies and her national guard, the king and his family, under the name of the festival of federation on the Champ de Mars on the 14th of July 1790 ; we shall not however venture to describe the festival itself ; Frenchmen alone possess the power of justly appreciating such an exhibition, and they alone possess words and phrases fitted to give a just delineation of the spectacle without making themselves ridiculous. The immense difference between French and German views in such things and representations, may be seen by referring to Thiers' description of the scene on the 19th of June in the national assembly of Paris, which has always appeared to us nothing better than a highly offensive, absurd and ridiculous comedy, but has been treated by Thiers in a very different spirit, and was in fact very different in the eyes of the French and for the interests of the country. Among the eccentric companions of the Parisian philosophers, and of the societies and clubs of the clever and visionary friends of freedom and enlightenment, Cloots, baron Val de Grace, played a distinguished part. Cloots was born in Cleves, and therefore the French affect to call him a *Prussian baron*, although he was really brought up and educated in Paris, and as a rich man played his part in that capital from his twelfth year. After his return from his travels he assumed the name of Anacharsis, because Barthélemy, who in his work described Greece in glowing colours, had secured for the name a high degree of public respect ; he called himself the orator of the human race, distinguished himself as a defender of atheism and a universal republic, and an opponent of Christianity and the monarchy. On the 19th of June Anacharsis Cloots led an embassy, consisting of English, Italians, Arabians, Chaldeans, Indians, Negroes, &c., into the hall of the national assembly, and made a magniloquent address to the president in the name of the human race, of which his motley embassy were for the most part representatives hired for

the occasion; and in this address he offered the thanks of mankind to the French for the example which they had shown, and their devotion to the cause of human liberty. Menou, the president of the assembly, found no small difficulty in giving to his vulgar figure dignity enough for so great an occasion, and in finding words and phrases to convey a suitable reply. The farce was accompanied by a general burst of rejoicing, and the ambassadors of the human race were invited to the honours of a sitting. Thiers observes, in a decisive tone, that those only who were present at the scene (at which he was not present) are able to form a just estimate of its dignity. Count Schlaberndorf however, who prevented the revolting disputation which was to have been held in the Palais Royal between the abbé Fauchet, as the defender of Christianity on the one side, and Anacharsis Cloots, as the advocate of atheism on the other, alleges that the whole was a miserable farce; Beaulieu, who was an eye-witness, gives a similar account of this ridiculous exhibition.

We are however by no means disposed to apply the same language to the ceremony of the 14th of July, on the Champ de Mars, with which we have ventured to characterize the scene of the 19th of June. This ceremony had undoubtedly an imposing and magnificent character, as had also many of those splendid spectacles of the same kind, by means of which Buonaparte filled the French with enthusiasm, but which, in the eyes of thinking men, were nothing more than empty and deceitful exhibitions. This grand ceremony was suggested by the federations between the troops of the line and the national guards, which were at that time celebrated in the open air in almost every part of France; this led to the idea of one grand ceremony of federation in the neighbourhood of the capital. For this purpose an officer and four soldiers were sent from every regiment in the army, a deputy from every two hundred of the national guards, and six deputies from every canton in the whole kingdom. These were all summoned to Paris to unite with the king and the national assembly, and under the open heavens, on the Champ de Mars, to take a solemn oath that they would keep holy the principles of the federation, and be faithful to all the articles of the new constitution, as far as they had then been made known. The enthusiasm of the newest fashion inspired all Paris; the whole population, without distinction of rank or sex, poured out to the Champ de Mars, in order to assist in making

preparations, by constructing a vast amphitheatre of earth for this magnificent assembly of the people. The affair excited so great attention in Germany, that Girtanner caused a copper-plate to be engraved representing thousands of Parisians of all orders and ranks and in every variety of dress engaged in the works on the Champ de Mars, and prefixed it to his 'Revolutions-almanach.'

These thousands of volunteer labourers soon levelled the ground, in the centre of which was erected a grand national altar supported by pillars twenty-five feet high. Seats were erected on the elevated banks at each side, in the middle a throne for the king, and the national assembly appeared for the first time before the eyes of hundreds of thousands no longer as a subordinate body, but as the legislative and ruling power of the nation. Places were arranged for 60,000 national guards upon the steps which led to the elevated sides of the amphitheatre, where seats were provided for about 160,000 persons, consisting of ladies, deputies of cantons, &c., and standing room for 100,000 besides. The confederates were drawn up under the flags of the respective departments, eighty-three in number. It was an unfavourable prognostication for the fate of religion, and especially for the religious character of the new age, that Talleyrand Périgord, bishop of Autun, appeared as the national priest at the head of three hundred of the clergy, clothed in white surplices and adorned with tricoloured scarfs, and celebrated the mass; his principles and course of life and action were the same as those of Mirabeau. It was also an unfavourable omen for the new political constitution of the kingdom that it rained for nearly the whole of the day, and that the royal family really considered themselves as the sacrifice which was to be offered on the high altar of the nation. The arrangements of the field were so planned, that a gallery was erected in front of the military school, and in front of the gallery an amphitheatre, in which the national assembly and those invited to be present were seated. In the midst of the gallery, it is true, a throne with a canopy had been erected upon an elevated position; but care had been taken that the president of the assembly should appear as co-ordinate and not subordinate to the monarch, and his chair was placed to the right of the throne, but on an equally elevated situation. The deputies and confederates were the first to take the oath, and then the king. Those who thought like Marmontel and adopted

England as their *ideal*, wished to insert the word *citizen* in the formula of the oath in a very different sense from that in which it was used in England, but in most works on the subject we find no mention of the fact*.

The impression which this grand ceremonial produced in those times may be best learned from the passage quoted below, selected from Beaulieu, which appears to us the more important as containing the testimony of an eye-witness, who neither shared in the intoxication of the times nor was an admirer of the revolution†. By means of this grand ceremony, the French undoubtedly received new feelings of enthusiasm, and the rejoicings in Paris at the fall of the monarchy of Richelieu, Mazarin and the duc d'Aiguillon, and at the regeneration of the national feeling, was loudly proclaimed in all the departments and regiments of the army, whilst the English and German barons and princes were filled with horror and alarm at the solemn interment of their palladium—feudal privileges—in the Champ de Mars at Paris.

As to the feudal nobility of Germany, the celebration in Paris at once served to incorporate their subjects within the limits of the French territory with the free citizens of France, and put an end to the severe oppression which they had long exercised on their estates, lordships and territories in Alsace and Lorraine; the German barons, counts and princes therefore turned to the emperor, in order to obtain his aid to maintain their ancient privileges and rights, secured by the faith of treaties, against the revolutionary encroachments of the national assembly. In order to quiet and calm the alarm felt by the English aristocracy, as

* It runs thus:—"I, citizen, king of the French, swear to employ the power confided to me, and which is conferred by the constitutional laws of the state, in order to maintain the constitution as decreed by the national assembly and accepted by me."

† Vol. iii. p. 383:—"Le coup d'œil étoit en effet magnifique. L'intérieur du vaste Champ de Mars étoit couvert d'hommes armés, et sur le pourtour on voyoit assise l'immense population de Paris, grossie par les habitans des communes voisines. Sur une estrade près de l'école militaire, on apercevoit l'assemblée nationale, et au milieu d'elle le roi, qui paraissait dominer sur ce grand ensemble. Des arcs de triomphe, des emblèmes de toute espèce, analogues à la fête, en indiquaient l'esprit et le but. Enfin on découvrait l'autel de la patrie, entouré de flambeaux et de vases antiques, où brûlaient des parfums. L'évêque d'Autun célébra la messe sur cet autel, et à l'élévation de l'hostie, au signal donné par M. de Lafayette, l'assemblée nationale, le roi, les corps armés, et même les assistans, renouvelèrent le serment civique, au bruit du canon, qui aussitôt se fit entendre. La même cérémonie se répétait au même instant dans toute la France."

early as January the ministry had put language into the mouth of the king, who abhorred all innovation, which clearly referred to France; and in May, at a time when Pitt thought it prudent to be silent and to preserve a strict neutrality, the client of the aristocracy, whom they had brought into parliament, made independent in his means and long pensioned, broke out into impassioned tirades against the revolution. Burke not only raised the banner of feudalism in parliament,—he not only poured out the unmeasured bombast of his words of thunder to the great joy of the squires, but in the same summer he proclaimed a new species of conservative crusade. In his ‘*Reflections on the French Revolution*,’ he has the audacity to exhort and entreat all the European powers to take the field and to sacrifice the lives of their own people as well as those of the French, for the restoration of the French absolute monarchy and hierarchy so often denounced by him and his fellow-countrymen, and for the maintenance of a state which fell to pieces from its own rottenness and corruption. These violent assaults gave the conduct of the Parisian demagogues a new and higher political importance than it had hitherto had; the democrats of the jacobin club and in the national assembly became exclusively patriots and their opponents traitors, who threatened the downfall of their country by the aid of foreign princes and the plutocracy, in order to maintain their places, rank and property. Pitt and his colleagues availed themselves of the celebrated Burke for the maintenance of their sinecures and livings, and the privilege of sharing the lucrative offices of the state among their relations and friends, and for the promotion of the interests of the plutocracy, who, clothed in gold brocade, deceived the eyes of the vulgar in the same manner as the duke of Orleans, and all those whom Buonaparte afterwards made princes, democratically employed the skilful Talleyrand and the dreadful orator Mirabeau and his Medusa-head. Mirabeau annihilated the credit of the defenders of the court, whilst Burke destroyed the roots of the apparently liberal aristocratic opposition, the only one to be feared in England, by a solemn breach with the leaders of those who were called whigs. In November, in the midst of peace, Burke came forward in parliament and poured out all the venom of his wrath and a whole torrent of denunciations against a friendly nation, and against the institutions adopted by the nation with the repeated consent and confirmation of the king. In his cele-

brated speech, lauded in all the newspapers in Europe, he preached fire and sword against those whom he assailed, and Fox made an attempt to induce his old and zealous friend to somewhat greater moderation. This collision led to a touching scene in the unsentimental parliament of a nation remarkable for its cool intelligence,—a scene in which Fox played the character of David and Burke was his Jonathan. The latter however publicly and solemnly renounced his former political alliance, for which reason we shall hereafter return to Burke and his remarkable publication. Such a service was not allowed to pass without recompense, either by the princes of the continent and their servants, or by Pitt and the tories, but was paid by a liberal ready-money gratuity.

The opponents of the half-monarchical and half-democratical new constitution of France were quite as much rejoiced at the publication of Burke's high-wrought and calumnious manifesto as the English plutocrats. They could now show whither the admiration entertained by the distinguished friends of De Stael and the worshippers of Montesquieu for everything English would lead the French; they were able to turn to so much better account the miserable and powerless conspiracies of the absolute princes against the new constitution of France, in order to bring the king and the nobles into contempt, because the emperor Leopold was by no means zealous in the cause, nor disposed actively to interfere on behalf of the German princes whose rights were invaded. Leopold had succeeded his brother Joseph in spring, and we shall hereafter see with what Italian subtlety he assumed the appearance of activity, and entered into consultations with the king of Prussia on the best means of maintaining monarchy, nobility and the priesthood in France. From the time in which the count d'Artois, then the king's aunts, and afterwards the most corrupt portion of the nobility took refuge in Turin, that city became the centre of cabals to which the king and queen of France and their constitutional ministry were not strangers. The mad schemes of the Parisian *roués* and Calonne's intrigues became at length too bad even for the court of Sardinia, and the count d'Artois and his friend Calonne, who had previously been sent away without ceremony from Vienna, were obliged to seek protection from his uncle the elector of Treves, first in Worms and afterwards in Coblenz.

The secret plots of the emigrants without the kingdom, and

of the ministry, the court and the friends of the old *régime* within, furnished abundance of opportunities and pretences to those who, by a thousand means unattainable in ordinary times, were able to stir up the unenlightened masses of the people, and to fill the whole country with terror and alarm. They roused and satisfied the worst passions of the people, and gratified those murderous appetites which usually slumber in quiet times, but when once indulged change men into tigers. The secret cabals of the priests and nobles were met and counteracted, especially in the great cities, by the cannibal rage of a people stimulated to madness by insidious means. Even before the festival of the federation the most horrible scenes had been enacted in Toulon, Marseilles, Montauban, Nismes and Bordeaux, and yet the cold, cunning, selfish and timorous count de Provence (Louis XVIII.) engaged in a deep and calculating project of recruiting and bribery in the beginning of the year 1791. The instrument which he employed was the marquis de Favras, whom he afterwards shamefully denied; so that on this occasion the men of the constitution, who were then at the head of affairs, were generally accused of having allowed the marquis to be hastily hanged in February in order to suppress inquiry and to satiate the murderous appetite of the populace.

When in this way all law and justice seemed to disappear, and the police, which had fallen into the hands of peasants and artisans, merely led to the murder and bondage of the wealthier classes, the whole property of the state had fallen into dreadful confusion, and the prosperity of individuals was destroyed, means were taken to meet these overwhelming pecuniary embarrassments by the issue of assignats. The property of the church had no sooner been proclaimed to be the property of the state, on the recommendation of Talleyrand, than a species of notes was put into circulation which was to be received for a certain amount on the purchase of the estate specified in the paper itself; these bonds or assignats however were afterwards changed into regular paper money, and no longer chargeable upon any particular estate, but upon the national property in general. By this means their multiplication was facilitated, but they experienced the same fate which, sooner or later, is certain to befall all irredeemable paper money; they became utterly worthless. As early as September 1790 Necker quitted the field; Lafayette and the constitutional club of the Fcuillants became the object

of the bitterest attacks from the organs of the jacobin club and of the communes ; Marat, Fréron, Camille Desmoulins and Danton raised the cry of heresy against all the adherents of the new constitution, and the democracy of the clubs was soon after regularly organized.

Reception as a member into the jacobin club of Paris had now come to be regarded as the only means of advancement, security, or distinction in the state, and the number of those enrolled amounted to 1200. The Marseilles branch reached the number even of 1800 members ; and when jacobinism extended, 152 clubs in different places and districts of France were in correspondence with the parent club in Paris. Although the monarchical club of the Feuillants was repeatedly threatened by the infuriated populace, the majority of the national assembly, and even the majority of the communes in Paris, continued faithful to monarchical principles. The best proof of this latter fact is the re-election of Bailly to the office of mayor of the city in August 1790. The former may be deduced from Necker having been set at liberty by a decree of the national assembly, after he had been arrested by the jacobin police in September in Bar-sur-Aube. At the end of the year 1790, the constitution already appeared incapable of maintaining its ground, because nothing but revolutionary measures could be adopted against the threats of the German princes united with the armed preparations of the nobles, who at that time were vainly assembling an army on the frontiers and in the unholy camp of Jalès for the protection of the king, and who filled all the antichambers of the Tuileries. Nothing now remained but to arm the lower and even the lowest classes of the people against the upper and middle ones.

After having previously announced a kind of national bankruptcy, by decreeing that the unconsolidated debt should be paid off in assignats, 50,000 stand of arms were distributed in December among those classes of the people who were unable to provide them for themselves. In April 1791, the interference of the national assembly with the administration of church property having excited the greatest indignation in the minds of the most rigid papists, especially in the south and west of the kingdom, the levy of a new patriotic army of 100,000 men was immediately ordered. The first decrees concerning the new political relations of the catholic hierarchy, the public administration of religion, and the support of its ministers, were issued on the

12th of July 1790*; on the 24th the new additions were made; and finally, in November, the complete civil constitution of the clergy (*constitution civile du clergé*) was not only introduced, but an oath of submission to this new ordinance was demanded from the clergy, under the threat of pains and penalties, which only four of the bishops, of bad reputation, consented to take†.

The attempt at making the internal affairs of the church, which acknowledges only divine legislation, subject to the civil power, instead of merely defining its limits and severely punishing every encroachment on the part of the church on the civil jurisdiction, brought the friends of the constitution into serious difficulties, which they ought to have avoided. Neither the narrow-minded religious king nor his aunts could resolve to confess to a juring priest, and on that account the latter left the capital at the end of February 1791. They were detained on their journey at Arnay-le-Duc, but as Necker had previously been, they were also set at liberty by command of the national assembly and suffered to continue their journey to Turin. The king was watched like a prisoner in his palace by persons who were organized for the purpose, and during the whole summer of 1790 he was not allowed to go to his country residence at St. Cloud, because they wished to compel him to take a juring priest as his

* These decrees are in themselves excellent, but religion and worship are matters of opinion, and incapable of being regulated and limited by decrees like mere civil affairs. The chief points were, that each department should form a bishopric, and the eighty-three sees constitute ten archiepiscopal districts. Every commune was to form a parish, even those in cities and towns which contained no more than 6000. The bishops were to be elected, according to the primitive usage of the church, by a majority of voices, and no person to be qualified for election to a see till he had been at least fifteen years a clergyman in his diocese. The bishops were to be installed by the metropolitan or the oldest bishop. The electors were to assemble annually to fill up the vacant places among the clergy. All fees of every kind were to cease, the clergy in office to be paid by the treasury. The bishop of Paris was to receive 50,000 francs, those who resided in cities with 50,000 inhabitants 20,000 francs, and all others 12,000. A curé in Paris was to receive 6000 francs, and in towns and villages from 2000–1200. A vicar was to receive at least 700 francs. On the 24th an addition was made to the law respecting the case of present incumbents, according to which the sum of 75,000 francs was allowed to the bishop of Paris.

† On the 17th of November all the articles of the new institution were passed into a law under the name of the *constitution civile du clergé*, and the whole of the ecclesiastics were required to conform to the ordinance. Whosoever disobeyed was to be removed and another to be appointed in his stead; and if after removal he should persevere in performing the duties of his office, he was to be regarded as a disturber of the public peace and to be treated accordingly.

confessor, and would not therefore allow him to go to St. Cloud, lest he might have an opportunity of employing a non-juror. The numerous opponents of innovation, the despotic princes, Burke and his adherents, from this time forward took every means of announcing that the king was a prisoner, and that everything which he did or said must be regarded as said and done under constraint, and therefore invalid. The king himself confirmed this opinion of the whole conservative public of Europe, and thereby gave occasion to the democrats, daily waxing more powerful, to accuse him of being a traitor, and to rail against his promises as deceitful; at length however, at the end of December, he signified his approval of the civil constitution of the clergy, but notwithstanding would never receive absolution from a juring priest.

The king's attachment to the confederate papistical clergy, and his refusal to give his assent to the law already promulgated against emigrants and emigration, again excited a commotion amongst all those who had been actively engaged in the scenes of the 14th of July 1789. Since that time it had become much easier than before to excite a popular commotion; all the subordinate authorities were democrats, consisting of hundreds of members of the jacobin club, and the dreadful orators of the sectional assemblies had only to stimulate and direct the masses of their auditories, and a rebellion was organized. Such a tumult took place at the end of February, under the pretence of compelling the king to confirm the decrees directed against the emigrants. The tumultuous mob now proposed to storm the Tuileries as they had previously done the Bastille, and the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine did actually storm the castle of Vincennes; on this occasion however Lafayette, at the head of the national guards, succeeded in restoring public order. The whole hopes of the court were now placed on Mirabeau, who shamefully sold himself to be their tool, and yet would have been prudent enough, if he had been able to save the monarchy, which we very much doubt, to have sacrificed none of the real benefits which France had obtained since May 1789. He died however in the beginning of April 1791.

After Mirabeau's death, Danton became as it were his successor, but he moved in a lower sphere; and externally, in knowledge as well as in importance, was so little distinguished in the circles, in which his dreadful and thundering voice was

not regarded as eloquence, that the court did not attempt to secure him by bribery and corruption till it was too late; he then put the money in his pocket, but rendered no service in return. Mirabeau and Talleyrand, as well as Danton, had need of the revolution as a means of escaping the importunity of their creditors and of obtaining new resources to meet their colossal expenditure; in the highest circles they required hundreds of thousands, whilst Danton among his equals, corrupt advocates and adventurers, only needed thousands. He had purchased a place in the royal court but not paid the purchase-money, and was in daily apprehension of being thrown into prison for debt. Mirabeau's eyes had no sooner been closed, than he, Camille Desmoulins and their companions in the clubs of the Cordeliers, became more powerful than Lafayette, Bailly, and the frequenters of madame de Staël's saloons: this appeared on the 18th of April 1791. Lafayette was desirous of proving to the world and the king, that the latter was not the prisoner of the populace, although in fact the people had prevented him in the autumn of 1790 and at Easter 1791, from proceeding to St. Cloud and receiving the sacrament of the eucharist from a non-juring priest: the general maintained that the king must rely wholly upon him and the national guards. The attempt was made; but the three republican parties of the jacobins, the philosophical and rhetorical doctrinaires called girondists,—the favourers of a sovereign democracy of the lowest class, of whom Marat was the organ and Robespierre the orator,—and the clever and desperate disturbers of public order belonging to the club of the Cordeliers, were then all united and remained so for two years, and were consequently far superior to the eloquent and distinguished constitutionalists. This superiority was made manifest on the 18th of April, when Lafayette attempted to conduct the king to St. Cloud under the protection of the national guard. The jacobins had filled the streets with women and pikemen consisting of the dregs of the people, who made a regular opposition to the national guards and mingled in their ranks; the king's progress was obstructed, and it was found impossible to penetrate the mass; the infantry of the national guard remained inactive, and Lafayette issued orders to the cavalry to draw their swords and open a way through the opposing throng; they however refused to obey. Lafayette himself was then obliged to announce to the king that he must return, because it was impossible to proceed. This

failure produced a deep impression upon the general, who immediately resigned his command, and could only be persuaded to resume it after the lapse of three days.

It was entirely owing to the influence of the republican party, that a sword was suspended over the necks of the numerous opponents of the new changes, and particularly of the royal officers. It was determined that an extraordinary tribunal (*haute cour*) should be erected in Orleans for offences against the state, in order to bring to trial in particular cases, and on the express order of the legislative body, persons guilty or presumed to be guilty of high treason. At this time the republicans held their re-unions under the protection of a lady, who was undoubtedly to be preferred to madame de Staël and the frequenters of her saloons, because the former, around whom the friends of republican principles assembled, was full of genuine enthusiasm, simplicity and inspiration for her cause, and did not assume her position merely for the honour of a name, on which account she fell a sacrifice to her enthusiasm; whilst De Staël avoided the dangers of an enthusiast and still remained as the *ideal* of distinguished education and enlightenment. The saloon of the republican party was in the house of madame Roland, who was the more to be admired in consequence of the dreadful manner in which she was roused from her beautiful dreams and visionary notions of freedom and Parisian citizenship. She painted regenerated France in such glowing colours with her captivating pen, and found it so dreadful in reality! Who can fail to admire her freedom from despondency even in prison, her calm deportment and resolution at the contemplation of impending death, and her perseverance in the belief of the excellency and nobility of the human mind, although bad men abused these qualities for her destruction? Although consulted by her husband on the great political questions of the day, she was a woman of the most modest and exalted character; and in her memoirs has given us an account of the circle of republicans, who in those still monarchical times assembled in her house*. She there admirably delineates the state of things, the tone and feelings of the deputies of the constituent assembly who met at her house, as well as the characters of the ministers. She first gives us a picture of Buzot, then of a republican from ranks of the nobility (Pétion), and finally characteristically describes the coldness and reserve of

* Mémoires de Madame Roland, edit. 1820, vol. i. p. 345.

her subsequent enemy and persecutor Robespierre. His mean and pettifogging mind was undoubtedly better calculated to divine the wishes of the masses and to regulate his speeches accordingly, than to sympathize with the noble and elevated but exaggerated ideas of a Roland and Buzot*.

It is now sufficiently proved from the writings formerly published in foreign countries, and in still greater numbers during the restoration in France, and even by the ringleaders of the conspiracies themselves, what an unholy activity the adherents and friends of the old *régime* at that time displayed. These persons drove the king to the adoption of measures the very opposite of his public declarations; they showed him to be weak and equivocal, injured him, and furnished his enemies with the opportunity of utterly destroying the monarchy itself. The committee of the jacobins who superintended the police, and the corresponding committee of the national assembly, were informed of everything which was carried on at foreign courts in the busy year 1791 in the name of the queen, the king, the princes and emigrants; the excited nation was offended in its honour by the declarations of the foreign powers, and willingly threw itself into the hands of the enemies of the existing monarchy. The same kind of men, and partly the same families who in our own days were the means of leading Charles X. to forfeit his crown, at that time importuned the king to escape from the hands of the Parisian demagogues, and to take refuge in some fortified town on the frontiers; for no idea was at first entertained of a flight beyond the limits of the country.

As long as the count d'Artois and the whole body of emigrants remained in Turin, the plan was to bring the king to Lyons; but when the emperor Leopold gave promises, the elector of Treves allowed the emigrants to assemble in Worms and Coblenz, and

* *L. c.* p. 349.—The members of the monarchical club having been threatened on the 27th of January, attacked in the Tuileries on the 28th of February, and severely maltreated on the 28th of March, the complete domination of the jacobins became evident in the commencement of the month of April at Mirabeau's interment. The whole national assembly accompanied the funeral, and the whole of the 1800 members of the jacobin club, whose president at that time was the vicomte de Beauharnois. The president of the national assembly was at first desirous of giving precedence to the viscount and his club, but he declined. With respect to Mirabeau, it seems to us altogether unnecessary to dispute concerning the sums he received from the country, or to inquire how far his patriotism went and whether he was venal: France is indescribably indebted to him. The investigation of particular points may be seen in Von Schutz and Wachsmuth, part i. pp. 240, 241.

king Gustavus of Sweden entered into correspondence with them. It was then thought desirable that the king should take refuge in some fortress on the eastern or northern frontier of the kingdom. Long before Mirabeau's death, negotiations respecting a flight had been carried on with the marquis de Bouillé, the commander-in-chief of the army in Nancy. We have whole volumes written on the various plans of effecting an escape, and the printed secret correspondence proves how actively these plans were agitated*. They were however only seriously pursued after Mirabeau's death. In this affair the weak king was the mere instrument of his wife, his brother, and the ancient aristocracy, who had just then lost all influence among the people. The emperor Leopold played a very equivocal character, for he excited great attention by his negotiations with Prussia and with the French court, without any serious intention to lend speedy and effectual assistance.

The activity of the obscurists who surrounded, deceived and mystified the king of Prussia, of the hated French diplomatists of the old *régime*, and of the emissaries of the queen did not escape general observation, and therefore was well known to the Talleyrands and Mirabeaus, and yet hopes were entertained of outwitting these able observers! The two most active were the two most hated men of the former times, count d'Artois and Calonne. The nature of Calonne's diplomatic talents may be best learned from a paper published by him in March 1796 †, and those talents were combined with a want of principle and fashionable superficiality, which was unhappily common to him with all those men who were entrusted with the most important affairs of the whole of the states of Europe. Whilst Calonne was pursuing one course, another cabal wholly independent of him was carried on in foreign countries by Breteuil, the king's plenipotentiary, who was hostile both to the count d'Artois and to Calonne. At length the queen, with her husband's permission, despatched count Stephen de Durfort to her brother Leopold,

* It is usually stated that these plans were agitated from 1791; but the first letter on the subject is one from the king to Bouillé of the 3rd of October 1790, dated from St. Cloud.

† We refer to an article in the 'Courrier de Londres,' afterwards published in the form of a pamphlet and entitled, 'Tableau de l'Europe jusqu'au commencement de 1796, et Pensées sur ce qui peut procurer promptement une Paix solide, suivi d'un Appendix sur plusieurs questions importantes par M. de Calonne, ministre d'état à Londres.' Mars 1796, lxxii. and p. 247.

who was travelling in Italy. This mission and its object were perfectly well-known to the national authorities in France, although Durfort at first only went to the grand-duchess Christina in Brussels, and from thence with recommendations from her to the emperor Leopold. The emperor discussed the subject with the deputies of the queen, and sent Durfort back to Paris, to learn with certainty to what extent the public declarations of king Louis and his ministers corresponded with their real sentiments. On his return, Durfort met the emperor in Mantua, and assured him in the name of the king, that he was secretly opposed to everything on which his ministers publicly resolved and consented to in his name.

Leopold then entered into an agreement with the count d'Artois to adopt the violated rights of the German princes, to whom moreover the French nation had offered a compensation, as a pretence for assembling a body of German troops on the north-west frontiers of Flanders as far as Alsace, of Swiss and Sardinians in the Jura, and of Spaniards in the Pyrenees. Little confidence however could be placed in Leopold's promises: the troops did not appear on the frontiers, and Breteuil was not wrong in advising the king to flee from Paris, and not to make himself dependent on foreign aid. The emperor, instead of rendering any active assistance, only did mischief by his empty promises, which were first made publicly known in a printed letter in July 1791, and then proved far more useful to the wildest opponents of monarchy than to its friends. The moment was unfortunately chosen which the emperor fixed upon for addressing his ridiculous, or at least superfluous circular to the princes, which he had agreed upon with the count d'Artois, and dated from Padua on the 18th of May*. The national assembly at this very time had issued a decree against the prince of Condé, who was threatening the French people with an army of nobles

* The chief points are as follows :—" Les principales puissances sont invitées à s'unir à lui pour déclarer à la France que les souverains regardent tous la cause du roi très-chrétien, comme la leur propre; qu'ils demandent, que ce prince et sa famille soient mis sur le champ en pleine liberté.....qu'ils se réuniraient pour venger avec le plus grand éclat tous les attentats ultérieurs quelconques.....qu'enfin, ils ne reconnaîtraient comme lois constitutionnelles, que celles qui seront munies du consentement volontaire du roi jouissant d'une liberté parfaite; mais qu'au contraire, ils emploieront de concert tous les moyens qui sont en leur pouvoir pour faire cesser le scandale d'une usurpation de pouvoirs qui porterait le caractère d'une révolte ouverte, et dont il importerait à tous les gouvernemens de l'Europe de réprimer le funeste exemple."

which he had collected, and another against cardinal de Rochefoucault, who had excommunicated two priests for having taken the oath prescribed by the civil constitution of the clergy, as required by the laws of the state.

The opinion now became general, that the king was meditating flight, and it was therefore in the highest degree imprudent to carry on the preparations with so little concealment as was really the case, and to employ the creatures of the court in the affair. Count Fersen, a Swedish courtier, who enjoyed the favour of the queen's frivolous circle, not only ordered a special carriage for the royal family, but performed the office of coachman in person till they had passed beyond the city*. Lafayette kept the king under close surveillance by the national guards, and it therefore appears incomprehensible that he should have been unacquainted with the restless exertions of the busy servants of the court; for this reason, he was accused on the one hand by the aristocracy for having connived at the flight of the king, in order to reduce him completely under his power; and on the other hand by the democrats of having wilfully overlooked all these symptoms in order to please his cousin Bouillé.

The king's flight was appointed for the 19th of June, and on the 2nd of the same month he confirmed those public decrees against which he secretly protested on the 10th in a paper, which was first made public after his flight; this contributed to place both the monarch and the monarchy in as disadvantageous a light as the democrats could have wished. On the very day therefore on which the king's appointed journey was put off, the Parisians gave a decided proof to the three most vehement members of the national assembly, that they alone enjoyed the confidence of the majority. It was known that the members of the present legislature would magnanimously exclude themselves

* We are indebted to the restoration for a whole library of reports, &c. written by eye-witnesses, in which each seeks to justify himself, or is desirous of placing his services in the old times or concerning the old times in their true light. Among all the accounts, the 'Mémoires du Marquis de Bouillé,' which appeared in 1792, the 'Mémoires de Choiseul,' those of the baron de Damas, and of Messrs. Goguelat and de Klinglin, are most worthy of attention. These are all to be found in the collection of Mémoires concerning the revolution. In the recently published (1842) 'Mémoires de B. Barere,' there is a notice respecting the scenes which took place in Paris, which proves that all the accounts of the *stillness* and *dignity* of the people, and the bearing of the royal family are false. Barere and Gregoire were the persons most actively employed for the queen and the dauphin on the arrival and alighting of the family at the Tuileries. See vol. ii. p. 320-325.

from being re-elected as members of the next assembly, and therefore the Parisians resolved to confer the highest municipal offices in Paris on the democratic deputies. On the 19th of June, the members of the new criminal court of Paris were chosen. Robespierre received the majority of votes for the office of public prosecutor, Pétion for that of president, and Buzot for vice-president. The king's journey was put off from the 19th till the 21st at one o'clock in the morning, for some insignificant reason, as is usual in courts, and it was conceded to the tender entreaties of madame de Tourzel, who had the charge of the royal children, that they should be taken into the king's carriage instead of being entrusted to a robust captain of the guards, as had at first been intended. The king's brother (Louis XVIII.) left the capital at the same time as the king himself, and took the road to Valenciennes. This city lies at a distance of only forty hours from Paris, and in this way the count de Provence fortunately reached the frontiers, whilst the king took the road to Montmédy, which is double the distance of Valenciennes.

Bouillé had made all his preparations for the 19th; hussars and other soldiers had been placed at all the stations, which it was necessary to withdraw in consequence of the change of time, and again to replace; these movements excited the attention of the whole country, in which at that time every citizen kept a strict watch upon all the movements of the military and persons of distinction. For this reasons, the pickets which were posted were very weak and strictly watched by the citizens, peasants, and national guards. It was absurd to suffer the king to travel in a splendid carriage as the pretended chamberlain of the pretended baroness Korff, because he must have been so easily recognized from his image on the coin and from his family features; he was in fact recognized by the postmaster of Châlons, but being well-disposed towards the king he kept silent. The party was obliged to stop two hours in Etoges near Montmirail in order to have some repairs done to their heavy carriage, which was the most unsuitable possible for such a flight. The pickets also proved to be the means of delay instead of any advantage. At Pont Somerville, three hours from Châlons, the officers did not venture to allow their posts to remain, after they had waited a whole hour upon the king and been threatened; whereas the king supposed they would come later, and waited till seven o'clock. It is really a matter of wonder, that this unwieldy

caravan of nine persons with two couriers, one to each carriage, and which required eleven horses at every post, should have proceeded so far as St. Menehould without being recognized; there however the king unfortunately showed himself and was immediately known by the postmaster and by the officer, whom Bouillé had sent with the command of 140 dragoons. Drouet despatched his son on horseback by a nearer route to the next station at Varennes, in order that the king might be detained at the bridge; the officer is therefore said to have ordered his dragoons to mount; but the national guards had taken possession of the stables, and means were found of despatching a single under-officer only after the young Drouet, who did not however succeed in overtaking him till he had reached Varennes.

The citizens of Varennes immediately stopped the passage of the bridge, but the king could readily have opened a way for himself, had he allowed the *gardes du corps*, by whom he was accompanied, to have had recourse to arms and forced a passage: this however he refused. He was then compelled to remain in the house of Sausse, a solicitor of the commune, till orders were received from the national assembly. The officer who commanded the picket of hussars at Varennes ordered his men to draw their swords against the national guard; but they refused to obey. In a short time Lafayette and the national assembly were informed of the king's arrest. The former had already despatched one of his adjutants named Romeuf in pursuit of the fugitive, and the latter deputed three of its members, Pétion, Barnave and Latour Maubourg, to bring the king back to Paris, and to accompany him in the carriage, so that he and his family might be protected from the insults or violence of the populace. The wonder is that they were not sooner brought back, for they had travelled only about 140 miles in twenty-two hours, and their flight, which had commenced at one o'clock in the morning, was known in Paris at seven o'clock in the evening. Romeuf had removed the royal family from Varennes before the members of the national assembly arrived, who first met the king in Eprenay. The journey back to Paris, which occupied eight days, annihilated the last vestige of monarchy, for the presence of an officer of the national guard and the commissioners in the carriage not only gave to the whole the appearance of the conveyance of a state prisoner, but they had also the cruelty to bring along with them in bonds the *gardes du corps*, who, at the risk

of their lives, had done their duty to the sovereign. The latter were cruelly maltreated by the mob, especially in Paris, and their lives with great difficulty preserved from being sacrificed to the fury of the rabble.

One of the worst consequences of the flight was, that possession was now obtained of a document from which it was evident that no confidence was to be placed either in the word or even on the oath of the king, in any case in which royal privileges were concerned; and it was also seen by experience, that it was quite possible to govern without a king. As regards the former, it is difficult to decide whether the king destroyed the confidence reposed in him by the nation more by the first declaration, which he left behind him on his flight, than by the second, which Barnave drew up for him on his return in order to excuse the first. On the morning after his departure, the king had caused the great seal to be given to the national assembly, accompanied by a paper, in which he gave a detailed account of the reasons by which he was influenced to flee from the capital, and which also constituted the grounds of his thereby recalling all that he had previously repeatedly conceded and sworn to observe*. The national assembly having suspended him from his office and appointed three deputies to examine him and the queen respecting the motives and objects of their flight, he suffered himself to be persuaded by Barnave to send in another paper, which was wholly opposed to his former declaration. No one ought to be deceived, because a writer like Thiers, in his

* The author of this royal declaration first minutely details all the indignities and maltreatment to which the king had been exposed since October 1789. He then proceeds as follows: "As long as the king could entertain any hope that order or happiness would result from the resolutions of the national assembly, and from his remaining in their neighbourhood, he had not shrunk from making any sacrifice, and had not even once complained of the deprivation of freedom to which he had been subjected since the 6th of October; at present it was different. The result of all that had occurred had been the annihilation of the monarchy—the violation of the rights of property—the insecurity of person and complete anarchy in all parts of the kingdom, without even the appearance of authority. In order to put a stop to this condition of things, the king had long secretly determined to protest against everything which had been put forth in his name during his captivity, and wished now to submit to the French people what would be the rule of his conduct." The author of the paper then puts the following words into the mouth of the king, addressed to those whom he calls his good people of Paris: "Frenchmen and good people of Paris, beware of the suggestions of partisans: come back to your king; he will always prove your friend, when your holy religion will be revered, when the government shall be re-established on a solid footing, and your freedom based upon immoveable foundations."

littleness of mind, endeavours to persuade his fellow-countrymen, by rhetorical arts, that such sophistry, evasions and subtlety are examples of distinguished political wisdom, and that such a mixture of weakness and falsehood is worthy of a statesman. The tone and manner of the document betray a degree of weakness* which must necessarily have exposed the king to contempt, because goodness of heart without firmness of purpose is more injurious in social intercourse than evil intention; the latter is easily observed and makes resistance possible, because no deceit is practised. In the same manner as the unfortunate king at that time has left us a memorial of his timidity, his cold, egotistical, scornful and sceptical brother, who succeeded in escaping from the kingdom in company with count Fersen, a companion worthy of himself, has left a memorial of his frivolity and miserable spirit by his description of this flight dedicated to his favourite D'Avaray†.

This most trivial publication was presented to the public just at the time when its author was restored to the throne of France by the allied powers, and by the distinguished people in France who were like-minded, and is characterized by all that emptiness and audacity which was the true emblem of the court, technically called the new one. It is full of the conceits of the feeble court circle as to the value of their forms, of selfishness, and attention to the most contemptible trifles, to which things of great and weighty importance were regarded as secondary, of mere plays upon words with all their accompaniments. It makes one shudder to think, that miserable witticisms, epicurism and

* He declared: "Je n'ai fait jamais d'autres protestations que celle qu'on a trouvé après mon départ. Cette protestation ne porte pas même ainsi que le contenu du mémoire, sur le fond des principes de la constitution, mais sur la forme des sanctions, c'est à dire, sur le peu de liberté dont je paraissais jouir, et sur ce que les décrets n'ayant pas été présentés en masse, je ne pouvois pas juger de l'ensemble de la constitution. Le principal reproche contenu dans le mémoire se rapporte aux difficultés dans les moyens de l'administration et d'exécution. *J'ai reconnu dans mon voyage, que l'opinion publique étoit décidée en faveur de la constitution.* Je n'avois pas cru pouvoir connaître pleinement cette opinion publique à Paris; mais d'après les notions que j'ai recueillies personnellement dans ma route, je me suis convaincu combien il étoit nécessaire pour le bonheur de la constitution de donner de la force aux pouvoirs établies pour maintenir l'ordre public."

† 'Régation d'un Voyage à Bruxelles et à Coblence (1791),' in which it is said in the very commencement, that the idea of a flight had been entertained as early as 1790; then it proceeds, "J'avois cru devoir mettre Peronnet, alors mon garçon de garde robe, dans ma confidence." Madame de Balbi, D'Avaray, La Jeunesse the postillion, are all prominent characters in his thoughts and writings.

daintiness should absorb the whole attention of a prince, at the very time in which the greatest dangers were impending over his brother and his throne. The observations of madame Roland in her democratic memoirs form a singular contrast with the considerations of this monarchical book, published by a prince many years afterwards, when he should have learned more wisdom in the school of adversity. She knows not how to express her delight that the time was come in which the idea of a republic was about to be realized, such as she had fashioned in her own mind by her own course of reading and study of ancient Rome; the persons who frequented her saloons, with the exception of Robespierre, shared in her transports. They immediately declared that the flight of the king would furnish them with an opportunity of erecting the ideal republic of Pétion, Buzot and Brissot, or as they expressed it, of substituting a stable constitution for one wholly untenable*. Robespierre had no sympathy with this outburst of enthusiasm among those who were still his friends, for his prosaic mind had no sense or conception of such ideality; he was accustomed at that time sneeringly to ask—what the thing called a *republic* was?

The second evil consequence of the king's flight, already mentioned, was, that the government was carried on for some time in a republican spirit and the king set completely aside; from the 21st of June till the end of September he was deprived of the whole of his influence. The great seal having been put into the custody of the national assembly, their resolutions could be carried into execution without the king's sanction, and oaths of fidelity to the assembly were taken. The national assembly entrusted the various branches of administration to special committees, appointed magistrates and authorities under their immediate superintendence, and sent commissioners into the departments. The king was guarded like a prisoner by Lafayette's national guard, under the pretence of observation, and the movements of the queen were very strictly watched; and the *gardes du corps* was formally abolished by a decree. The weak king

* "The king has proved," observed Buzot, "that he has no wish to preserve the existing constitution formed of such heterogeneous parts, and that the present was the right moment 'de s'assurer une plus homogène et qu'il falloit préparer les esprits à la république.'" For the attainment of this object, it was resolved to set up a journal called '*Le Républicain*,' which was edited, according to Buzot's views, by Thomas Payne, Brissot, Condorcet and Achille Duchatelet. This journal excited great attention on account of the editors, but was soon discontinued.

submitted to the interrogation of the commissioners who had been sent to him by the national assembly, and excused himself by a subterfuge as miserable as the declaration which by Barnave's advice he delivered in writing respecting his protest*. The imprudence of the king's friends in the national assembly, who were not only opposed to the small number of democrats, but also to the half-republican direction of Lafayette, Clermont Tonnère, Bailly, Malouet and others, gave great weight to the most vehement party, and it required even at that time no small pains to prevent a public accusation. Two hundred and ninety-one deputies not only withdrew from the deliberations respecting the inviolability and suspension of the king, but they protested also against all the decrees about to be issued during the suspension of the royal authority, whereby even Barnave, who since the flight had been won over to his cause, fell into discredit in the eyes of his former friends.

The national assembly appointed seven committees which were to draw up reports on every point connected with the king's flight; these reports were furnished on the 15th and 16th of July. According to these committees, the assembly had three questions to resolve, on which the fate of the king depended. The first was, whether the king by his flight had committed any crime? The second was, whether he had made himself guilty of any offence by the paper which he had caused to be delivered to the national assembly on the morning after his flight? The third question was, whether it appeared from the flight of the king, and from the paper delivered to the national assembly, that he was *particeps criminis* with the marquis de Bouillé, who had decidedly adopted measures to facilitate the invasion of the country by foreign enemies and to surround the king with an army of malcontents? The majority of the deputies both spoke and voted in favour of the king; only seven came forward and avowed themselves as warm republicans, and these alone were praised and honoured as the men of the people. These seven were, Grégoire, Pétion, Buzot, Vadier, Putraint, the elder Robespierre and Hébrard, an advocate from Ancillon. In order not com-

* D'André, Adrien Duport and Tronchet received from the king the following answer: "Je vois, messieurs, par l'objet de la mission qui vous est donnée, qu'il ne s'agit point ici d'un interrogatoire; mais je veux bien répondre au désir de l'assemblée nationale, et je ne craindrai jamais de rendre publics les motifs de ma conduite."

pletely to lose the public favour, the monarchical majority was obliged to attach some conditions to their acquittal in order to meet the outcry of treason by which it was on all sides assailed, and the public anxiety, which was loudly expressed and set forth in innumerable petitions. The first of these conditions was, that the suspension which had been pronounced against the king on the 25th of June should continue in force till the constitution in its complete form should be presented to the king for his acceptance. The second was calculated to make any recall of the royal assent, when once given, irrevocable. It was resolved, that the recall of the king's oath, or any undertaking on his part directed against the constitution, should be regarded as a renunciation of all right to the throne. From the moment in which the king shall take any such step, he shall be considered as a private man, and as such be made responsible for the whole of his actions.

The opponents of the new constitution soon excited commotions among the people similar to that which had taken place in October 1789, and were eager to avail themselves of the pretence of a petition to the national assembly against the resolutions in favour of the king, in the same manner as advantage had been taken of the prevailing dearth. Brissot and Choderlot de la Close, the satellite and companion of the duke of Orleans, drew up a petition, which was signed in the streets, in coffee-houses and wine-shops, by women, children, and vagabonds of all descriptions. The tumultuous mob of petitioners who subscribed this petition were to be directed against the national assembly, in the same manner as in October 1789; the assembly however issued some severe decrees against this mischievous plan. The subscribers were forcibly dispersed in the opera-house and on the Place de la Bastille by the national guard, and therefore Danton and Marat hit upon the idea of having the petition carried to the Champ de Mars, and there signed upon the altar of the nation erected in July 1790. The men who announced and carried out the plan of assembling in the Champ de Mars afterwards became the leaders of the infuriate republicans, who preached robbery and murder. In addition to Danton, Pétion, Buzot and Brissot, we find the names of Legendre, Fabre d'Églantine, Fréron, Robert, Marat, Bonneville, Chaumette and Camille Desmoulins. They were well acquainted with the cruel tactics of rousing the bloodthirsty passions of the mob by the

sight of blood ; they therefore caused two persons, only influenced by innocent curiosity, to be torn to pieces as traitors before the altar, and then Danton and Camille Desmoulins mounted the altar of the nation, stimulated the minds of the rabble against the constitutionalists, and led them to resolve to rush in a body into the national assembly and there proclaim their opinions.

It was all in vain that Lafayette presented himself with a party of the national guard ; he saw that the time was now come to proclaim martial law and act vigorously against the rabble, or to give way completely to anarchy and confusion ; he therefore caused the whole of the national guard to be assembled in front of the Hotel de Ville and the red flag to be unfurled. The mayor headed the march of the guards with the flag of blood carried before him. Bailly as well as Lafayette caused the demand prescribed by the law to be made, and called upon the people to disperse. The appeal was answered by volleys of stones—the mayor gave orders to fire—Lafayette commanded one battalion only to fire, but the whole line followed the example, and the multitude was immediately seized with a panic and fled. The official report states, that only fourteen persons remained dead on the field ; but other accounts swell the number to more than a hundred, and, as is generally the case, most of them innocent persons. The ringleaders profited by this in order to embitter the minds of the lower classes, who possessed all the power of the state, and fill them with fury against the originators of these severe measures. Lafayette was no longer the idol of the people, and Bailly, at a later period, paid the penalty of his severity with his life. The unfortunate position of the constitutional deputies, between the wild anarchists on the one hand and the blind friends of the old *régime* on the other, made it unhappily necessary for them to spare the demagogues ; otherwise they would then have closed the clubs of the jacobins and Cordeliers, and stopped up the source of all these disturbances. Many of the members of the jacobin club left it in affright and sought for admission among the Feuillants, but these feelings of terror soon passed away and the jacobins became stronger than ever.

The draft of the constitution was at this time complete, but it was now to be revised, and consequently the time for the liberation of the royal family from arrest was put off till the end of September ; nothing however was ultimately changed, and the

king unconditionally accepted the constitution as submitted to him. He appeared twice in the assembly, and made a solemn declaration of his determination to uphold and maintain the new constitution. We shall summarily enumerate in a note some of the chief advantages for which new France is indebted to the constituent assembly*, in order to prove that in spite of all the imperfections of the new constitution, and in spite of the ten years' sufferings and sorrows with which they were purchased, such substantial benefits, which shall remain to all future generations, cannot be purchased at too great a price.

Immediately after the termination of the labours of the constituent assembly, the men who wished for a new revolution, and not without reason, alleged, that the ill-assorted compound of American democracy and English aristocracy proclaimed in the new constitution was untenable, and got possession of all the influence which Lafayette, Laroche-foucault, Lameth and others had previously possessed. Bailly retired and Pétion was appointed mayor of Paris; Lafayette resigned the command of the national guards, partly in consequence of a resolution that each commander of six legions of the guard should in future in his turn become commander-in-chief. Among the six persons thus entitled to command was Santerre the brewer, the friend and companion of the duke of Orleans,—the man who exercised a pre-eminent influence over the men of the faubourgs, when their

* We may express these advantages in a word by saying, that a definite legal order (however bad it might be in many points) was substituted for arbitrary military rule, or for traditional usages to be sought and found only in ancient documents. It may be observed in detail, that by the new division of the kingdom and the centralization of the government, the French were now made *one* nation, and the administration of law and justice really improved. The whole system of criminal administration was changed; the improvement of the civil tribunals announced, torture abolished, as well as all the barbarous punishments of the middle ages, and trial by jury introduced. Complete toleration was proclaimed, and all monkish vows, as well as corporations and guilds, were abolished. Personal freedom was secured and arbitrary arrests (*lettres de cachet*) declared illegal. Equality of contribution to the necessities of the state on the basis of property was established, and all internal tolls done away with. Tithes and feudal rights of every description were annihilated. The division and sale of church property and domains gave thousands an interest in the soil and put an end to begging. The finances and collection of the public taxes were systematically arranged, the freedom of the press announced, and the rights of primogeniture, as well as substitutions by will, made illegal. It has been calculated, that notwithstanding the immense loss of life which France has suffered, the effect of the last two measures has been to increase its population one-fifth. The sale of offices ceased, and in conclusion it may be observed, that of the 2500 laws passed by the constituent assembly, scarcely 25 remain in force at the present day.

services were needed for acts of tumult or violence, and who bore the same relation to the lowest classes of the people which Lafayette did to the middle classes of the citizens. The elections throughout the whole kingdom fell into the hands of the opponents of the new constitution, into whose merits we shall not here further enter, because it only endured eleven months, and brought with it into the world the seeds of its own dissolution. This was the case, because it placed a chamber of deputies without the correction of an upper house on a level with the king and not subordinate to him; because it sanctioned the uninterrupted sittings of the chamber, provided for its continual renewal, and wholly excluded all the deputies who had seats in one chamber from being elected members of the succeeding one. The electors of the deputies were chosen by all the active citizens of the kingdom, and in order to possess this qualification it was only necessary that a man should contribute in taxes to the state the value of three days' labour; by virtue of this arrangement, therefore, all the people of the kingdom from one end to another were brought into a state of universal commotion by the lowest classes every two years. The qualification of an elector, according to this first constitution, was the possession or enjoyment of the profit rents of an estate, amounting in rich neighbourhoods to the value of four, in middle of two, and in poor of one hundred and fifty days' labour; but what is singular enough, no property qualification whatever was necessary for a deputy. If to the few points of the new constitution here referred to we add, that the king had no power to dissolve the chamber, possessed no right of originating measures, and that no minister was allowed either to sit or vote, we shall have no difficulty in explaining why the legislative chamber, as it was called, which assembled in October, immediately conceived the idea of destroying both the constitution and its authors.

CHAPTER II.

THE MONARCHICAL STATES OF EUROPE TILL THE WAR OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

§ I.

SWEDEN AND RUSSIA TILL THE WAR WITH TURKEY IN 1788.

THE order of the nobility played so very different a part in the different states of Europe in the last decennia of the eighteenth century, that the idea could no longer be entertained that the nobles constituted the support of the monarchy. In Austria Joseph II. was obstructed by the nobility in all his attempts to found a pure monarchical system, and to carry into effect those wholesome improvements which the spirit of the age imperatively demanded; and this same nobility succeeded in completely bringing back the administration under Leopold and Francis into its ancient chaos. In Poland the nobles sold themselves, the kingdom and the king to the highest bidder. In Sweden it was the nobles who prevented Gustavus III., during the war between Russia and the Turks, from turning the monarchical power, which he had hitherto used for his own splendour and advantage, to an attempt to free the kingdom from foreign dependence. The nobles first obstructed the king in the decisive moment, and at a later period put him to death, although the haughty leaders of the Swedish nobility, like the Bernese patriots, sold and exposed themselves to martyrdom for monarchs beyond the limits of their fatherland. Among the Swedes we shall merely quote count Fersen as an example, and among the Swiss the trivial baron Bezenval. We have already referred to the character which Fersen played at the court of France and among the gay companions of the queen; to the manner in which, according to the red-book, he was recompensed with pensions and gifts drawn from the purses of the French people; and to the active share which he took in devising and carrying into execution measures for the king's flight: it can therefore excite no astonishment that Catharine II. found no difficulty in using a part of the Swedish nobility against the interests both of the king and kingdom.

As early as 1775 Gustavus III. had been compelled to make

a royal monopoly of brandy, in consequence of the expenditure of his court, the maintenance of festivals, his patronage of the fine arts and his own extravagance; notwithstanding this, however, he continued to enjoy the favour of the people during the whole of the decennium in which he delivered the Swedes from the yoke of the avaricious and haughty nobility. The account of his administration, which he rendered to the diet in 1778, clearly proves that he had made a most beneficent use of the power with which he had been entrusted; in the following decennium, however, it was quite otherwise. From the year 1777 Gustavus entered on a path, which Catharine II. must have seen him tread with pleasure, and therefore did everything in her power to encourage him in his folly. He strove to imitate her splendour without being possessed of her means, and wished, like her, to become a patron and protector of the fine arts. In the year 1777 Gustavus took a very expensive journey to Petersburg, where the empress gave him a most splendid reception and honoured him by pompous festivities; and because she possessed that very important capacity in a ruler, of knowing and judging men at the first glance, she at the same time remarked all his weak points and afterwards turned them admirably to account. Gustavus also became acquainted with her, and, as he said, learned not to respect her; but nevertheless, through a subtle jest of this clever woman, he suffered himself to be induced to bring along with him, from Petersburg to Sweden, the Russian custom of wearing uniforms. He introduced a species of dress from Petersburg which he called a national uniform, although in reality it was nothing else than a court dress according to the Russian fashion. This occurred at the very time in which the king found himself under the necessity of suppressing a rebellion by force of arms in the province of Dalecarlia, which, above all others, had aided him in the attainment of absolute power.

The empress of Russia often afterwards availed herself, in a masterly manner, of her personal acquaintance with king Gustavus and his splendid weaknesses for the promotion of her own views, and especially of Potemkin's colossal projects. The king of Sweden was the only one who in June 1780 adopted, with something like a comical seriousness, the Russian proposal of an armed neutrality in the American war, and who became ridiculous when it appeared that the empress of Russia had no

intention of doing any mischief to the English, whom she greatly favoured. In the very same year she had a meeting with the emperor Joseph II. in Mohilew, who travelled further with her, but was as little deceived in her real character as Gustavus III., and who completely saw through Potemkin's plans; she contrived notwithstanding to win him over to her cause, so that even before his mother's death he concluded a treaty with her in Tscherskoeselo, by which the Turks and Tatars were left to their fate. Maria Theresa was no sooner dead, than Catharine II., relying confidently upon the agreements into which she had entered with Joseph, suffered Potemkin to make conquests in the very midst of peace. The Turks and other powers roused up the Swedes, but Gustavus III. was prevented by money, flattery and fêtes from actively interfering in the cause of the ancient ally of Sweden at the proper time.

King Gustavus was in need of money to meet the expenses of a royal tour in the south of Europe, in which he wished to exhibit the splendour of his kingdom, to gain a further knowledge of the arts and artists, to patronise music and the opera, and to seek for new pleasures. The empress was informed of his necessities, and caused him therefore to be invited to a second interview, which did not take place in Petersburg, but in Friederichs-*hamm*. The very circumstance of the empress having come as it were to meet him must have been very flattering to his vanity; and on this occasion not only the empress but Daschkoff put in practice all those arts so familiar to beautiful, clever and well-informed ladies of fashion to enchant the gallant and knightly king. Daschkoff, as well as the empress, belonged to that class of women whose virtues and personal qualities enabled them thoroughly to despise all that we plebeians require from their sex. All the journals of Europe were for a time filled with accounts of the fêtes, the immense pomp, and the wearisome flattery and wit with which the knightly king of Sweden was entertained and glorified for four days (June 1783). The two royal personages occupied adjoining houses, connected by a passage, and both played the comedy of friendship to perfection. We are now well assured that all that took place in Friederichs-*hamm* and was admired in Europe was really a comedy, because the declarations of the king as well as those of the empress, showing that they entertained a mutual hatred and contempt, have been since made public.

For the sake of these four days alone, not only the ordinary rooms of both houses were splendidly fitted up, but a grand ball-room was prepared and means were provided for acting French plays; this was quite suitable, for both the king and the empress, as is well known, cultivated the drama, and both were very much alike in the kind and measure of their dramatic talents. Italian singers and operas were of course indispensable at such a monarchical fête according to the old style; the empress alone, however, appeared at last as mistress of the diplomatic art of using this peculiar foreign frivolity in order to roll the whole disgrace of this empty vanity upon the king, and to secure for herself the glory of the substantial advantage obtained by these vain arts in the increase of her political importance and weight. On his departure from Friederichshamm, the king was not ashamed to accept of 200,000 roubles, under pretence of compensation for the expense of his journey, in order to meet the costs of his Italian tour, which he undertook in the autumn of 1783. Whilst Gustavus spent eleven months on his journey, and in the circle of all those societies in which the manners are said to be refined and a taste for the arts is cultivated, he amassed debts and contracted a frivolity of manner which the inhabitants of the north should leave to the sole possession of the dwellers in more sunny climes. During all this time Potemkin dealt with the Turks and Tatars according to his will, and when at length Gustavus became desirous of taking up the cause of his ally, he had almost completely lost the love of the whole body of citizens and peasants, in consequence of his Italian journey and the course of conduct which he immediately afterwards pursued.

After the removal of the Orloffs the Russian empire fell completely into the power of count Potemkin, who was raised to his present eminence and maintained there by the favour of the empress alone. By his Russian qualities he made himself indispensable to the empress, even when he had long renounced his post of honour, and ceased to be treated as her husband. His disposition was as brutal, haughty and imperious as that of the Orloffs, and by the terror which he inspired he kept the domestic enemies of the empress in constant apprehension, gave enchanting fêtes, furnished at unlimited cost, to the Russian grandees, and thus furnished them with opportunities of exhibiting and idolizing themselves in a manner suitable to their tastes, by which they were prevented from entering into conspiracies against

the crown. Potemkin, who, like the English in India, paid little regard to means or morality, like them also undertook the most gigantic projects against the indolent orientals, carried them through with surpassing boldness and after the northern fashion, excited the astonishment of all Europe, as the English also do, and gained for himself and the empress the honours of Semiramis and Nimrod. Unhappily, the whole course of Potemkin's activity, both in politics and war, was so closely bound up with the private history of the empress, that we must cast a passing glance upon this point; but we shall not dwell longer on the topic than is absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the connexion of public historical events.

The empress Catharine adopted measures at her court for the gratification of her own low desires similar to those to which Louis XV. had recourse in Versailles for the contentment of his. The object of the empress's personal preference was always a public personage in Petersburg, as was the case with that of the king in Versailles; and he or she enjoyed indisputably the first rank at court, so long as that preference continued to be indulged. Immediately after her husband's murder Catharine II. made a court officer of the person selected to supply his place, so that, if Orloff and Potemkin had not occupied this honoured position*, the empress's government might be divided into twelve parts, according to the number of her twelve favourites. The Orloffs as well as Potemkin, however, retained their unconditional dominion over the empress even long after this high court office had been transferred to others; so that the rule of

* We believe that we shall best describe the relation of the persons honoured by the especial favour of the empress, by adopting the language of major Masson, who was for ten years a close observer of the whole course of these events. In his '*Mémoires Secrets sur la Russie, et particulièrement sur la fin du règne de Catharine II. et sur celui de Paul I.*' Paris 1804, vol. ii. p. 141, he writes as follows: "Mais Catharine II. seule, réalisant les fables de la reine d'Achem, et subordonnant l'amour, le sentiment, et la pudeur de son sexe à des besoins physiques impérieux, a profité de sa puissance pour donner au monde un exemple unique et scandaleux. Pour satisfaire son tempérament elle eut l'impudence d'élever à sa cour une charge de cour avec un logement, des appointements, des honneurs, des prérogatives, et surtout des fonctions déterminées; et de toutes les charges cette charge fut le plus scrupuleusement remplie; une courte absence, une maladie passagère de celui qui l'occupoit, suffisoient quelquefois pour le faire remplacer Douze favoris en titre se sont succédés dans cette place devenue la première de l'état." He afterwards adds: "C'est un trait bien remarquable du caractère de Catharine, qu'aucun de ses favoris n'encourut sa haine ou sa vengeance, cependant plusieurs l'offensèrent, et ce ne fut toujours elle qui les quitta."

these taken together occupied, within a few years, the whole period of the empress's reign. A very brief glance at the time of the Orloff's removal from the office of court favourites will be sufficient for the illustration of this remark. In 1772, Panin, in order to set some bounds to the omnipotence of Orloff's rule, in his absence recommended a young officer of the guards, named Alexander Wasiltschikow, to the favour of the empress, and the new favourite immediately entered into occupation of the apartments in the palace belonging to his office. He continued to enjoy Catharine's favour for two years, at the end of which Gregory Orloff returned, and by his importunity and insolence regained his former place. In 1774 he was driven from his position a second time by the bold and colossal Potemkin, the only one perhaps of all those who enjoyed the favour of the empress who felt a true passion, and wooed her affections on this ground alone and not from ambition; Gregory Orloff however succeeded for a time in maintaining his supremacy.

Gregory Potemkin not only drove the insignificant Wasiltschikow from the favour of the empress, but he became a second Orloff, because he made himself master of the whole power of the state, and subjected the empress herself to his brutal dominion. On the one hand he flattered her in the most magnificent manner, such as had only been previously heard of in eastern countries and in remote times; whilst upon the other, he occasionally degraded her. This magnificent courtier, who has been praised by such distinguished nobles as the Londonderrys and Ségurs, was the richest and at the same time the most avaricious man in the empire; he obtained almost everything upon credit and never paid, so that his custom was in fact a misfortune, because none dare refuse to furnish his demands, although every one of those who were favoured by them was constantly in danger of being ruined by their extent. He unhesitatingly sacrificed the treasures of the country and thousands of men in order to gain whole provinces (for example, the Crimea and Poland) for the empress, who merely cared for the result and the glory; he caused cities to be built, as if they had been the decorations of a theatre, merely to furnish a new spectacle to the empress's eyes, and which indeed again disappeared from the earth when they had served for the temporary gratification and triumph of Potemkin and his sovereign. Those who are desirous of following out these topics, and learning in detail the life and acts

of Potemkin, will find abundant materials in Herr von Archenholz's Journal, as well as in a rhapsody* compiled in the year 1792; we shall limit ourselves strictly to the affairs of the state.

Potemkin's rule commenced at the very time in which the peace of Cudschuck Cainardschi was concluded (July 1774); by the terms of this treaty the Russians secured the right of the free navigation of the Black Sea and of the passage of the Dardanelles, and not merely severed the tract of land lying between the Bog and the Dniester from Turkey and united it to Russia, but also withdrew the Crimea from the Turks and declared it to be an independent province. This peace was concluded because Russia was engaged in disputes with Poland and occupied with the rebellion of Pugatscheff; but these affairs were no sooner concluded, than Potemkin immediately violated every condition of the treaty concluded at Cudschuck Cainardschi, well-persuaded that no one would dare to make any report of his conduct to the empress, and that she would afterwards approve of everything he might do. Dowlet Gherai, who was elected khan by the Tatars, now made independent, still remained much more favourably disposed to the Turks than to the Russians; the latter therefore distributed large sums of money among those who were opposed to the khan, sent bodies of Russian Tatars to intermix with their independent neighbours, excited disturbances, and finally supported those who took up arms against the khan by the aid of Russian troops. A vain Tatar magnate, who had formerly remained for some time in Petersburg on the affairs of his nation, was won over by Potemkin, and suffered himself to be employed as an instrument for the accomplishment of Russian plans. Under pretence of an armed mediation, a Russian army took the field against Dowlet Gherai, occupied a part of the Crimea, and seemed disposed to make the khan a prisoner and to seize upon the whole province; great care however was taken not to take one step in advance which perhaps it might after-

* Archenholz's 'Minerva' for the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, contains the anecdotes to which we refer; the rhapsody is entitled 'Anekdoten zur Lebensgeschichte des Ritters und Reichsfürsten Potemkin. Nebst einer kurzen Beschreibung der ehemaligen Krimm, anitzo Taurien genannt, Kartalinien's Kachem, Archasien und Cuban, dessgleichen der Reise der Kaiserin Katharina der Zweiten nach der Krimm. Nebst einem Anhang über tatarische-scythische Alterthümer, in Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von den Professoren Gmelin und Pallas. Freistadt am Rhein (Strassburg). Im vierten Jahre der Freiheit 1792; 282. § 8.'

wards have been necessary to recall. The Russians first renounced all idea of conquering the whole country, and then followed precisely the same course towards the khan and the pretender, who had applied for Russian aid, as the English are accustomed to do towards the Indian princes when they wish to despoil them of their territories. The Russians contemplated with pleasure Dowlet Gherai taking refuge with the Turks in April 1775, and the election of Sahim Gherai, who was a mere creature of Russia, in his stead, because it was easily foreseen that the majority of the Tatars would oppose the new khan, and thus furnish them with another pretence for a renewal of hostilities.

On this occasion the Turks felt themselves doubly offended, because the Russians first violated the peace by interfering with the independence of the Tatars and promoting the election of their own creature to the dignity of khan, and secondly, by increasing their army in the neighbourhood of the Crimea, and erecting a new fortress between Kertsch and Jenikale. The new khan, who was soon threatened by his own subjects and the Turks, lent a willing ear to the allurements of Potemkin, and fell a sacrifice to his own ambition, Russian cabals, and Potemkin's treachery. In the year 1776 he sent six of his magnates (Mirzas) to Petersburg to entreat the assistance of Russia, and the honour and distinction of a formal reception at the Russian court was given to the embassy. The ambassadors were received with peculiar splendour and overloaded with singular marks of honour and respect. According to oriental custom, they were presented with castans, whose value amounted to a very considerable sum; and the empress, who, notwithstanding her degraded moral condition, always appeared clever, dignified and magnificent in public, played her part in a most masterly manner on the reception of the Tatar ambassadors, as well as on every other similar occasion. A war with the Porte appeared at that time unavoidable, and Romanzow received commands to collect a considerable army on the Dnieper, whilst Repnin in Constantinople was endeavouring to deceive the sultan, and Potemkin betrayed the unfortunate Sahim Gherai.

At this time Potemkin had ceased to be the honoured personal favourite of the empress; but he was indispensable to her in consequence of those wonderful and colossal undertakings which procured her the name of *great*, and by the fear with which he inspired all her enemies he secured to her the firm possession

of the throne, which she withheld from her son Paul. The good-natured Sawadowsky had become the successor of Potemkin and his predecessors in the apartments of the royal palace as early as November 1776, and been created a major-general; as soon however as he fell under Potemkin's suspicion, the latter authoritatively insisted upon his dismissal. Sawadowsky availed himself of his opportunities to direct the empress's attention to Potemkin's indescribable haughtiness and pride, and was an eager favourer of the Orloffs and field-marshal Romanzow. For this reason Potemkin succeeded in obtaining leave of absence for the favourite in July 1777, in order to provide a substitute during his temporary retirement who should eventually displace him. Potemkin had long before selected a certain major Sorizsch for his adjutant, who was politically insignificant, but very attractive in his hussar uniform, with a view to present him to the empress. Sawadowsky had no sooner left the palace than he carried his design into effect, and the empress immediately made him a colonel-adjutant-general and her companion. At the expiration of nine months he too fell under Potemkin's displeasure and was obliged to retire, for the empress was completely under the control of her minister. Sorizsch was succeeded by Korsakow, who in his turn was indignant at Potemkin's unlimited haughtiness, pride and avarice, but attempted in vain to open the eyes of the empress; he was obliged to yield to the influence of the brutal but indispensable tyrant after he had enjoyed the favour of the empress for fifteen months.

Potemkin became at that time doubly indispensable, because there was only one man to whom all means were right and good which led to the attainment of his design, who could entertain and interest the empress in his gigantic projects and fulfil the dreams of the restoration of a Byzantine empire. The circumstances of the year 1778 were peculiarly favourable to the accomplishment of Potemkin's plans, because war between France and England had broken out in the spring, and both powers were so fully occupied in the west that they had no leisure to attend to the concerns of the east. Potemkin therefore sent an army commanded by Suwarrow against the Tatars of Cuban and Bud-schiack, whilst other Russians penetrated into the Crimea and were guilty of the most cruel devastations. This led to the seizure of some Russian ships in the straits of the Dardanelles on the part of the sultan, who was however unable to commence

a war without the aid and cooperation of France. France was unwilling to break up her good understanding with Russia. The French therefore began to mediate at a time at which no mediation should properly speaking have been offered, and the sultan was obliged to conform to their wishes. The result of this mediation was, that the Russian ships were restored by the Turks, and the grand sultan formally recognized Sahim Gherai, who had been appointed khan under Russian influence, as the rightful ruler of the Crimea.

From this time forward Potemkin, Voltaire, and all those courtiers who merely wished to give pleasure, entertained the empress with the plan of first establishing a half Greek empire, and erecting a new capital on the Black Sea. Sahim Gherai was first alienated from his nationality and his religion because he allowed himself to be weaned from his domestic habits by the enchantment of European splendour, European comforts, by French fashions and French cookery. He prized the slavish title of a lieutenant-colonel in the guards of a foreign empress as more honourable than that of prince of a nation to which the Russian czars for many years had been vassals, and renounced the national costume of his people in order to glitter in a Russian uniform and wear the decorations of the order of St. Anne. Potemkin contrived every month to alienate him more and more from his people, and so availed himself of the weakness of the khan as completely to deceive him. In order to flatter his vanity, he sent Wasiliuschy and Constantinow to his court, whom he dignified with the title of ambassadors plenipotentiary, and who contrived to mystify and deceive him in the same way as the agents of the English East India Company are accustomed to do the Indian rajahs. These Russian agents, by holding out to the khan prospects of repose, enjoyment and splendour, and relief from the troubles and hostilities by which he was harassed by the Tatars, succeeded in prevailing upon him voluntarily to resign his khanate, and thus furnish the Russians with a pretence for occupying the country.

This miserable man was shamefully deceived by splendid promises of every description, and laid down his khanate, from which he derived a revenue of three to four millions of roubles, in order, as he thought, to be able to revel in peaceful luxuries in the enjoyment of some hundred thousand roubles, which Potemkin was to pay him as the newly-appointed Russian governor-general

of Tauria, as the country was now to be called. Potemkin was too much accustomed to receive and not to give, and to contract debts without thinking of paying them, to give himself much concern respecting the payment of the promised salary, although the empress was led to believe that the yearly sum always charged to her was in reality regularly paid to the khan. The shamelessness of the political sophists, whom usually no one dares to contradict, was as great on this occasion as it is accustomed to be on every other; it fully equalled the audacity of the manifestos respecting the partition of Poland and that of the state-papers of a Genz and Talleyrand. In the Russian manifestos published in April 1783, it was made as clear as the sun to the Tatars, that the empress and Potemkin were really proposing to confer upon them the most signal benefits. It was stated that the Tatars, as Russian subjects, were in future to be delivered from all the evils of those internal disputes, and by the incorporation of the Crimea, Cuban, and the Eastern Nogay announced in their manifestos, an end was to be put to those oppressions from which they had hitherto suffered, sometimes from the Turks and sometimes from the Russians. The correspondence between the promises and declarations of these rhetoricians and sophists, and the subsequent reality, may be learned from all the works of recent travellers who have visited these districts, and give accounts of the Crimea and the Tatars at the present day. This numerous, free and rich race of people, clothed in silks and of noble appearance, has now wholly disappeared, and sunk down to a crowd of starving beggars; its splendid and magnificent tented cities are now become gipsy encampments, and its houses and palaces built of stone now exhibit mere masses of ruins and decay.

These manifestos indeed, as is usually the case, were not intended for those to whom they were addressed, but merely to conceal the cruelties and bloodshed with which they were accompanied in a vapour and cloud of words from the eyes of those who were at a distance. The Tatars made an effort to defend their liberties, and their magnates made no secret of their dissatisfaction; Potemkin therefore, in his own clever manner, had recourse to one of those heroic means which usually find defenders enough among ourselves when they are applied for the support of the true faith and autocratic government, and are only abused and execrated in the hands of Danton and Robespierre.

He proposed by a single massacre summarily to annihilate the malcontents and to awe the rest into submission by the dread of a similar fate. Posorowsky received especial orders to make himself master of the malcontents, their families and adherents, and to cause the whole to be put to the sword; he however possessed moral courage enough to decline the business of an executioner. Potemkin's cousin did not prove so scrupulous. According to the accounts, whose unanimous testimony we are obliged to follow, even when it appears to us incredible, Paul Potemkin caused above 30,000 Tatars of every age and sex to be massacred in cold blood, and in this way not only procured for his cousin the easily-won title of the Taurian, but also the place of grand-admiral of the Black Sea and governor-general of the new province of Tauria.

The massacre in Tauria took place in April 1783, and the Turks were unable to render any assistance to the Tatars without foreign support. Among the European powers however, England was at that time fully occupied with the disturbances which in the following year brought Pitt to the helm of affairs; France was glad to be able to see an end to the American war; Joseph II. was bound by the treaty of Tscherskoeselo; Frederick II. hoped to become master of Thorn and Danzig, if Russia was well-disposed towards him, and Gustavus III. of Sweden was the only monarch who could have rendered any aid. In the very same year however Gustavus suffered himself to be induced to go to Friedrichshamm, where he sold himself to the empress; nothing therefore was now left to the Turks but to yield to their destiny. The grand sultan did what had been done by the king of Poland a few years before; by his consent he changed that into a righteous and legal possession which being seized in the middle of peace was previously a robbery. The whole territory of the Tatars, the Crimea, the island of Taman and a great part of Cuban were ceded to Russia, and a treaty of commerce was forced upon the Turks, by virtue of which the Russian consuls in the various ports of Turkey were erected into a power wholly independent of the government of the country. This treaty of commerce had been drawn up by Panin before he had been obliged to yield to the superior influence of Potemkin and withdrawn from public affairs, and was now concluded on the 10th of June 1783: of the eighty articles which it contains, we shall only specify two, in order to show that Turkey at that time

stood in almost the same relation to Russia which the Indian powers at the present time do to England. By virtue of this treaty the Turks were obliged to submit to the decision of all mixed civil cases in which a Russian and a Turk formed the respective parties, and which belonged to the local tribunals, not by the higher authorities, not by a court of arbitration, but by the Russian consul; and in all pecuniary transactions the claims of a Russian against a Turk were urged with much greater strictness than in those cases in which the Turk was the claimant and the Russian the debtor.

By means of this treaty and the great extension thus given to the Russian empire, Potemkin became in the world, which regards only externals, a great and admired statesman; and he was so indispensable to all the plans of the empress, that she not only suffered his own brutality of conduct, his total neglect of all his pecuniary obligations, his tyranny over all classes, and his imperial expenditure and magnificence, but allowed him to enrich himself to such an extent, that when he died eight years afterwards he left behind him 40,000,000 of roubles. Count Ségur, who was first a French courtier, then a North American republican and a Cincinnatus of the new republic, then again a flatterer and companion of Potemkin and his empress, next a high dignitary of the court of Napoleon's military despotism, and finally celebrated for his eloquence and writings full of a courtly spirit and distinguished elegance of style,—therefore a man who was at his ease in every saddle,—presents us it is true with only a courtly description of Potemkin, but one in which the truth everywhere peeps through. About a year after the change of the *country of the Tatars of the Black Sea* into the high-sounding names of Tauria and Caucasia (1784), Ségur went to Petersburg, and found Potemkin, of whom he gives the description which will be found in the note*, thinking of new gigantic undertakings.

* From the innumerable passages in which this light-minded courtier of the order of Cincinnatus describes Potemkin, we shall merely select the following: "Potemkin joignait le don d'une heureuse mémoire à celui d'un esprit vif, naturel, prompt et mobile; mais en même tems le sort lui avoit donné un caractère indolent et enclin au repos. Ennemi de tout gêne et cependant insatiable de volupté, de pouvoir et d'opulence, voulant jouir de tous les genres de gloire, la fortune le fatiguait en l'entraînant, elle contrariait sa paresse, et pourtant jamais elle n'allait aussi vite et aussi loin que ses vagues et impatiens désirs le demandaient; on pouvait rendre un tel homme riche et puissant, mais il étoit impossible d'en faire un homme heureux. Son cœur étoit bon (of such *good people* we hear every day, who are more injurious to their fellow-creatures than all the wicked), son esprit caustique à la fois magnifique et

He projected Asiatic conquests, and aimed at founding a new Russo-Grecian capital in Europe. With reference to the former, he was desirous of subduing the districts of Cachetia, Cartalinia and Imiretta in the same manner as he had done Nogay, and transplanted 60,000 Saporogian Tatars into the countries formerly occupied by the free Tatars, who had been put to the sword. He further sacrificed large sums of money and multitudes of men in a useless war with Persia, and entered into boastful connexions with China, which led to nothing.

The founding of a new Russo-Grecian capital was a magnificent and well-planned piece of flattery for the empress, but for which she was unhappily obliged to pay too dear. Catharine indulged with Voltaire in those visionary schemes of a utopian Greece, of a civilization of which she and not the people was to be the source, of an enlightenment, industry and trade to be carried into these conquered deserts by ukases and courtiers; Potemkin acted according to this fancy. He first erected a city with buildings of every description, and then sought for inhabitants, or forcibly drove them for a time from all quarters, when he wished to make a court-spectacle of this theatrical city and to enchant the empress. It was of no consequence to him that his city fell to pieces and its inhabitants disappeared as soon as he turned away his eyes. The new city was called Cherson, a name long since obscured by that of Odessa; the empress granted 18,000,000 of roubles, the most of which however Potemkin diverted to his own private use. The situation of the city was badly chosen, and yet this shadow of a capital was for a length of time charmed into existence by deception, promises, and innumerable arts, combined with the use of open violence; and the deserts of which this city was to be the capital were erected into a province, to which Potemkin in his flattery gave the name of *Catharine's Glory* (Slawa Ekatharina). Another province, somewhat further to the north, near the celebrated falls of the Coidack, was also honoured with the name of the empress and called Ekatharinoslaw.

Potemkin at that time availed himself of the services of general Suwarrow in the country of the Nogaic Tatars and in Cuban, a man who from that distant period till our own cen-

avare. Il prodiguait des bienfaits et payait rarement ses dettes. Le monde l'ennuyait; il y semblait déplacé, et se plaisait néanmoins à tenir une espèce de cour," &c. &c.

ture had the misfortune to be continually employed as the instrument of a murdering military despotism, without having subjected himself to any gross imputations. In Poland he executed three times those commands of annihilation which were issued from Petersburg. He destroyed the Turks and sacrificed the Russians by thousands at the will of Potemkin, who now employed his services against the Tatars, as he did at a later period against the Turks. He subsequently shared Paul's hatred against the French and every thought of civil freedom, and performed the same heroic deeds for his pleasure which he had previously done at the bidding of Potemkin. Though he was a man of various knowledge and had made himself master of all the arts of life as practised in the highest society, he assumed the character of an original, and delighted to play the part of an uncultivated Russian in order to delight his soldiers. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest generals of modern times, but wholly destitute of compassion, for he sacrificed thousands without hesitation in order to secure a victory or storm a fortress, when either the one or the other was calculated to produce a splendid effect even for the moment. He not only flattered the empress, but even the common soldiers and their superstitions. At court he assumed the character of a sort of court-fool, and acted often as if he were mad, merely in order to be able to carry out some surprising piece of flattery. In the company of the common soldiers he played the character of the semi-barbarous Russian, lived in the same manner as themselves, submitted to every privation which they might be called upon to endure, and knelt and prayed before every wayside image, often when the roads were deep with mud.

Potemkin on the one hand did homage to the empress as if she were a goddess, to whom he became more and more indispensable, and on the other he suffered himself to treat her with the greatest familiarity and intolerable rudeness, so that he went from his own apartments into hers in his dressing-gown and slippers, with his stockings hanging down and his legs bare. He went so far as to extort from those who enjoyed the empress's favour, a part of the money which they received from her, and formally allowed the poor Sahim Gherai to starve. He never paid him the yearly pension of 100,000 roubles which was appropriated for him, and yearly debited to the empress's account, and even the displeasure of Catharine could not induce him to

bestow upon this Russian protégé the simplest means of life. At the time in which plays and sentimentality were the fashion in Germany, the empress in her old age indulged in a fit of romantic love for the insipid and spiritless Lanskoj. This turn in her affections was very agreeable to Potemkin, because Lanskoj completely occupied himself with this love affair, which the empress reserved for him from all the relations in which she had indulged with his predecessors. He neither took up the cause of the poor and destitute khan, nor yielded to the allurements of the king of Prussia, of the emperor Joseph II., or the English, when they were desirous of engaging him in affairs of state. Potemkin freely permitted the empress to indulge her visionary love for the wonderfully beautiful and youthful face which captivated her affections, and did not grudge her the enjoyment of one romantic passion after the manner of Werther and Siegwart, from the year 1780 till July 1784, among the many gross and degrading scenes of her life. Catharine's love for Lanskoj had been romantic in his life, and her sorrow at his death was not less extravagant; but notwithstanding all this ideality, she had been also careful to show him substantial proofs of her affection at the cost of the country. She bestowed upon him not only all possible titles, orders and decorations, diamonds, plate and collections of every kind, but he left behind him in cash a property of 7,000,000 of roubles.

The fantastic mourning for Lanskoj was no sooner evaporated than the empress allowed Potemkin, who presented candidates for every office, to supply her with a substitute for her departed lover. In order to exclude all other pretenders, Potemkin on every such occasion was prepared to fill the vacancy, and with this view he had for some considerable time made lieutenant Yermoloff one of his adjutants, and accordingly in 1785 he entered into occupation of the apartments in the palace appropriated to the declared favourite of the empress. Catharine's mind was susceptible of noble, humane and honourable feelings, and had a love of greatness, whether in good or evil, and Yermoloff ventured to pursue a course on which Lanskoj would never have thought; he directed her attention to the tyranny of Potemkin, and gave her some hints respecting his behaviour towards Sahim Gherai. The empress expressed her displeasure without naming the person who had made her acquainted with the unhappy fate of the khan; Potemkin however easily

guessed that no other man in the empire would dare to speak of him to the empress except Yermoloff. He therefore threateningly replied, "That must have been said by the *White Moor*," as he was accustomed to call Yermoloff, on account of his fair countenance and flat nose. Catharine did not hesitate severely to reproach Potemkin for his harsh and unjust conduct towards the khan, and she even hesitated for some months between her favourite and this son of the Titans, whom she regarded as her protector and the creator of her glory and her greatness. At the end of the month of June 1786 a new scene occurred, by which the empress was compelled to declare either for the one or the other. Yermoloff had made a new attempt to alienate the empress from Potemkin, and the latter therefore haughtily demanded that she must decide for the one or the other, for either Yermoloff or he must retire from her service; Catharine felt herself constrained to adhere to Potemkin, and Yermoloff went upon his travels. During the course of the year he had been loaded with riches, and on his departure he was furnished with 100,000 roubles and imperial recommendations to the Russian ambassadors at all the European courts. On the very day after his departure, Momonow, another adjutant of Potemkin, occupied his place.

About this period Potemkin repeatedly travelled from Petersburg to Tauria and back with all the expedition of a courier, whilst he was engaged in the building of Cherson, in order to prepare a splendid triumph for the empress. The neglected Sahim Gherai hastened thither to meet him and make him acquainted with the urgency of his wants, but Potemkin instead of rendering him any assistance banished him to Kaluga, where he fell into a state of the deepest poverty. He then conceived that he might find some relief from his fellow-believers and fled to Turkey, but the sultan caused him to be arrested as a traitor and renegade at Choczim, to be conveyed to Rhodes and there bow-stringed (1787). The plan contemplated by Potemkin and the empress, or rather their castle in the air, was to raise the grand- duke Constantine, second grandson of the empress, to the dignity of emperor of Byzantium, at the expense of the Turks, and at the same time to incorporate the kingdom of Poland with Russia. The new city of Cherson was no sooner ready for this grand theatrical representation, than the empress was to travel thither to receive the homage of her new subjects, and to deceive

the world by an ostentatious display of magnificence and pomp. Joseph II. was invited to meet the empress in Cherson, in order to consult and agree with her upon a partition of the Turkish empire; but Constantine himself was in the first instance left at home. The luxury and extravagance exhibited by Potemkin during the empress's journey, and the fêtes prepared for her reception and entertainment at Cherson, were worthy of the heaven-storming characters of these two clever rulers, Potemkin and the empress, and serve to call to recollection the extravagance of the Abassides and the grandsons of Timour, with this difference, that civilization and the arts were strangers to the people in the kingdom of the khalifs and in that of the Great Mogul. There never however perhaps occurred in monarchical Europe, where such things are not rare, such a gross abuse of the property, money and well-being of the people, and such contempt shown to public opinion by a contemptible comedy, as on this occasion by the journey of the empress to Cherson. A single trait will serve to show how those were treated on the journey who did not belong to the favoured persons of the court. The journey was commenced when the intensity of the frost secured good roads for the sledges, in which the cortège was conveyed, and continued for a whole week, with the thermometer at 17° of cold (Reaumur) (more than 4° below zero Fahrenheit). The numerous attendants of the court were indeed protected against the severity of the cold and every inconvenience by close and warmed sledges; but the others were exposed to dreadful cold. It may be best seen from Ségur's description how justly Potemkin and Catharine had calculated the influence of the whole affair in a political, diplomatic and monarchical point of view, and how ridiculous all vulgar ideas and considerations are in the eyes of those circles for whose pleasure such scenes are daily got up and exhibited. Ségur also enumerates the various persons who on this occasion played the leading characters in the comedy along with the empress*.

* The description of this journey occupies the fifth part of the second volume and some pages in the commencement of the third volume of Ségur's 'Mémoires'; he begins as follows: "Le 18 Janvier 1787, nous nous mîmes en route, l'impératrice fit monter dans sa voiture mademoiselle Protasoff et le comte Mamonoff, qui ne la quittaient jamais, le comte de Cobentzel, le grand écuyer Narischkin et le grand chambellan Schouvaloff. Dans le second carrosse on plaça Fitz-Herbert et moi avec les comtes Tchernicheff et d'Anhalt. Le cortège étoit composé de quatorze voitures, de cent vingt-quatre traîneaux et de quarante supplémentaires. Cinq cent soixante chevaux nous attendaient à chaque poste."

The journey was commenced in January 1787, and continued night and day. Potemkin had made arrangements for facilitating the journey by night, by causing great piles of wood to be erected at every fifty perches, which were kindled at night-fall, and whose flames imparted to the whole district almost the brightness of day. On the sixth day the cortège reached Smolensko, and fourteen days afterwards Kiew, where the Polish magnates, who at that time made a trade of their nation, their honour and their friendship, were assembled to offer their homage to the empress and join in the revelry of her court*, a course of which they repented when it was too late. Potemkin himself had preceded the procession in order to arrange the side-scenes of the theatre which he meant to erect from Petersburg to Cherson. He caused wooden houses, pretended villages and towns to be built, peasants to be dressed, an apparent prosperity to be displayed, and whole flocks and herds to be driven to the sides of the road in order to delight the eyes of the empress in her hasty transit. He ordered the rocks in the Dnieper to be sprung, in order that the empress might descend the stream in barges as conveniently as she had travelled thither in the chamber of her sledge. At the beginning of May the whole party embarked on the river in fifteen galleys at Krementschuck, and on the following day Stanislaus of Poland presented himself at Kanieff, in order by his insipid and pitiful character to serve as a foil to the monarchical splendour of a woman. He accepted an alms of 100,000 roubles for the expenses of his journey, was very graciously received by Potemkin, treated with coldness and indifference by the empress, and as if his royal Polish income was simply a Russian pension, begged for an augmentation. He was not ashamed to acknowledge to all the courts whose ambassadors accompanied the empress, that he regarded his kingdom as a Russian province, for he besought the empress to grant the succession in the kingdom to his nephew, and to his nation the free navigation of the Dnieper. As is customary in such things, there was no lack of promises; but none of his petitions were really granted, for it was impossible either to value or respect him, and in his situation he was incapable of inspiring fear. He was however very welcome in the empress's barge as a courtier, played his character admirably at

* There were found Sapieha and Lubomirsky, the Potockys, Branitzkys, and other creatures of the Russian court.

the imperial banquets, so much lauded in all the newspapers of Europe, and at last he gave a very splendid display of fireworks.

The prince de Ligne, the most celebrated courtier and wit among the illustrious personages of Europe, and himself a petty dynast, who like madame de Staël always deserved to shine as a star of the first magnitude in the circles of the high aristocracy, brought an account of the empress's route to the emperor Joseph, who anticipated her arrival in Cherson. He travelled to meet her as far as Caidack, and soon perceived that she was shamefully deceived and betrayed by the appearance of prosperity, civilization and population, and that as soon as she had passed through, all would again become empty and deserted. The same plan which had been pursued with the villages, flocks and men by the way, was pursued also with the new buildings in which the distinguished travellers passed their nights, and with the houses and shops in Cherson. It will not be regarded as incredible that 7,000,000 of roubles were expended on the journey, when it is known that the throne itself, which was erected for the empress in what was called the admiralty at Cherson, cost 14,000 roubles.

The emperor Joseph, who had no suspicion of the intrigues which were at that time being forged against him in Belgium, although he formed a proper estimate of the characters of the empress and Potemkin, suffered himself to be drawn into an approval of her plans respecting the empire of the Turks and the war which was to be commenced. He accompanied the empress to Moscow. At this time count Herzberg, who was still at the head of the Prussian ministry, was anxiously watching the ambitious projects of Joseph and the empress, and availed himself of the intimate connexion into which England had entered with the new king at the time of the Prussian expedition to Holland. Up till the time of the Reichenbach congress, both courts endeavoured to make use of Sweden, Poland and Belgium to involve Russia and Austria in difficulties, without at the same time directly declaring themselves in favour of the Turks.

§ II.

SWEDEN AND RUSSIA TILL THE PEACE OF WERELA.

In reference to the empress of Russia, Gustavus III. of Sweden played no very honourable character; he condescended to accept her presents, and received her acts of politeness with gratitude, and afterwards wished to play the hero and measure his strength with hers. He had accepted presents in money from her hands in Friedrichshamm, in order to enable him to make his ostentatious journey, and carried with him recommendations to the Russian minister in Naples, who entertained him at the empress's expense, and took upon himself all the cost of his sojourn in Naples. How impolitic it was for a man who wished to appear a knightly king, like Gustavus, and how unworthy of his character to accept of such favours from Russia and her ministers, may be best learned from subsequent events. The same Rasumowsky who entertained and paid his expenses in Naples, a very few years afterwards treated him with the most brutal insolence in his own capital, and entered into conspiracies with the Swedish nobles against his throne and dignity. Since the conclusion of the last diet, the king moreover had rendered some new services to Sweden, as appears from the accounts furnished by him recorded in Schlözer's 'Political Notices'*; but he had nevertheless sunk in public estimation in consequence of his frivolous behaviour. If we ascribe ever so much of the reproaches thrown upon the king to intrigues and to the calumnies of that portion of the high nobility which was humbled in 1772, still his extravagance on his journey and immediately after his return in fêtes and balls, operas and plays, jousting and ostentation with the arts and artists, are proofs enough that he had gained no better or higher views, and that the produce of his hateful brandy monopoly would no longer suffice to meet those deficiencies which his waste and extravagance had caused in the finances of the kingdom.

In order to meet the embarrassments in the finances, a diet was to be summoned, which was called for May 1786; but the meeting was expressly announced in the most remote provinces before anything was made known on the subject in Stockholm. The empress of Russia suspected the object of the diet; she

* Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen, 12r band, 45s. heft, s. 92—111.

was taken by surprise, put off her journey to Cherson, remained in the neighbourhood, and employed every possible means by her ministers to counteract the designs of the king. The Russian Markow held assemblies of malcontents in his house; and relying on him, and supported by him in every way, Axel Fersen, the whole family of Brahe and their adherents, offered boldly to bid defiance to the king in the assembly of the diet. Of four proposals which the king submitted to the diet, one alone was accepted. The king and the nobles now assumed a position of mutual hostility, he was consequently deeply indignant; and in the speech with which he closed and dissolved the meeting on the 23rd of June 1786, he gave it clearly to be understood that he would not soon summon another, and let fall some expressions indicative of his threatening displeasure*. Immediately afterwards he entered into closer relations with England and Prussia, according to their advice resolved to enter into an offensive alliance with them before the Turks had commenced the war, and lent a willing ear to the agents of England and Prussia, who urged him to take advantage of the favourable opportunity in order to avenge Sweden on Russia. The king therefore no sooner saw that the outbreak of the war between the Russians and the Turks was approaching, than he also resolved to make an attack upon the former, as soon as the main force of Russia was occupied in the south. In addition to the general reasons assigned in the note in the words of Arndt, he had others personal to himself which led him to wish for a war with Russia†.

There was a certain count Sprengporten, whom however we must be careful not to confound with him of whose services Gustavus so happily availed himself in the revolution of 1772, but who had also many connexions in Finland. The count had

* The words *threatening displeasure* refer to the following rhetorical expressions:—*Contemporaries often mistake goodness for weakness, and firmness for ambition; but posterity alone is the tribunal of kings.*

† Arndt, *Schwedische Geschichten unter Gustav dem Dritten* u. s. w. Seite 106. But the ambition to play a warlike character, again to revive the name of Wasa amongst foreigners, hope in the assistance of other powers, who looked with envy at Catharine's deceitful plans of conquest, may perhaps actual promises from these powers, therefore the favour of circumstances, and the desire, worthy of a king of Sweden, of putting an end to his dependence, of cutting off the secret web of correspondence with his subjects, and of restoring the eastern frontiers of his native country, were sufficient inducements to this war, and with a man of Gustavus's character it must be unnecessary to seek for others.

been at first favoured by the king, afterwards disagreed with him and entered into the Dutch, and later still into the Russian service. Sprengporten was employed as a tool by Russia, in order to wrest the province of Finland from Gustavus. He therefore made numerous journeys into the provinces, to make acquaintances and to inform himself of the feelings and opinions of the people; to work upon the nobles, and to prepare conspiracies; in short, he had the same description of Russian affairs secretly to manage in Finland in which Markow openly engaged in Stockholm. When Gustavus began to make serious preparations for war in July 1787, the empress recalled Markow, and sent the same Rasumowsky who had rendered the king so many services in Naples, in order to form conspiracies against him, and to persecute him in his own capital. Rasumowsky appealed to the Swedish army to resist their king, and most rudely called Gustavus to account in consequence of his warlike preparations, supporting himself upon that article of the constitution which was adhered to even in 1772, according to which, the king was not allowed to commence an offensive war without first consulting the estates of the kingdom. The king it is true commanded the ambassador to leave the city, but the latter delayed his departure on pretences of all descriptions, continually insulted the king, and drew up the notes which he addressed to him and caused to be published in the journals in such a style, that they might be regarded as formal appeals from the king to the people.

Gustavus collected a fleet and an army in Carlscrona with incredible rapidity, and assembled from 30,000 to 40,000 men in Finland. He could not however commence the war unless some pretext was given by an attack on the part of the Russians, that he might be able to change an offensive into a defensive war; he was therefore placed in a situation of no small perplexity, because it was clear that the favourable moment had arrived. The Turks were already hard pressed by the Russians, and threatened with an attack from the Austrians, who were compelled, in consequence of their agreement with Potemkin, to take part in the war. Potemkin had drawn together the whole of the Russian forces on the Black Sea, divided them into three armies, and proposed to march at the head of the main body direct upon Constantinople, whilst the two other divisions were sent to treat the people to the east of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus in the same manner as he had treated the Tatars.

Care was taken to observe the necessary forms, in order to furnish an excuse for the participation of Austria in the war with the Turks; and for that purpose it was necessary to stimulate the Turks to make the first attack, because Austria was only bound to furnish auxiliaries to the Russians in case of their being attacked. The Russians immediately endeavoured to excite internal commotions in Turkey, and in carrying out their plans showed very little respect to the interests and fate of their fellow-believers—the Greeks, Bulgarians, Wallachians and Sclavonians, who were involved by their emissaries and exposed to the enmity and revenge of the Turks.

Whilst the empress was in Cherson, Bulgakow, the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, was summoned to her court, and received instructions to use all possible means to excite disturbances among the European Greeks in Georgia, which was at that time a Turkish province,—by the consul in Jassy to rouse the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia,—by his representative in Alexandria to sow the seeds of discontent in Egypt, and by the influence of Peter Feorai in Smyrna to alienate the minds of the people in Asia Minor. The Turks, with good reason, were deeply incensed at this duplicity and intrigue, insisted upon a distinct declaration of their views on the part of the Russians, and when they received nothing else for an answer than the usual diplomatic subterfuge, that the ambassador must first wait for instructions from Petersburg, they immediately declared war; and without paying any regard to what is called the European law of nations, they arrested the conspiring ambassador, and sent him to the state-prison of the Seven Towers. Nothing but the threatening interference of the English minister could have prevented the Turks from inflicting upon the Russian ambassador a speedy vengeance, to show their righteous displeasure at the conduct of his government. Catharine II. and Joseph II. had now gained their wishes. The Turks were the first to declare war, and a pretence was thus afforded to the Russians to call upon the Austrians for that aid which they were bound by treaty to render in case of an attack on the part of the Turks.

The sultan had unfurled the sacred standard of Mahomet, proclaimed a holy war, and summoned the faithful to assemble around the banner of the prophet: he had encouraged the Tartars to insurrection, disarmed the Greeks, and sent a numerous army and fleet to the Crimea, where he also reckoned upon the

Tatars. Had Potemkin been as great a general as he was capable of devising magnificent plans and of playing the Russian tyrant, great things would have been accomplished as early as 1787, because all the preparations for the war had been long previously made, and the declaration of hostilities on the part of the Turks was designedly called forth by the Russians; but Potemkin merely wished to play the monarch, and to appropriate all the merit to himself, simply in consequence of his presence with the army. This however was by no means satisfactory to Romanzow, for whom the chief command of the grand army was designed, which was to commence its operations with the siege of Oczakow. Field-marshal Romanzow was to share the command of this army with Potemkin; that is, making allowance for courtly expressions, he was to serve under him. He therefore made a pretext of his age and relinquished the supreme command, which he should never afterwards have resumed. His son remained behind with the army. From this time Potemkin stood alone at the head of the army, but he never succeeded in deceiving posterity, for no one has ever ascribed to him what was effected by the officers under his command,—by Repnin, Paul Potemkin, Suwarrow, Kamenskoi, Galitzin, and Kutusow, all of whom became more or less renowned in the following wars, continued till the present century. As early as the campaign of 1787, Potemkin found in Suwarrow precisely such an instrument as he needed. Suwarrow was born and bred to be a general, and whoever promoted his glory and command might reckon upon him with confidence; for whether it was the storming of a fortress or the securing a victory, he sacrificed thousands to ensure success. He could play the flatterer or the buffoon when it answered his purpose, and again assume the air of a philosopher, stoic or cynic, as circumstances required. The will of the empress or her favourite was to him in all cases a more binding law than the bond of morality, or any feelings of humanity; as at the end of the century the favour of the unfortunate emperor Paul appeared to him of more value than the grace of God. He was sent to Kinburn in the year in which the chief object was apparently the siege of Oczakow, by the main body under Potemkin, whilst other divisions were despatched to observe the movements of the Tatars in Cuban. Kinburn was a small fortress occupied by the Russians, situated upon a promontory directly opposite to Oczakow, around and in which

the Turkish army was stationed, a division of which the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea was desirous of landing on the promontory of Kinburn. The object of Suwarrow's mission was to frustrate this design, and he executed the task in a masterly manner. At first he remained perfectly quiet in the fortress, after having erected a battery at the extremity of the promontory, in order to be able to cannonade the Turkish ships from the land, at the same moment in which they might be attacked by the Russian fleet. He allowed the Turks to proceed without molestation till they had disembarked from 6000 to 7000 men; he then sent a few regiments of Cosacks against them, and at the same time charged them at the head of two battalions of infantry with fixed bayonets, and caused them all to be put to the sword. Immediately afterwards he employed his battery against the Turkish fleet. The prince of Nassau-Siegen, who had the command of the Russian gun-boats of Nicolajef, attacked the Turkish ships at the very entrance of what is called the Liman, and within range of the guns of Suwarrow's battery, to whose well-directed fire he was indebted for a great share of the advantages which he gained.

The whole remaining part of the year 1787, as well as the spring and a great part of the summer of 1788, elapsed without anything important having been undertaken; the whole of the Russian land-forces were however directed towards the Bog, in order to push forward with the greatest expedition to the Danube. The Turks had already suffered defeats at sea and in the Caucasus. The Russian fleet in the Black Sea, which was almost wholly commanded by foreigners, nearly completely destroyed the Turkish navy; generals Tallizyn and Tekely annihilated the Tatars of Cuban, and Tamara reduced Georgia and Lesgistan. In August Potemkin at length marched against Oczakow, but very wisely left the whole conduct of the military operations to Suwarrow, the victor of Kinburn. The Russian operations were delayed by the expectation of an Austrian army, which, in connexion with a Russian force under Soltikow, was to make an incursion into Moldavia, and which Joseph II. was to send, after having declared war in February against the Turks upon grounds entirely insupportable: this delay was protracted till king Gustavus began to exhibit symptoms of making an attack on the provinces contiguous to Sweden, which were now deprived of means of defence.

Gustavus III. would also willingly have induced Denmark to take part in the movement against Russia; in this however he was unsuccessful, although supported by England and Prussia. He took a journey in person to Copenhagen to endeavour to win over the Danish minister to his views. At that time he made no concealment of his intention of commencing the war; and in June, Rasumowsky appealed to his declarations in a diplomatic note, in which he in some measure accused the king before the Swedish nation. In this note he alluded to possible internal disturbances, and no longer addressed himself exclusively to the king; but as he expressed himself, *appealed to all those who had taken any part in the government of Sweden*. This note, which was delivered on the 18th of June, touched the king in the most sensitive part; he could not therefore any longer restrain his indignation. Rasumowsky was ordered to leave Stockholm on the 23rd, and went to the army in Finland*. The king appeared as if he designed immediately to march against Petersburg, which excited no small concern in the minds of the government, because, in confident reliance on the king's understanding with the Swedish nobles, the whole of their good troops had been despatched to the frontiers of Turkey.

The king of Sweden was acquainted with the feelings of his nobles, consequently with those of the generals and officers of the army which he wished to employ; he therefore endeavoured to deprive the malcontents of the apparently legal point of a refusal to serve, by changing the offensive war which he contemplated into a defensive one, and for this purpose had recourse to a very childish subterfuge. There had been a long-existing dispute between the two countries respecting the bridge over the small river Kymene, the boundary between the two states, whether it should be painted in Swedish or Russian colours; he provoked the Russians to maintain this disputed right by force

* In his answer, dated the 23rd of June, the king observes :—" Ce ministre (Rasumowsky) n'a pas hésité d'en appeler à d'autres encore qu'au roi seul, il l'adresse à tous ceux qui ont part à l'administration ainsi qu'à la nation elle-même; pour les assurer des sentimens de sa souveraine et de l'intérêt qu'elle prend à leur tranquillité." The king then proceeds most justly to complain of this Russian demagogue. The empress's answer contained in her declaration of the 11th of July is dull and weak; she remarks however expressly, "*that she is of opinion the king will be restrained from war by his promise given to his own nation not to engage in any offensive war without first assembling and consulting his estates and obtaining their consent.*" (See Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen, 12r Band, S. 168.)

of arms, and then proclaimed that he had been attacked by the Russians, and was therefore justified in carrying on a defensive war without consulting the estates. We leave it undecided whether he took possession of the bridge by force, and thereby compelled the Russians to resist force by force; or whether, as the best accounts allege, he caused some Swedes to be clothed in Russian uniforms in order to attack his own soldiers, and in this way to justify an offensive war.

The distance from the river Kymene to Petersburg is less than 150 miles. There would have been no difficulty in storming the small fortresses of Wyburg and Friedrichshamm, which lay upon the route, and an unexpected attack from the sea might probably have led to the surprise and capture of Cronstadt and Cronslot, the former of which is less than twenty miles from the open waters, and the latter is situated on a sand-bank in the sea. The favourable moment however for an attack by sea had been already allowed to pass by the king's brother Charles duke of Sudermania, who commanded the Swedish fleet; and by land, the king was precipitate when he ought to have delayed, and hesitated when everything depended on rapidity. On the 22nd of June, duke Charles with fifteen ships of the line and five frigates had fallen in with three sail of Russian ships, to the north of the island of Gothland, which he ought to have captured, but was restrained by a feeling of reluctance to begin the war, which was then actually commenced, and immediately a superior Russian fleet appeared. Admiral Greig, an Englishman, who commanded the Russian fleet, was far superior to the Swedish grand-admiral and prince in talents, experience, and power of endurance; his fleet outnumbered the Swedish by two ships of the line and two frigates, and therefore the issue of the engagement between the two fleets which took place on the 17th of July was the more glorious for the Swedes. The Swedish fleet under duke Charles and admiral Wrangel fell in with the Russians off the island of Hogland, and fought with great skill and courage; the Swedes it is true lost one of their line-of-battle ships, but took one of the Russian fleet in its stead; they were however at length compelled to seek for safety in the harbour of Sweaborg, where their ships were kept in a state of blockade by the Russians during the whole of the campaign.

The king made himself ridiculous as a mere quixotical braggart. The secretary of his embassy in Petersburg delivered such

an extremely absurd ultimatum, that no other answer was given than an order from the commandant to take his departure from the capital. Gustavus played the character of a paladin most admirably, but proved himself wholly incapable in the field. With the army, as in Stockholm, he delighted to be a king and knight among the ladies, at balls, operas and tournaments, as we are informed even by his eulogist, whose words we give in a note*. The honest Arndt does not conceal from his readers, however much he wished it had been otherwise, that his *beau ideal* of a monarch trifled away three precious weeks when a moment's delay might have frustrated all his plans. The king commanded armaments to be prepared and a commissariat to be provided, but he left the whole superintendence to others, who neglected everything, and instead of preparing means to oppose, entered into secret correspondence with the Russians. All this immediately appeared, when the king at length resolved to put all in quick motion and to storm the fortress of Friedrichshamm. He found himself destitute of heavy artillery and other materials of war, which he supposed were all in readiness, and whilst the artillery was being slowly brought up by land and he became desirous of venturing upon a storm, the nobles were devising the most shameful treason.

It was arranged that Friedrichshamm should be at once at-

* The absurd and childish insolent ultimatum itself may be seen in Schlözer's 'Staatsanzeigen,' 12r Band, S. 175-176. Arndt in his 'Schwedische Geschichten,' &c. S. 110-111, writes as follows :—"Instead however of playing the game of war, or at least the outward appearances of that game among men who looked for northern vigour and old-fashioned deeds, he played merely the actor. Exposed as he was to the unfavourable opinion of many of his nobles and in a great crisis of things,—a bloody war was at stake upon the east,—he should have put on the coat and spurs of Charles XII., and so caparisoned have shown himself among the ranks of his Swedes and Finns, instead of appearing among those who were to thunder off the cannon of the eighteenth century like a mock knight at a tournament, with his party-coloured Burgundian silk vest, with fluttering ribbons of various hues in his feathered hat, in shoes bound with red ribbons on horseback, or even as a Neronian imitator of the representations of mimes and singers. He actually had with him in the camp singers, actors and poets. Operatic and theatrical rehearsals were given, and many of his joyous and brave companions were at the same time players and genuine actors with their feathers and sword. It was really king Arthur and his knights in camp, and all of them afterwards proved that they were capable both of giving and receiving wounds." But everything has its time and place: Schlözer's correspondent furnishes us with some other traits; he says: "A comedy was played with the flag of a conquered ship; knights were dubbed in the open air, a triumph was celebrated, and some Prussian flags captured in the seven years' war were mentioned, which were taken from a merchant brig."

tacked both by sea and by land, and Siegeroth had actually landed his troops and commenced operations, when he suddenly received counter orders, because the troops which were with the king refused obedience. The king, who played the general without possessing either the requisite abilities or experience, was unfortunate in his selection of the point of attack from the land side; for it was either quite impossible to assault the fortress at the place on which he had fixed, or its success would have been attended with immense loss. The colonels of the various regiments availed themselves of this circumstance to promote the designs of the aristocratic conspirators, with whom Rasumowsky had now been long in communication, and whose views were not probably wholly unknown to prince Charles. On the 3rd of August, colonel Häftesko, who commanded the Abo regiment, first refused to lead his men to the storm, and the colonels of the other regiments immediately imitated his example. The king used all his efforts in vain, by encouragements and promises, to induce the regiment to advance to the attack: they piled their arms and remained immovable. Some Finnish regiments immediately followed their example, and declared *they would not advance a step further*. The manner in which the colonels afterwards united at the castle of Anjala, formed a species of congress, and treated with the Russians respecting a suspension of arms, will be related at length hereafter; we shall merely observe in this place that it was quite impossible for the king to assert and make good his authority and power, because the confederates at Anjala were in reality masters of the army. In these circumstances the king had no other alternative than to return to Stockholm, in order there to recover his royal dignity and power which he had lost at Friedrichshamm. He entered Stockholm in September, and immediately afterwards received intelligence that the commandant of Gothenburg and his staff had either been guilty of treachery or most shameful cowardice.

A Danish force had appeared before Gothenburg, because a mutual treaty of offence and defence in case of attack had been concluded between Russia and Denmark on the termination of their disputes respecting Holstein and Sleswick. Gustavus, on his unsuccessful journey to Copenhagen, in order to form an alliance with Denmark, thought he perceived that a period of eighteen months at least must elapse before a Danish army could be brought into Sweden, but he was greatly deceived. The Danish

army indeed as well as the fleet were far from being in such a state of preparation as to be capable of being immediately brought into action, but Charles landgrave of Hesse and brother-in-law of both kings, as viceroy of Norway, collected 12,000 men, and appeared before Gothenburg at the very moment in which king Gustavus was returning from Friedrichshamm to Stockholm (September 1788). The march of this Danish army through dangerous passes and along the most difficult roads excited the highest degree of astonishment throughout the whole of Europe, because it was undertaken in very inclement weather, over cold mountains, and at a very advanced season of the year. The crown prince of Denmark, who for four years had conducted the government instead of his unhappy father, was present with the Norwegian army as a volunteer, and shared in all the privations incident to such a march. On this occasion king Gustavus recovered some portion of the respect and esteem of the citizens and peasants which he had previously lost, because he alone delivered Gothenburg, whilst a powerful party of the nobles in Stockholm carried on an uninterrupted correspondence with the conspirators of Anjala, and the king for that reason passed the greater part of his time at his country palace of Haga, and seldom came into the city.

The citizens of Gothenburg, accustomed to trade, commerce and prosperity, refused to take arms or to be trained when the garrison proved too weak and they were called upon to serve, because, as they expressed themselves, they were unwilling to endanger their property on the reduction of the town by taking part in its defence; the king was therefore obliged to resort to other means. He prevailed upon the citizens of Stockholm to undertake the military duties of the capital, by which he was enabled in the beginning of September to send the foot-guards and the regiment of Jamtland as reinforcements to the garrison of Gothenburg. Gustavus himself afterwards travelled to Dalecarlia, Warmeland and other provinces of the kingdom, in order to call the peasants to arms and to organize means for preparing them for military service: in this way he succeeded in raising an efficient body of militia. Having accomplished his wishes in this respect, he went in person to Gothenburg, which was closely invested and pressed on the land side by a Norweco-Danish army, and blockaded by a Russo-Danish fleet. The king arrived just in time to prevent the shameful surrender of a city next in rank and im-

portance to the capital of his kingdom. He was compelled immediately to dismiss the miserable commandant, caused the neglected fortifications to be repaired, increased and strengthened, and by his personal influence and appeals induced the citizens to make efforts and to submit to sacrifices which they had previously refused. The Danes were anxious to reduce Gothenburg before Prussia and England—which at that time were eager to use all possible means against the Russo-Austrian alliance, without at first using any other instrumentality than that of money and diplomatic arts,—were in a condition to offer any serious obstructions. Their plan however was completely frustrated by the activity of the king, who on this occasion could reckon on the support of Prussia and England. These two powers had concluded a treaty on the 13th of August 1788, by virtue of which each promised the other very considerable and effective assistance when either of the two should claim such aid from the other*. The treaty indeed neither referred to the Russians nor the Turks by name, but the alliance was manifestly directed against Austria and Russia, as became evident in the course of the negotiations for the deliverance of Gothenburg. Elliot, the English ambassador, arrived in that city sooner than the Prussian, Von Borke, and immediately had recourse to very brutal language. On the arrival of the Prussian minister the two parties acted in concert; but Von Borke, without resorting to such tyrannical language and conduct as Elliot, satisfied himself with hinting at a possible inroad of the Prussians into the province of Holstein. Elliot, after the tyrannical fashion of his countrymen, threatened the Danes with the English fleet and with the bombardment of Copenhagen, and in person commanded them to raise the siege of Gothenburg, by haughtily declaring that “if the Danes did not immediately withdraw from Gothenburg and leave Sweden, they might consider the war as declared on the part of England and Prussia.” Notwithstanding this, the two ambassadors were very far from entering into the romantic views of the king of Sweden, to which for that reason we shall make no further allusion. Their only object was to compel the crown prince immediately to give orders for the with-

* This treaty, together with copies of all the documents connected with the negotiations carried on between Sweden and the Danes, as well as the terms of the three suspensions of arms, will be found in the third part of the first edition of Marten's ‘*Recueil* ;’ in the second edition (1818), vol. iv. pp. 390–393 and pp. 429–437.

drawal of the troops to Norway, as this would have become impossible as soon as the winter had fairly set in. On the 9th of October 1788, the Danes first agreed to a suspension of hostilities for eight days, which was renewed from time to time, till they at length promised, in May 1789, no longer to molest Sweden, after having returned to Norway in the previous year, before the setting-in of the winter season.

The king, now relying confidently on the citizens and peasants, was able to direct all his energies to repress the turbulent and rebellious spirit of the nobles, who whilst they were playing the chief characters at all his court festivities, were at the same time acting as traitors against his throne and dignity, because he aimed at maintaining his royal prerogatives and supporting the magnificence of his kingly office. On the arrival of the officers from the army of Finland in Stockholm in September, they were precisely the worse received by the body of the citizens in proportion as the conspiracy in which they were engaged had been already acknowledged by Russia as its work. The king on his departure from the army had conferred the command on his brother, prince Charles, whose conduct on this occasion, as well as afterwards in the first decennium of the present century, was very equivocal. The prince either could not or would not hinder his generals and colonels from publicly carrying on negotiations with Russia without consulting the king. The empress was not ashamed to treat with a number of officers, who had proved themselves to be traitors to their king in the presence of his enemies, as if they were the representatives of the whole Swedish nobility; and this even before the king had retired from the personal command of the army. General Armfeld and colonels Häftesko, Otter and Klingspor, on the 9th of August signed an address to the empress, which was presented to her by major Jägerhorn, to which she replied in the politest and most obliging terms. In her answer she said, that she knew well how to distinguish between the nation and the king, that she therefore merely requested the army of Finland to retire from the frontiers of her empire, but that she would on the other hand drive off the Swedish army of the king by force.

Before the arrival of this answer to the communication of the 9th of August, the officers had already concluded the *alliance or union of Anjala* on the 12th. This union, which was concluded in Armfeld's camp, at the castle of Anjala, and not a gun-shot

from the Russian frontiers, immediately published a declaration against the war with Russia, agreed upon an appeal to the Swedish army in Finland, and at the same time resolved upon demanding a meeting of the diet. The declaration against the war with Russia soon received 12,000 signatures, and even the name of the king's brother was amongst the number, furnishing a proof of his constant adherence to his very equivocal political prudence. The traitors therefore were apparently fully justified in concluding a suspension of arms with the empress. The primary advantage of the truce was, that duke Charles was enabled to release his fleet from their captivity in the bay of Sweaborg and to return to Carlserona. Public opinion however underwent a complete change at the moment in which the king delivered the country, whose honour and distinction in Europe were bartered away by the ambitious and covetous nobles, and he had therefore from Gothenburg already summoned a diet, to meet in February 1789. At this diet the king exhibited the same political talent in availing himself of the baseness of the landowners and the jealousies of the citizens and peasants, of which he had previously given examples in 1772. At first he intentionally permitted and even caused the nobility to give proofs of the insolence and foolish pride by which they were influenced, in opposing and counteracting every measure which the king wished to adopt for the benefit of the other estates which were favoured by him; and as soon as the deepest feelings of hostility and indignation were thus roused, Gustavus, confidently relying on the support of the whole bodies of citizens and peasants, and especially upon the citizens of Stockholm, carried into effect, on the 17th of February, the *coup d'état* which he had long designed.

In this plenary assembly of the estates, the king returned his best thanks to the estates of the clergy, citizens and peasants in that manner which never fails of its effect upon the thoughtless majority of men, and in that theatrical, rhetorical and affecting language in which he was so much at home as an orator, poet and actor. He held however very different language to the nobles. He vehemently assailed the whole estate and threw out against them the bitterest reproaches, looking sternly in the face of count Axel Fersen and baron von Geer, who had hitherto by their cabals frustrated all those measures which he was anxious to carry through. At last he ordered the whole body to leave the assembly till they had given satisfaction for the insults in-

flicted upon the grand-marshal of Sweden, count von Löwenhaupt. This was a mere artifice, in order to enable the three remaining estates to adopt resolutions to which the nobles were opposed, and which nearly affected their own privileges. In the diet of 1786 it was resolved, that all measures whatsoever which should be sanctioned by three of the estates in the diet should become law. With regard to the grand-marshal, the estate of the nobles replied in a manner very acceptable to the king, by declaring that in their minutes they could find no trace of any insult or offence, and could therefore offer no satisfaction, because no one had been offended.

The estate of the nobles indeed declared, that in questions pertaining to their own privileges, the resolutions of the three estates could never have the force of laws; but the king had recourse to other means for promoting his views. As early as the 20th he sought permission from the deputies of the three other estates to apply all the means at his disposal to give effect to the resolutions of the diet, which in other words was the same as to call upon him to renew the measures adopted in 1772, and to employ military force. He now again united the retiring palace guard with that entering upon duty, but on this occasion he caused more than thirty of the most violent members of the aristocratical party to be arrested and thrown into the state-prison of Friedrichshof. The commanders of the Finnish regiments, or rather the confederates of Anjala, were also arrested and brought to Stockholm, in order to be tried by a court-martial. This was the introduction to the new revolution or change of the constitution which the king thought himself able to effect with the consent of the affrighted aristocracy now deprived of their bolder leaders, and over the heads of whose friends and relations was suspended the sword of martial law.

On the day after the arrest of the heads of the opposition, the 21st of February 1789, he called a plenary assembly of the estates, and declared in the presence of the whole four, that he was far from ascribing to the whole body of the nobility those crimes which had been committed by some of its members, and he therefore confidently submitted to the estates a proposal for a renewed increase of the royal power. This proposal was contained in a document known under the name of *an act for union and security*, which together with the abolition of the restrictions imposed upon the royal authority, and which Gustavus had suffered

to remain in 1772, at the same time imposed restrictions on the privileges enjoyed by the nobles to the prejudice of the other estates. It was stated in this act, that for the future all the higher as well as the lower offices of state should be open to the class of citizens as well as to the aristocracy, and that the former should enjoy the same freedom from arrest as the latter; and finally all citizens and peasants were to be as free to purchase and possess real estates of every description as the nobility. The articles in favour of monarchical power were as follows:—

The king shall in future govern the kingdom by his sole authority and according as he shall deem right, declare war and conclude peace, appoint to all offices in the state, and superintend the administration of law and justice. The council of the kingdom therefore shall no longer possess any political rights, but merely constitute the highest judicial tribunal of the realm, and the opinion of the diet shall only be taken respecting *extraordinary* taxes, or such matters as the king shall think it right to submit to its consideration. The three other estates immediately accepted this *act of security*, but that of the nobles obstinately and perseveringly refused its assent and signature. The dispute was prolonged till the middle of the month of March, on the 16th of which the nobles at length gave an absolute refusal to the solemn appeal which was made to them to give their assent and consent to the act. The king paid no further attention to the fact, that the diet of 1786, in declaring that every measure sanctioned by the three estates should have the force of law, had expressly excepted *fundamental laws, privileges, and approval of taxes*, but commanded count Löwenhaupt, marshal of the kingdom, to subscribe in the name of the whole order of knights and nobility of the kingdom. The aristocracy indeed proclaimed their wrongs, protested against this attack upon their privileges, and even went so far as to apply for aid to the Prussian government, whose principle at that time was the maintenance of everything old, whether it was good or bad; king Gustavus however found means finally to attain his object. By his proceedings he not only frightened the nobles by hinting at the employment of soldiers and popular commotions, but he had also great success in winning them over by his words and speeches, in the use of which he was a great master.

The king himself appeared in the chamber of nobles, surrounded by the people, who greeted him with every demonstra-

tion of respect and rejoicing, and who at the same time used violent and threatening language against his opponents; besides, the king, who remained for three hours in the chamber of this embittered caste, had given express orders to the horse-guards to hold themselves ready to act on a moment's notice. We do not venture to allege, as the eulogists of the king have done, that in the course of these three hours he conquered their resistance by his eloquent appeals, or whether, as appears from the history of his murder a few years afterwards by the leaders of his opponents, the aristocracy merely chose the less of two evils, when its members consented to subscribe the *act of union and security*. This estate having yielded and signed the act, the diet was dissolved on the 28th of April, and the object of the king was attained. He was now dictator and autocrat; the estates had undertaken the national debts, the loans to be raised by the king were guaranteed, and the moneys necessary for the prosecution of the war with Russia were granted. For these reasons, a course of mildness was pursued towards the leaders of the aristocracy*. In consequence of the punishment inflicted on the leaders of the conspiracy in Finland, all the members of the higher nobility were at this time removed from the army, and the command fell into the hands of the Germans who had remained loyal, and who, like their companions in the German armies, neither knew nor wished to know anything of a constitution, but were only bent on military honours and acquainted with military obedience and promotion. In the meantime Russia had fully attained the object she had in view, by stirring up this rebellious spirit among the Swedish nobles; the favourable moment for the king of Sweden's prosecution of the war was now past, and the Russians had already completed all their pre-

* Arndt, whom we always follow if possible with pleasure, speaking of these events, expresses himself as follows:—"The most distinguished members of the aristocracy seized upon the 20th of February 1789 were, counts Axel Fersen, Horn and De Geer, director Fritzky, a really noble and patriotic man, and colonels Arnifelt, Schwarzer (a Pomeranian) and Marlean. They were detained for about a month in honourable custody in the castle of Friedrichshof and then again set at liberty. In Finland a court-martial was also held on the commanders of regiments and colonels, and almost all of them were condemned to death together with the chiefs of the confederates of Anjala. In this case also Gustavus adopted a mild course. Colonel and baron von Häflesko alone, a native of Finland, suffered death; some were sent to the West Indies to the island of St. Bartholomew, recently received in exchange from France, and among these colonel Montgomery. Others were sent over sea to Germany, and the remainder pardoned."

parations by land and sea for the defence of their provinces bordering upon Sweden. Gustavus's project of burning the Russian fleet in the harbour of Copenhagen was totally unworthy of those knightly feelings which he affected, since respectable and honourable persons could not be employed, and he was obliged to have recourse to adventurers and incendiaries*. When the king again joined the army in Finland, his Swedes gave evidence of their attachment and courage; but he himself again played the hero and commander, and contrived to injure the success of the war by his absurd interference in its conduct. In the murderous fights which ensued from the middle of June till the end of July, both the Russians and the Swedes lost great numbers of men, without any other benefit or gain on either side than military renown. The Swedes in the meantime were unfortunate at sea, and they would therefore have been in no respects profited by their success had they been victorious by land.

Admiral Ehrenswerd was entrusted with the command of the Swedish flotilla of flat-bottomed boats constructed for navigating the rocky shallows of the coast, whilst the Russian fleet of a similar character was placed under the orders of the prince of Nassau-Siegen, who had shortly before been commander of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and fallen into disputes with Potemkin which led to his being sent to the Baltic. The Russian ships of the line were under the command of admiral Tschitschakow, and contained a considerable number of British naval officers of experience. This fleet had fallen in with that of the Swedes as early as the 26th of June, which was so injured in an engagement between Bornholm and Gothland as to be obliged to return to Carlscrona. The unfortunate issue of the battle was generally ascribed to disloyalty on the part of some of the noble naval officers, who failed to take an active share in the engagement from evil intention. This was certainly more than mere suspicion or malicious accusation, for admiral Lilienhorn was arrested and called before a court-martial. With respect to the proceedings by land, the king's interference in the direction of affairs was manifestly the sole cause of the loss which was suffered in August, when the Swedes were compelled to evacuate the Russian territory, after having obliged a Russian

* He employed such men as Albedyl, to whom he gave the title of *charge d'affaires* in Copenhagen, Benzelsierna, an Irishman named O'Brien, an Englishman called Shields, and others.

division to retreat on the 28th of June at Davidstadt, and another at Likala on the 3rd of July. The king still persisted in his determination of opening up a way for himself to Petersburg, and therefore of storming Friedrichshamm. He directed the plan for the execution of the project, although he was properly speaking merely a volunteer with his army. By his interference he exposed the Swedish army to a considerable loss, on the very same day (the 24th of August) on which the Russian flotilla gained an important victory over the Swedes at Rogensalm. Friedrichshamm, according to the king's command, was to be stormed by the three generals Siegroth, Kaulbart and Platen; the assault however failed of success, and the Swedes were obliged to retire; their flotilla was twice beaten. The first victory of the Russians at Rogensalm was attributed to the prince of Nassau-Siegen, who however was accompanied by three or four persons, who rendered him the same service which the British officers did to admiral Tschitschakow. On the 1st of September the Swedish flotilla experienced a defeat at Högfors, and the land army, commanded by the king, was there also compelled to retreat. The loss in human life was indeed great, but the real injury small, for the Swedish army continued till the beginning of winter to occupy its quarters on the frontiers of Russia.

During the winter, it is true, Gustavus withdrew from his army, but he resumed his duties as commander as early as March 1790, and was now careful to supply all the deficiencies of the two previous years. On the 15th of April in Finland he reduced the two important posts of Kärnakosky and Pardakoffsky near Wilmanstrand, his Swedes were victorious at Walkiala, and on the 30th repulsed the Russians in their attempt to recover the two posts just mentioned. On the 4th and 5th of May, the Swedes were afterwards beaten at Aberfors by the Russian general Numsen, and lost twelve pieces of cannon. The king having again taken Pardakoffsky, the key of Sawolax, immediately caused a portion of his land forces to embark in the flotilla, of which he himself assumed the command, and ordered the remainder of the army to press forward by the shore towards Petersburg, relying on the assistance of the fleet, which was to receive them on board in case of a defeat. The fleet consisted of nineteen large ships, twenty-seven galleys, and a number of gun-boats, which in all mounted about 2000 guns. It was absolutely necessary

to the execution of this royal, but, under existing circumstances, adventurous undertaking, that Friedrichshamm should in all haste be reduced by storm. The king having been successful on the 15th in a naval engagement, made his third attempt at storming the fortress on the 17th and 18th of May, and notwithstanding a great loss in men failed in effecting his object. Although the way by land thus remained barred, he nevertheless persisted in his design of terrifying the empress in her capital.

The king having now embarked a greater number of Swedish troops than before, reached Wyburg, and on the 2nd of June 1790 disembarked a division of his army at Blörke, about forty miles from Petersburg. The whole success of this rash undertaking completely depended on his remaining master of the sea. In order to maintain this superiority, duke Charles was to prevent the junction of the two Russian fleets, one of which was lying in Cronstadt and the other in Revel, and on the 3rd of June he was ordered to seek out and engage the division of the fleet in the former harbour. King Gustavus also interfered in naval affairs; by his command, duke Charles was to relinquish his position between the two Russian fleets and to approach the flotilla*. The Swedish fleet was no sooner thus withdrawn from its position than an opportunity was afforded to the Russians to form a junction between their two fleets, which actually took place on the very day (the 6th of June) on which the duke entered into the sound of Wyburg. The Swedish fleet was blockaded by the Russian squadrons, consisting when united of thirty ships of the line and eighteen frigates; the former however continued to keep up its connexion with the flotilla. It appears by the accounts on which we found our history of these events, that both the Swedish fleets would have been entirely lost, had the two Russian admirals been able naval officers and qualified for such a command. Captain Pelissier, who had served in Holland, is said to have given admiral Tschitschakow advice which he ought to have followed, had he not been too obstinately attached to his own opinions; Pelissier even pointed out to gene-

* According to Arndt, p. 123, the king was clearly to blame, because he proved himself always incapable, and had no thorough acquaintance with the duties of a commander, although he continued to play the character of a hero. This may be easily traced even in the panegyrical tone of all the German and Swedish histories of this campaign. Arndt says:—"The king, *contrary to the advice of several*, caused the large fleet to be brought to the flotilla within the bay, between the Klippers and Islands."

rals Suchtelen and Soltikoff the places where they ought to have erected their batteries in order effectually to bar the egress of the Swedish fleet from the bay; no attention however was paid to his advice. The prince of Nassau-Siegen proved himself to be in no respect superior as a commander to admiral Tschitschakow, who was at the head of the other fleet. If the plan of duke Charles had been adopted, the Russians would have been victorious without a battle; on this occasion however king Gustavus and Stedingk rescued the honour of the Swedish name.

The Swedes had now been closely shut up in the bay of Wyburg for three weeks, and at the end of June were reduced to extremities; in the beginning of July a grand council of war was held. Duke Charles and many other members of the council recommended a capitulation, but the king and Stedingk were in favour of making a desperate effort to force their way through the enemy's line. The attempt was accordingly made on the 3rd of July, and through Tschitschakow's neglect led to success, at least in as far as enabling the Swedish fleet to bring the blockading squadron to an engagement, which might have been effectually prevented by the Russian admiral from leaving the bay, if he had followed the good advice which he received. The Swedes on this occasion not only risked their fleet, but their army also, which contained the *élite* of the troops, whose services they required on land against the Russians, and whom they had now on board their ships. In this engagement therefore they not only lost seven ships of the line, three frigates, and more than thirty galleys and gunboats, but almost the whole of the royal guards, the queen's regiment and that of Upländ, amounting to 6000 or 7000 men, which had been put on board the fleet, and were utterly destroyed in the engagement which took place in the sound of Wyburg. Whilst the larger Swedish ships thus endeavoured to gain the open sea, the flotilla had withdrawn for safety into an arm of the gulf which runs parallel to the shore and stretches towards Friedrichshamm. This inlet, called the sound of Suenske, is extremely difficult of access on the side towards Friedrichshamm, in consequence of a group of rocky islands at its mouth; but it may be safely reached through the open harbour of Asph, and the prince of Nassau-Siegen with the Russian flotilla determined to pass into the sound in this way, to seek out the Swedes in their place of refuge and attack them.

The Swedish ships were well-protected from the attack of the

Russian fleet by rocks, and when the prince gave orders for the assault on the 9th, the sailors were so exhausted and his orders for battle were so unskilful, that the king of Sweden gained a splendid victory on this and the following day. The loss of the Russians was so great on this occasion as to have surpassed any which they had suffered since the seven years' war. Fifty-five vessels were captured, a number of others destroyed, and 14,000 Russians either taken prisoners or slain. The fickle king of Sweden, who had now completely dreamed out his dream of humbling the pride and glory of Russia, already began to cast his eyes towards France, and as early as the following year dreamed his monarchical dream in favour of the French emigrants. The idea of becoming the Cucupeter or Godfrey of Bouillon of this aristocratical and monarchical crusade, which Burke at that time proclaimed in the English parliament and in his work on the French revolution, had been awakened in his mind as early as 1790, and the empress of Russia found means of strengthening him in his waking dreams; moreover his means were exhausted, and he therefore lent a favourable ear to the proposal of Galvez, the Spanish ambassador, who began to mediate for a peace between Sweden and Russia.

The peace between Sweden and Russia, concluded at Wærela on the Kymene on the 14th of August 1790, served to show how empty all Gustavus's splendour was, and how unreal and inefficient all the efforts were which he made. It was now seen that all the blood had been shed to no purpose, and all the treasures of his very poor kingdom mischievously squandered, for everything remained on the footing on which it had been in the spring of 1788.

§ III.

AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA, AND THEIR WAR WITH THE TURKS.

We have already related the manner in which Potemkin first prevailed upon Joseph to concur in his plans, the most unreasonable demands which he made upon the Turks, and finally how he drove them to a precipitate declaration of war, by means of his Russian emissaries who formed connexions with the malcontents in every province of the Turkish dominions: this declaration furnished Austria with the necessary pretence for taking

part in the war. At that time France was fettered by an alliance with Austria, England was engaged in negotiating an advantageous commercial treaty with Russia, and at the end of 1787 Sweden was therefore the only ally from whom the Turks might expect any immediate assistance. Instead however of paying subsidies or providing auxiliary troops, as required by the terms of the treaty, Joseph II. preferred forming a close alliance with Russia, in order to share the conquests. It is only in our own times that the official calculations respecting Joseph's measures for the Turkish war, and the sums which were spent upon it, have been given to the public, from which we learn that nothing was spared and yet it failed of success, because, as was also the case afterwards in the following wars, the aristocracy of the Austrian officials made it quite impossible ever to reach the guilty, when he belonged to one of the higher classes. Men speculated as diplomatists, generals, ministers and contractors; and this custom so often enraged the emperor Joseph, that he interfered by violence, inflicted arbitrary punishments, or increased the measure of those appointed by law; but all this contributed as little to improve the state of affairs in Austria at that time, as similar conduct would do in Russia at the present day.

The accounts of the first campaign of the Austrians have been first published from official sources in the Austrian Military Magazine of the year 1831, and it may not therefore be unsuitable here to introduce some of the reports which are there given. The whole army was ready to take the field at the end of the year 1787: it formed an immense cordon stretching from the mountains on the coast of the Adriatic Sea to the Carpathians, and consisted of a main body and five subdivisions. Unhappily the emperor Joseph was desirous of commanding the main army in person, under the unskilful direction of Lacy, his military mentor, who, like his pupil and understrapper Mack, was a good drill-sergeant and eye-servant, but no general. The main body consisted of 25,000 infantry and 22,000 horse, and the whole of the troops together amounted to 86,000 cavalry and 245,000 foot, accompanied by 898 pieces of artillery.

In February 1788, Russia and Austria declared war against the Turks at the same time; but as early as August of the same year England and Prussia entered into an alliance, the main object of which was to place Prussia in a situation to prevent

the aggrandizement of Austria, if necessary by force of arms. This moreover was not necessary in the year 1788, because the king of Sweden by his rash attack upon the Russians prevented them from proceeding with their usual rapidity, and the emperor Joseph by his presence with the army frustrated the effect of his immense armaments. According to the opinion of the best judges of such military operations, the imperial army should have occupied the country on the Save, taken Shabacz, Widdin and Belgrade, and after the conquest of Nissa have scattered their forces over the whole of Servia; Shabacz however alone was reduced, and the siege of Belgrade, which was commenced with great cost in May, was immediately afterwards given up by the emperor's express command. In a similar manner the whole of the measures adopted by the several divisions have been severely blamed by those who are much better skilled in military operations than we can profess to be. The numbers of the army were seriously diminished by the vapours and pestilential miasma of the unhealthy and swampy districts lying on the banks of the Save, the Drave, and the Danube; because one part of the army was carried off by disease and another was rendered unfit for service. The dissatisfaction with the emperor and the courtly Lacy, and with the whole conduct of the war became so general, that Joseph was at length obliged to resolve earnestly to entreat the aged and declining Laudon, who had been properly speaking, the popular hero of the Austrians since the time of the seven years' war, to assume the command. This general had previously excused himself in consequence of his age and ill-health, but notwithstanding this, he now undertook the chief command of an independent body of troops in Croatia, which were entrusted to him.

Laudon, having made an express stipulation with the emperor that he was not to interfere with his plans, marched against Croatia and immediately afterwards conquered Novi, whilst the emperor himself was obliged to hasten to the aid of the army in the Bannat, which was very hard-pressed by the Turks. The division under Wartensleben, which should have supported the army in the Bannat, had been driven back by the Turks, who succeeded in getting complete possession of the rocky bed through which the Danube has forced a passage at a distance of six hours and a half above New Orsowa, because the Austrians had been guilty of an incomprehensible neglect. The pass,

which is not more than a pistol-shot in width, is commanded by a fortified cleft in the rocks, called *Veterani's Hole**, and this post the Austrians should and could have maintained when the main body of the Turks appeared at Old Orsowa on the 7th of August; this however they neglected to do. The Austrian general suffered himself to be defeated and lost thirteen pieces of cannon, and as his communications with the main army were cut off, he was obliged to retreat so far, that the garrison of this important post was left to its fate. The Turks sacrificed great numbers of men in order to make themselves masters of this important pass, by the possession of which they immediately became masters of the whole navigation of the Danube as far down as Belgrade. As soon as the Danube was lost, the imperial army found itself threatened in the rear.

The Austrians had also evacuated Panczowa, and therefore the whole of the plains between Ujpalanka, Panczowa, Weiskirchen and Oppowa fell into the hands of the Turks, in consequence of which the emperor was compelled to hasten forward with the main army. He left thirty thousand men at Semlin, and despatched Wartensleben with 40,000 men to support the retreating army; but this expedition also proved unfortunate. The emperor had encamped between Salota and Slatina, but this position was soon found to be untenable, and at the close of autumn (the 20th of September) the army left the encampment in order to take up another position at Karansebes. On the march thither, the army was seized with a most unaccountable panic, believed themselves to be threatened by the enemy, fell into disorder, and mistook their own troops from the Slavonian frontiers for enemies. The regiments fired upon one another, looked everywhere for an enemy where in reality there was none, and all attempts on the part of the emperor in person to stop the firing and put an end to the confusion were vain. He was in fact separated from his suite and wandered about ignorant of his way; it was even supposed that he had been taken prisoner, when at length, accompanied by a single individual, he came to Karansebes. A detailed account of the singular story of this night-march and its consequences does not appear to us to belong to the province of general history; it will however be

* Because field-marshal count Veterani, in the year 1692, with captain d'Arman, 300 men and five pieces of cannon, defended this passage for forty-five days against the whole Turkish army.

found both authentic and complete in the 'Austrian Military Magazine of 1831.'

The army under the prince of Coburg, who had served in the seven years' war, and afterwards, in the revolutionary war against the French, given such unfortunate proofs of the science of a slow, methodical and mechanical spatterdash service, and at the same time carried on political and diplomatic intrigues with baron Thugut instead of fighting in company with Clairfait, was somewhat less unfortunate in its operations than that under Wartensleben and the emperor. This army, which was to be reinforced with 10,000 or 12,000 men under Soltikoff, was intended to act against Moldavia and Wallachia, and was obliged at first to renounce all idea of reducing Choczim by force, which the Russians had captured in the last war without firing a shot; circumstances however afterwards proved more favourable to its success. Moldavia was occupied, Jassy taken, and the Turks shut up in Choczim so completely cut off, that they were compelled to evacuate the fortress in October. In this way, the Russians in October were in possession of five districts of Moldavia and of several passes in Wallachia, and the main army was again able to extend the limits of its operations. Wartensleben sat down with a part of the army before Mahadia, the emperor kept possession of the country from Panczowa to Semlin, and the division under Laudon made conquests in Bosnia and Croatia; and the small fortresses of Drosnick, Dubicza, Novi and Shabacz were reduced.

After the massacre perpetrated by Suwarrow upon the Turks on the promontory of Kinburn, the Russians had remained for a long time quiet; but by their possession of the coasts, they effectually prevented the Turks from landing any troops, and by the capture of the island of Beresan, wholly excluded them from the mouth of the Dnieper. It was not till late in the year 1788 that Potemkin summoned Suwarrow to come to him from Kinburn in order to conduct the siege of Oczakow; the latter however was wounded, and after his return to Kinburn the siege made very little progress. The cold, the climate and avarice of Potemkin deprived the soldiers of the necessary supplies and destroyed thousands; and the dreadful cold and disease proved far more injurious to the Russians, who were suffering from want, than the attacks of their enemies. At length the frost became so intense that the men were obliged to excavate pits for dwellings,

but the same frost also opened up a means of attacking the fortress after the Russian fashion, that is, without reference to the sacrifice of thousands of men, of reducing the city a few weeks earlier than they could otherwise have done. The city is completely protected on the side towards the Black Sea by a marshy lake called Liman, the fortifications on this quarter are less strong, and now that the lake was frozen, Potemkin issued orders to storm the fortress from the sea side. On this occasion the Russians were cruelly sacrificed, one regiment was no sooner mowed down than another was compelled to advance, and above four thousand Russians were slain before the storming of Oczakow was effected on the 16th of December 1788, an exploit which was afterwards extolled to heaven. The Russians having at length borne down all resistance and forced their way into the city, were compensated for the losses and sufferings during the siege by three days' murder and pillage: they put citizens and soldiers, men, women and children to the sword without mercy or distinction, as the much-lauded Romans also were accustomed to do when they took a city by storm. It is usually stated that 20,000 Turks were massacred on this occasion, but for the honour of the Russians we must express our doubts of its truth. This piece of Russian heroism, which was not performed by Potemkin himself, but by others at his command, was also rewarded after the Russian fashion. Every soldier who had taken part in the siege received a medal of honour, whilst Potemkin, who had contributed nothing to its success, derived the only real advantage. The empress had previously deprived Rasumowsky of the office of hetman, which she now conferred upon Potemkin, who received in addition a present of 100,000 roubles, besides what he had appropriated to himself out of the moneys destined for the besieging army, and what he had seized upon from the rich booty which fell into his hands after the capture of the city.

The death of the grand sultan Abd-el-Hamed, which took place in April 1789, had no influence whatever on the relations between the Turks and Russians, his successor Selim continued to prosecute the war in 1789, and Suwarrow having recovered from the effects of his wound, again joined Potemkin's army. Repnin in like manner submitted to serve under a haughty man whom every one feared and wondered at, although no one could point out any, properly speaking, great qualities, any na-

tural talents or acquired capacities for which he deserved either to be respected or admired. The character played by Potemkin with the army in 1789 was precisely the same as that which major Masson saw him play in Petersburg in 1790; in order therefore to avoid delineations of character which we do not like on account of their generality, we shall quote Masson's words in a note*. We introduce this passage from Masson more particularly, because as an eye-witness he presents one view of Potemkin's character and habits, whilst Ségur, who was also an eye-witness, and to whom we have previously referred, furnishes us with another. On Suwarrow's return to Potemkin's army, he found it in possession of the whole country from Oczakow to the mouths of the Danube and then quartered in Jassy; he was immediately placed at the head of the division which was to co-operate with the Austrians. During this year 1789, Potemkin himself lay seven full months before Ismail at the mouths of the Danube, whilst the inhuman Kamenskoi, like another Attila, was carrying fire and sword, and perpetrating robbery and murder in Wallachia.

By the campaign of the previous year the emperor's health had been seriously impaired, and he was now obliged to leave the army; Lacy was also removed, who like a good courtier

* Masson, 'Mémoires Secrets sur la Russie' (edit. 1804), vol. i. pp. 160, 161, observes: "Je laisserai aux voyageurs le soin de détailler la pompe de ses fêtes, le luxe barbare de sa maison et la valeur de ses brillans; et aux écrivains allemands celui de raconter combien il y avoit de billets de banque reliés en guise de livres dans sa bibliothèque, et combien il payoit les cerises dont il avoit coutume d'offrir tous les premiers jours de l'an un plat à son auguste souveraine; ou ce que coûtoit la soupe de sterlet, qui étoit son mets favori; ou comment il envoyoit un courrier à quelques cents lieues pour chercher un melon ou un bouquet à ses maîtresses." Then follows the chief point, pp. 162, 163: "Il créoit ou détruisoit ou brouilloit tout; mais il vivoit tout. Absent on ne parloit que de lui; présent c'étoit lui seul qu'on voyoit. Les Grands, qui le haïssoient et qui jouoient quelque rôle tandis qu'il étoit à l'armée, sembloient à son aspect rentrer en terre et s'anéantir devant lui. Le prince de Ligne, qui lui écrivoit des flagorneries (he was well known in the whole of Europe as a great master of court style and court wit, as may be seen from count Ségur and madame de Staël), disoit: Il y a du gigantesque, du romanesque et du barbaresque dans ce caractère là, et c'étoit vrai. Sa mort laissa un vaste immense dans l'empire, et cette mort fut aussi extraordinaire que sa vie." He then relates how he lived a whole year in Petersburg in the middle of the war, and suddenly died on his return to the army: "Il avoit passé près d'un an à Petersburg, se livrant à toutes sortes de plaisirs, même des débauches, oubliant la gloire et étalant ses richesses et son crédit avec un faste insultant. Il recevoit les plus grands de l'empire comme ses valets, daignoit à peine appercevoir le *petit Paul* et passoit quelquefois dans les appartemens de Catharine, les jambes nues, les cheveux épars et en robe de chambre," &c.

was obliged to take upon himself a share of the errors of the past year, which did not properly belong to him. His place was to be filled by Haddick, who however was seventy-eight years of age, and in reality returned before he had taken any part in the service. Laudon then received the command of the whole army and commenced the siege of Belgrade; the prince of Coburg however retained the command of the division which was to keep open the communications between him and the Russians. During the campaign of 1789, this prince gave such numerous proofs of his incapacity to conduct any great undertakings or even to help himself out of trifling difficulties, that the history of the campaign of 1789 alone ought to have prevented the emperor Leopold from entrusting him with the command against the French, who possessed generals and soldiers of a very different kind from those of the Turks. Selim III. had succeeded in getting on foot a very considerable force, which was destined to operate on the extreme point of Moldavia where that country touches upon Transylvania, and is separated from Wallachia by a small river. This river divides the small town of Fockschani into two parts, one of which belongs to Moldavia and the other to Wallachia. Prince Coburg was advancing thither slowly and methodically, when the Turkish army encamped in the neighbourhood of the town just mentioned, turned suddenly upon him and filled him with such apprehensions of being completely shut in, that instead of adopting bold measures and doing what Suwarrow afterwards did, he anxiously sought to obtain his speedy assistance.

Suwarrow's army was lying at Belat in Moldavia; when the news reached him he never hesitated a moment, but marched between forty and fifty miles in a direct line over mountains, across ravines and pathless districts, and in less than thirty-six hours reached the Austrians on the 30th of July, at five o'clock in the evening. As early as eleven o'clock on the same evening he sent the plan of the attack upon the Turks, which was to commence at two in the morning, to the astonished prince, who had never heard of such rapidity of movement, or never seen it equalled even on parade. The prince's anxiety on account of the Turks and their dreaded attack would have had something comical in it, had it not afterwards become very tragical, in consequence of the preservation and deliverance of German honour and the integrity of its empire and nationality having been confided to

him and persons of a similar character. He went three times to Suwarrow's quarters without having seen him; in the attack he made no claim to the supreme command, which should have belonged to him as the eldest general, but as a subordinate, submitted to Suwarrow's orders, which having been drawn up in French, we give the original in a note*. The Turks, to the amount of between 50,000 and 60,000 men, were in position at Fockschani, when the Russians and Austrians with 40,000 men passed the river Purna and stormed their fortified camp, mounting the ramparts and driving them at the point of the bayonet, as if they were assaulting ordinary fieldworks. The camp was taken in an hour with the loss of about 800 men; the whole body of the Turkish infantry fell into disorder, their cavalry galloped off, were scattered in all directions and pursued for some miles with the greatest impetuosity and vehement zeal. The whole of the baggage and artillery, all the stores collected in Fockschani, a hundred standards and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors; the Austrians exhibited the same zeal, perseverance and courage as the Russians, and had they possessed such a commander as Suwarrow, they would have reaped immense fruits from the victory, but they became sensible as early as August that they were in want of a proper leader.

Suwarrow returned to Moldavia; the prince of Coburg subsided into his usual phlegmatic disposition, looked quietly on whilst the Turks were collecting a new army, and suffered the grand vizier to advance without obstruction into Wallachia. The Turks directed Hassan Pasha, who lay in Ismail, to make an expedition against Repnin, whilst the grand vizier was to march against the prince of Coburg, who had taken up a position at Martinesti on the river Rinnik. The news of this new attack no sooner reached the Austrian camp, than Coburg, in-

* "Comme l'armée est assez reposée (from 5 to 2 o'clock) elle se mettra en mouvement à deux heures du matin. Elle marchera sur trois colonnes. Les troupes impériales fermeront la droite et la gauche, je serai au centre. On attaquera les avant postes de l'ennemi avec toutes les forces, sans s'amuser à les chasser des broussailles et des bois qui sont sur la droite, afin d'arriver à la pointe du jour à la Purna qu'on passera pour continuer l'attaque. On dit qu'il n'y a que cinquante milles Turcs, et que cinquante milles autres sont à quelques marches en arrière. Il vaudroit mieux qu'ils fussent ensemble, ils seraient battus dans le même jour, et tout serait fini. Mais puisqu'il en est autrement nous commencerons par ceux-ci, et avec la bravoure des troupes et la grâce de Dieu nous remporterons la victoire."

stead of attempting to help himself, again had recourse to Suwarrow, who had already drawn nearer to Coburg from Belat. Very exaggerated accounts, as it seems to us, have been given of the grand vizier's army, which has been estimated at 100,000 men. His troops pushed forward rapidly by Braila (Ibrahim), and compelled the advanced posts of the prince, again looking to Suwarrow for deliverance, to retire into their camp. Suwarrow received the prince's letter on the 16th of September, immediately gave orders to march, and two days afterwards succeeded in forming a junction with the Austrians, at the very moment in which they were to have been attacked by the Turks.

The Austrians afterwards proved anew that they were not to be surpassed, as soon as they were not commanded, as was usually the case, by princes and privileged persons, who become generals whilst they sleep. The prince of Coburg, as he had previously done at Fockschani, totally relinquished the command of himself and his army at Martinesti on the Rimnik to Suwarrow, who immediately availed himself of the oversight of the Turks in not fortifying their camp before they offered battle, and attacked them by storm in their uncompleted trenches. The issue was as glorious as it had been on the 31st of July at Fockschani; the contest however was more obstinately maintained. On this occasion the Russians formed the left wing, whilst the centre and right were occupied by the Austrians, whose admirably-served artillery scattered the Turkish cavalry, which on their part made an attempt to surround and cut off the small body of the Russians. The victory in this dangerous and hard-fought battle with the Turks was gained not merely by the courage, activity, and bayonets of the Austrian and Russian infantry, but especially by the great military skill of the commander. His orders to avoid the village of Bochsá, and first to drive the Turks out of the woods by which they were covered before commencing the main attack, have been greatly admired, and above all his prudence in not sacrificing the infantry in a blind storm, which were the more remarkable in a general accustomed to bring everything to a rapid determination.

The victory was splendid, the booty immense, the Turkish army a second time utterly dispersed,—a necessary consequence of the nature of its composition,—and the number of killed and wounded much greater than at Fockschani. Prince Coburg, on account of this victory, in which he was entitled to little share,

was created a field-marshal; Suwarrow received the dignity of a count of the empire from the emperor Joseph, and what was still more, the empress of Russia for once gave the honourable distinction of an appellation to a man who had really merited the honour by his personal services; she raised him to a level with her Tschesmenskian Orloff and her Taurian Potemkin, and called him Rimniksky, from the name of the river on the banks of which he had been victorious. Suwarrow had no sooner returned to Belat in Moldavia, and left the Austrian army to its own resources, than its commander again relapsed into indolence, and no further advantage was taken of the victory. Coburg in this war, as well as in that with France, was much more of a diplomatic than a military general, and now returned to Fockschani; Laudon's undertakings in Servia, Croatia and Bosnia were merely politically important to Austria, as Potemkin's conquests from the Dnieper and the Pruth to the mouths of the Danube were for the Russians. The noble-minded emperor, who was retarded by misfortunes, calumniated by priests and privileged men of all classes, cast down by sickness and threatened by England and Prussia, who in connexion with the wife of the hereditary stadtholder supported the Belgians in their rebellion, in the last months of his life had at least the pleasure of seeing his arms victorious over the Turks. In the following year he was removed by death, before the cabals of the Prussians were able to rob him of the fruits of his victory. On the 22nd of September Coburg's army was triumphant at Martinesti, and on the 6th of October Belgrade surrendered to the arms of Laudon.

The success of the Russians caused so much disquiet among the other powers, who were concerned for the preservation of the existence of the Turkish empire, that they first encouraged the king of Sweden in his warlike inclinations by every means in their power, and then called forth a republic in Belgium, founded upon the hierarchical and aristocratical principles of the middle ages. Poland was also invited to throw off the Russian yoke, and afterwards annihilated as an independent state, because Prussia shared the booty in territory and people which were torn from the believers in Poland, in order to withdraw those of the unbelievers from the Russians and Austrians. In the course of the year 1789, the Russians, with irresistible rapidity, took possession of all the fortresses in that district, which

is now united to their empire, stretching from the Dnieper to the mouths of the Danube. Galatz was reduced to ashes by the cruel Kamenskoi. Ackerman surrendered on the 15th of October; Bender, Chodsebey, Belgrade, Palanka submitted to the victors, whilst England availed herself of the mediation of Prussia, because she thought it more advisable to allow others to negotiate, than completely to break with Russia on account of the brutality always exercised by that nation against weaker states.

In the first years of the government of Frederick William II. of Prussia, count Herzberg retained the conduct of foreign affairs, with which he had been entrusted by Frederick II., and, as has already been observed, first effected an alliance between Prussia, England and the Netherlands, and secondly, in August 1788, a union between Prussia and England, with a view to counteract the designs of Russia and Austria upon the Turkish empire. This refers to the time in which Frederick William had not fallen completely into the power of mistresses, mystics, obscurists and members of secret orders. At the end of the year 1789, Herr von Dietz, Prussian ambassador in Constantinople, was commissioned and empowered by Herzberg to conclude a treaty with Turkey, by virtue of which Prussia was to guarantee to the sultan the full and unimpaired possession of his empire, and the ambassador actually concluded the treaty on the 16th of January 1790. Perhaps the ambassador was precipitate in concluding the treaty, or more probably Herr von Dietz was accused of having exceeded his instructions, because the whole circumstances were changed by the emperor Joseph's death in the beginning of March 1790, and therefore Prussia deferred the ratification of the treaty, or rather after five months' delay agreed to it with many limitations*. This occurred at the very moment in which Prussia offered its protection and alliance to the Poles on condition of the cession of Danzig and Thorn, to which they were unwilling to accede. Kalkreuth however was sent to Warsaw, in order, as it was said, to put himself at the head of a united body of Prussians and Poles, destined for the relief and assistance of the Turks. Another Prussian army was

* Prussia delayed till June 1790, and then omitted everything which could give the treaty, which was to be merely defensive, an offensive character; and the guarantee for the integrity of the Turkish empire, which, according to the articles signed by Dietz, should have included the Crimea, was expressly confined to the *status ante bellum*.

stationed on the frontiers of Galicia, and the main body collected in Silesia, so that when Joseph II. died on the 20th of February 1790, Prussia appeared to be ready to commence the war against Austria. Preparations were also zealously continued in the commencement of the reign of Leopold II. The king of Prussia himself, accompanied by the duke of Brunswick and field-marshal Möllendorf, went to Silesia, because Herzberg's negotiations with the imperial ministers led to no results, and suddenly all the earlier difficulties disappeared on the personal intercourse of the two rulers. Leopold II. had scarcely entered upon his government, in March 1790, when he opened a correspondence with the king of Prussia which frustrated Herzberg's plans.

This distinguished scholar and statesman had not insisted, as was afterwards done, that Austria should relinquish all the conquests made by Laudon on the Save, the Drave and the Danube, but had relied on the union which was entered into between Prussia and the Poles, when the latter put an end to the anarchy of their institutions, in order to make head against Russia. According to Herzberg's scheme, Poland was to cede Thorn and Danzig to Prussia, and to be indemnified by Austria in Galicia, whilst the emperor was to retain his conquests in Turkey. This formed the subject of Herzberg's negotiations from the 18th of June, on which he joined the king in Schönwalde*, and on the 26th opened a congress to treat for peace in Reichenbach. The Reichenbach congress presented Herzberg's enemies with the long-wished-for opportunity of driving him from office; he was hated by the obscurists, who had now gained complete dominion over Frederick William, by virtue of his sensual, voluptuous, and therefore also visionary fancy; and who were decided enemies of all those improvements in the traditionary, religious and political institutions which Leopold as emperor now favoured, after having proved himself the greatest and ablest reformer among the princes of Europe, when he was only grand-duke of Tuscany.

Herzberg continued to negotiate in Reichenbach with the imperial ministers. Spielman, however, the plenipotentiary of Kaunitz, the Austrian chancellor of state, entered into a correspondence with major-general von Bischoffswerder, the my-

* Schönwalde is situated between the towns of Reichenbach and Frankenstem.

stical and pietistic friend of the king of Prussia, as well as the companion and promoter of all his pleasures and follies, and secretly gave the whole negotiation quite a different direction. England and Holland had been already induced to protest against Herzberg's proposals, and therefore the new schemes which were sent from Vienna found immediate access to the king. Spielman, who possessed the entire confidence of Kaunitz, caused a proposal for mediation to be submitted to the king through Bischoffswerder, and offered on the part of Austria to restore all the conquests made in the last war; this proposal was very acceptable to the king, and Herzberg was very much surprised when he received most unexpected orders, on the 27th of July, to sign a number of preliminaries, very different from those for which he himself had negotiated. In the articles, Leopold agreed to lend no further aid to the Russians in the war with the Turks, again to restore to the Belgians the rights and privileges descended to them from the middle ages, to the annoyance of the French, then engaged in rooting out the abuses of the middle ages, and to the joy of the orangists in Holland and conservatives in England; for this reason Pitt and Van Spiegel were to lend their assistance to the emperor in the destruction of what was called the Belgian republic. The Prussian army was to return to its stationary quarters, and 30,000 Austrians were to be allowed to march to Belgium. Such were the essential contents of the treaty signed in Schönwalde, usually called the Reichenbach convention.

In consequence of this convention, a suspension of hostilities with the Turks was concluded by the Austrians in Giorgewo on the 19th of September, and a congress for agreeing on the terms of a treaty at Szistowa in Bulgaria. Proposals and consultations of all kinds were made and entered into during the sittings of the congress, which continued from the 30th of December 1790 till the 4th of August 1791, when a peace was finally concluded; but we do not think it necessary to refer to the negotiations, because the essential conditions were contained in the previous convention of Reichenbach. After the conclusion of a peace with Sweden, Russia continued to prosecute the war against the Turks without the aid of Austria. Ismail was long besieged in vain by Potemkin; it resisted a regular siege and blockade, and Potemkin, who had relinquished the siege, resolved to assail the fortress in the same manner as had been pre-

viously successful in the case of Oczakow. For this purpose he selected the same general as had captured the latter fortress. At that time Potemkin continued to indulge in a life of luxury and licentiousness in Bender, before he went to Petersburg in October 1790, and lived there till shortly before his death; his style of living was like that of an Asiatic monarch, whom it was the business and duty of the whole world to serve and obey. Suwarrow, whom he ordered to Ismail, was at Galatz, when he received commands to reduce the fortress at all hazards, without any reference to the number of men who must necessarily be sacrificed in the capture. Suwarrow took such measures as would seem to indicate that he designed a renewal of the regular siege; he drew together the scattered divisions of the troops, and formed them into a large besieging army of about 40,000 men, and ordered the small Russian fleet to come into the neighbourhood of the city, although his real design was to follow the same course as he had successfully pursued before Oczakow, to take advantage of the severe frosts towards the close of December, and to reduce the fortress by storm. Had not Ismail, according to ancient usage, been built without advanced works, a general even like Suwarrow would scarcely have ventured on such an attack, which in the then condition of the defences was attended by such murderous consequences. On the 21st of September the city was twice summoned, and on both occasions the garrison and inhabitants were threatened with the fate of Oczakow. The Turks however did not suffer themselves to be terrified into submission, and the fearful storm was commenced on the 22nd, at four o'clock in the morning. The wall was not mounted till eight o'clock, after an unexampled slaughter; but still the hottest part of the struggle took place in the city itself. Every street was converted into a fortress, every single house became a bulwark, and the contest continued till it was twelve o'clock, before the Russians, advancing through scenes of carnage and desperate resistance, reached the market-place, where the Tatars of the Crimea, then united with the Turks, were collected. The Tatars fought for two hours with all the energy and courage of despair, and after they had been all cut to pieces the struggle was still carried on by the Turks in the streets. Suwarrow at length opened a passage for his cavalry through the gates into the devoted city, who charged through the streets and continued to cut down and massacre

the people till four o'clock in the afternoon. At the conclusion of this dreadful butchery the Russians received the reward which had been promised them when they were led to the storm and to certain death,—the city was given up for three days to the murder and pillage of the victorious troops.

Suwarrow himself, in his official report of this murderous undertaking, with which he had been charged by Potemkin, states, that in the course of four days 33,000 Turks were either slain or mortally wounded, and 10,000 taken prisoners. He rates the loss of the Russians at 2000 killed and 2500 wounded; a number which seems to us as improbably small as the usual accounts, which assign 15,000 as the Russian loss, seem exaggerated. There were two French emigrants present at this storm, one of whom afterwards became celebrated as a Russian governor-general and French minister, and the other as a Russian general in the war against his countrymen. The first was the duke de Richelieu, or as he was then called De Fronsac, and the second the count de Langeron. Kutusow also served in this affair under Suwarrow and led the sixth line of attack.

About this time the whole diplomacy and aristocracy of Europe were busily employed in endeavouring to rescue the Turks, in order either to retard or destroy the dangerously rapid progress of the French and Poles, which caused great alarm among all the friends of the middle ages. There speedily grew up such a general feeling as the English wished to promote—of two evils to choose the least—to secure and uphold the empire of the Turks and to annihilate the nationality of Poland. Moreover, Russia even then very wisely declined the proffered mediation of England in the war with the Turks, as she had resolved for this time to give up her conquests in Turkey in order to indemnify herself in Poland; she accepted merely the intervention of the friendly Danes. It had become already obvious in the preceding century, that the Turks, notwithstanding the peace which Russia was then negotiating, and which was afterwards concluded in January 1792 with the grand sultan at Szistowa and Galatz, would not be able sooner or later to escape the fate which has befallen them in our century.

Potemkin and the empress were not unthankful for Suwarrow's servility, since, in the spirit of flattery, he threw himself and all his services at their feet, and ascribed everything to them alone. Repnin, whom Potemkin left at the head of the army

when he went to Petersburg in October 1790, pursued a very different course. He crossed the Danube with his army, pushed forward into Bulgaria, and caused the whole Turkish army to be attacked and beaten near Babada by general Kutusow, after Gudowitsch had previously completely put down the Tatars in Cuban in January 1791. At the head of 40,000 Russians, Repnin then advanced against 100,000 Turks, under the command of the same vizier, Yussuf, who had fought with such success against the emperor Joseph in the Bannat. Potemkin, eager to reap the triumph of the victory, flew with the rapidity of lightning from Petersburg when both armies were ready for battle (July 1791). He took it for granted that Repnin would certainly await his arrival at the army; but he did exactly the reverse. He offered battle before Potemkin's arrival, who was accustomed constantly to enjoy the fruits in the gathering of which he had no merit. The victory which Repnin gained over the great Turkish army in July at Matzin led to warm disputes between him and Potemkin, who came too late to have any participation in the honours of the day; Repnin however still remained in command of the army. Potemkin afterwards did everything in his power to prevent the peace for which Repnin was to negotiate, although he clearly saw that the course of politics evidently required the Russians to give up this wholesale conquest of Turkish provinces. Happily, this blood-sucker and tyrant of the Russian empire, whose property in sterling money has been underrated at 52,000,000 roubles, was suddenly carried off. His death, as is usual in similar cases, has been ascribed to poison, but the supposition is certainly unfounded.

At a country house near Jassy (Koppo) Potemkin was seized by a malignant fever, and presumed to treat his illness and his fate with the same haughty contempt with which he had been long accustomed to treat his fellow-men: during the violence of the fever he caused himself to be conveyed from thence to Aush on the Pruth, but he soon became unable to endure the motion of the carriage. He was therefore obliged to be lifted out of the carriage and laid on a carpet on the grass, where he breathed his last under the canopy of heaven on the 15th of October 1791, in the 55th year of his age. The peace was now speedily concluded, respecting which Repnin and the vizier Yussuf had been already long engaged in negotiations, and which was be-

come absolutely necessary to the Russians, in consequence of the state of things in Poland. By the terms of the peace, signed at Jassy on the 9th of January 1792, Russia became mistress of the whole country lying between the Dniester and the Bog, and at the same time remained in possession of the fortress of Oczakow.

§ IV.

BELGIAN AND POLISH REVOLUTIONS.

a. BELGIUM.

In a previous part of this work we have given a detailed account of the first attempts made by the emperor Joseph to bring the administration of the Belgian provinces into accordance with the necessities of modern times, and the manner in which these attempts were frustrated. The most distinguished public man in Belgium, who heartily approved and zealously endeavoured to introduce the institutions and changes projected by the emperor, and who therefore, on the restoration of the old system, was obliged to leave the country, expresses his sincere regret, as we also do, that Joseph in 1788, when he gave up all other improvements, continued to maintain and to enforce those which related to ecclesiastical education, discipline and instruction in canon law*. He appears with us to believe, that the liberal portion of the Belgians would not have endured such a system of canon law as that which was taught by the professors appointed by the emperor, and would not hear of any kind of dogmatics; whereas the other party, which till the present day continues so papistical and the people so blind, would furnish no ground on which any historical, dogmatical or philosophical instruction might take root; and that moreover every attempt at compulsion in matters of faith would only serve to call forth martyrs. De Berg commences his account of the renewal of disturbances in Belgium in the year 1789 in words which we incorporate in our text, because they furnish a brief and correct view of the state of affairs immediately before the time of the tumult in the general seminary:—

* In the following pages we avail ourselves largely of the memoirs and documents of Ferdinand Rapédius de Berg, and especially of the second part of the work.

The episcopal seminaries, he observes, and the university of Louvain were the sole causes of the new revolt, because they alone continued to resist the reforming commands of the emperor, for in 1788 there was no longer any idea of a reform in the administration and courts of justice. The council of Brabant was fully restored to all its privileges, however incompatible with the age and its demands they may have been; and the government was even extraordinarily fortunate in having replaced the faithless chancellor in his office. The whole chaos of tribunals for the regulation of real estates, corporations and ecclesiastical affairs; feudal courts, chambers of *tonlieux*, forest and game laws; the office of a general prévôt, of high bailiff, &c. &c., were all restored. The estates remained in possession of the administration of the treasury in the different provinces. The town-councils, as they had done before, seized upon the rights of the royal officers, and these were either obliged to give way or to make room for the opponents of the imperial supremacy. Franz von Paula de Beelen was in consequence appointed burgomaster of Brussels in February 1788, instead of De Berg. The institution of the general seminary was the only one in which the new arrangements were still maintained, and the government directed its representatives to use all their power and energy to uphold and maintain the institution in its then condition. This course was pursued from a feeling of false shame; the government was anxious not to relinquish everything, and therefore had recourse to violence instead of again trying new ways and means of success, or of again, by a word, regaining the confidence of the country.

This passage, borrowed from the memoirs of a statesman highly favourable to all Joseph's projected improvements, seems to us to form the most suitable introduction to the history of the disturbances excited by the priests in Belgium in the years 1788 and 1789, and fostered by Holland, England and Prussia.

As early as the year 1787, before Trautmannsdorf, president of the new civil government, and D'Alton, the new commander-in-chief of the forces, had arrived, the students in Louvain and the clergy in general used all their endeavours to effect the abolition of the two imperial colleges in Louvain and Luxemburg, after the disappearance of every other innovation. The German professors who had been sent to Belgium had again commenced their lectures, and the general seminary in Louvain was to be

re-opened on the 4th of January 1788, when an attempt was made by the pupils of the jesuits and the clients of the nobility to prevent this occurrence. They first raised a clamour against the German professors, whose orthodoxy was beyond question, but who propounded, not the dogmatics of the Roman pontiffs, but the catholic dogmas of the general councils, and maintained, not the papal rights, but those of the general church and its hierarchy. The imperial professor of canon law was therefore abused and insulted, first on the 8th of December 1787, and repeatedly afterwards, not only by the orthodox students but by the women and populace of the town. The archbishop of Malines, cardinal de Frankenberg, as ecclesiastical superior, was called upon to put an end to this mischievous conduct, but he paid no attention whatever to the demand. He even went so far as to declare on this occasion, that whilst he by no means approved of what had taken place, the disorders were in reality nothing more than the manifestation of a just and pious dislike towards teachers who only conceded the power of making laws to the church and its councils and not to the pope. The cardinal at the same time seized upon this opportunity of naming all those professors who must undoubtedly be removed before any idea could be entertained of the opening of the general seminary. The clergy afterwards declared their unanimous agreement with the archbishop*. These occurrences had just taken place, when count von Trautmannsdorf, as new president of the civil government, and general d'Alton, as military commander-in-chief in the Netherlands, appeared, and from the very commencement seemed to follow a totally different system.

A full account of the negotiations which were carried on with the clergy of all ranks and with the university of Louvain during the first four months of the year 1788, and the steps which were taken in reference to the opening of the theological lectures, which was insisted on by the government and forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities, will be found in De Berg's 'Memoirs'; we must however pass over the details. We shall only remark in general, that the disputes with the university of Louvain, and consequently with the clergy, led to disturbances in all the towns of Belgium in the former half of the year 1788, and to disagreements with the estates of Brabant. This commencement could not do otherwise than lead to most injurious results in

* See Schlözer's 'Staatsanzeigen von 1790,' 4r Band, 5s. Heft, s. 25.

consequence of the totally opposite system acted on by Trautmannsdorf and D'Alton. These two high officers of state were far from being agreed in their own views; each of them afterwards attempted to defend his own opinions through the press, and each vehemently and publicly complained of the other. At the very outset Trautmannsdorf wished to delay the opening of the general seminary for three months, in hopes of calming the public feeling on the subject, but to this the emperor would not listen; D'Alton again on his part recklessly fired on the citizens of Brussels, who gave public and clamorous expression to their dissatisfaction with the emperor's attacks upon their priesthood. The emperor was as little able to resolve to acquiesce in D'Alton's military severity as to yield to Trautmannsdorf's views of concession. Rapédius de Berg, who at the emperor's desire had received a place in the council of Brabant, is of opinion that there were only two advisable modes of proceeding; either wholly to give up the project, or at once to have recourse to D'Alton's severity. Trautmannsdorf's middle way could lead to no good results.

In the beginning of August 1788 the imperial government at length seemed disposed to act with vigour, and the episcopal seminaries of Antwerp and Malines were closed on the 2nd. This led to scenes of blood in both cities, and was further the occasion of numerous arrests in the principal towns, especially in Brussels. On the 8th the advocate Van der Noot, who was the leader of the mutinous citizens, and at the head of the corporation of Brussels had a fearful power at his command, as well as other fanatical leaders of the populace, were to be arrested; Van der Noot however found means to escape, because Trautmannsdorf had recourse to a miserable subterfuge to avoid arresting him at the proper time. All the measures of the emperor were impeded by the well-known disagreement between the highest officers of the executive, by the timidity of the civil governor, on whose recall D'Alton insisted, and who personally disapproved of everything which he was required to execute, and by the disloyalty of Crumpipen the vice-president, who acted more for the interests of Van der Noot than for those of the government, and was more attached to the priests than to the emperor. At last the third estate in Brabant also gave fresh public evidence of their dissatisfaction with the government.

The two higher estates of Brabant had been prevailed upon

on the 21st of November 1788 to sanction the usual taxes (*le subsidé, l'impôt, l'accise et un demi vingtième pour la cour*). The third estate however (the representatives of the self-elected magistrates), which was guided by public opinion in Brussels, and which again was formed by the instructions issued by Van der Noot from Holland, refused to agree to the chief taxes, and granted only those for the maintenance of the archduchess and her husband, probably with a view to draw a line of distinction between the orthodox Christina and her husband and the heterodox emperor. The same course was pursued in Hainault. Trautmannsdorf regarded the whole affair as so serious that he was desirous of proceeding instantly to Vienna, but when he had gone as far as Mons he received orders, which he was immediately to communicate to the committee of the estates. We may form some opinion of Trautmannsdorf's disinclination to execute the emperor's antipapistical commands, by knowing, that at the very moment in which he received them, on the 15th of January 1789, he was domiciled in the house of his sister, who was a pious canoness of the noble foundation of St. Waudru in Mons. He nevertheless communicated the imperial rescript of the 7th of January to the committee of the estates of Brabant on the 17th; the document was as follows:—

“Inasmuch as you have ventured to allow yourselves to refuse me your sanction for raising the ordinary taxes, which are necessary and indispensable to the administration of the state, you are no more to appeal to the *Joyeuse entrée*, by which I no longer hold myself bound, since you have presumed to forget all the duties incumbent upon you as loyal subjects.”

The deputies to whom this communication was made immediately demanded the calling of the general assembly of the estates, to which afterwards not merely the short rescript of the 7th of January was communicated, but a much longer one, which prescribed an entire remodelling of the institutions of the country according to the plan laid down in its articles*. This

* Ferdinand Rapédius de Berg, ‘Mémoires et Documents,’ &c. vol. ii. p. 141. “Le secrétaire du comte de Trautmannsdorf remit au greffier un exemplaire de l’ordonnance ci-après portant publication de la dépêche de sa majesté aux états de Brabant du 7 Janvier 1789. Joseph par la grâce de Dieu, &c. &c. (le grand titre) ayant ordonné de faire exécuter sans délai les dispositions contenues dans la dépêche que nous avons trouvé bon d’adresser sous notre royale signature le 7 Janvier de la présente année 1789, aux états de notre duché de Brabant, communiquée à ces états dans leur assemblée générale le 26 du même mois, et dont le teneur est, comme suit.” Here follows the rescript

royal rescript however was only carried into execution in Hainault by military force; in Brabant, where the two higher estates succeeded in procuring the usual levy of the taxes for six months, its operation was in the meantime suspended by a rescript dated the 15th of February.

During the early months of the year 1789 everything appeared quiet, notwithstanding the internal dissatisfaction and the cabals of Van der Noot and his confederates, till the clergy and the students began to excite commotions; in June however, and therefore contemporaneously with the opposition of the French estates to their king, new disturbances broke out. Up till this time the estates of Brabant had voluntarily, and those of Hainault compulsorily yielded obedience to the commands of the emperor. Although there was some murmuring, and individuals occasionally protested, yet the taxes were raised without opposition, and the other provinces had not been invaded either in their laws or privileges. The estates of Luxemburg and Limburg had even voluntarily resolved to grant in perpetuity to the emperor those taxes which they had hitherto been in the habit of voting yearly under the names of ordinary and extraordinary supplies; and although the guilds in Brussels were engaged in constant conspiracies against the emperor, and were guided by Van der Noot's correspondence, yet as a whole everything even in Brussels may be said to have been quiet. The disputes with the university and the clergy alone continued, when the emperor laid the foundation for, and gave rise to new discontents among the members of the council of Brabant and the estates by a rescript published in the beginning of May; he required that both should agree to and approve of an altered representation of the third estate; and on this occasion also the government, that is, Trautmannsdorf and Crumpipen, again played a double character. On the one hand they made known the emperor's commands and did not fail to display apparent symptoms of activity, whilst on the other they secretly supported the hierarchs and aristocrats to whom they belonged. D'Alton therefore was quite right, when, on the 21st of May, he wrote to the emperor as follows:—

“There can be no doubt that the present disturbances are caused by the council of government itself, because its members seem to make it their constant concern to cause every system to given in the test; it then proceeds:—“*Nous avons déclaré et ordonné, déclarons et ordonnons.*” And then follow the ten articles above referred to.

make shipwreck which might in any way interfere with the influence and power which they have assumed to themselves. I am even of opinion, or rather have good ground for believing, that everything which happens is expressly communicated to the opposition party, and that on the publication of the government ordinances its opponents receive leading instructions as to the manner in which the ordinances may be opposed. The abbots, with whom most of the members of the government are intimately connected, to whom they are under substantial obligations, are still allowed to remain in their situations; they rouse the people to rebellion, and take no pains to conceal, but rather make a boast of their own disobedience." M. de Berg, who has recorded this paper, it is true, expresses his approbation of this letter, but we think not as unconditionally as he ought to have done; his opinion however is very different with respect to the threatening proclamation issued by Trautmannsdorf on the 3rd of June 1789:—"A proclamation of this description is one of those documents which serve best to characterize the system of Trautmannsdorf as minister plenipotentiary. He was constantly in the habit of having recourse to exaggerated threats, which he had not the least inclination to carry into effect, but which he was indeed sometimes compelled to execute, in order to avoid the disgrace of contradicting himself. Even in such cases he only acted by halves, because he regretted that he had threatened at all. Moreover, he continually used the military as an instrument of terror, but was never willing to apply the means when any question arose requiring active interference. In this way the military were either objects of hatred or even contempt, and the soldiers became degraded in their own eyes and therefore demoralized." Such is the language of the only high officer of government in whom Joseph should and might have placed unconditional reliance; and it furnishes us with the best connexion of the following events, and enables us easily to explain the success of Van der Noot and his confederates, as well as the failure of all the imperial designs.

The estates of Brabant, as well as those of Hainault, as has been already related, in the beginning of the year tore asunder those bonds by which they were united to the empire, by refusing to grant the usual supplies, without which neither administration nor government could exist; the emperor had therefore declared, that in consequence of their having violated the ancient and

existing order of things, he was obliged to introduce new regulations and to enforce their observance by power. This had really taken place and been carried into effect in Hainault; in Brabant milder measures had been pursued by virtue of the rescript conceding a period of delay, because the two higher estates had actually taken steps which rendered it possible that it might eventually prove unnecessary to have recourse to military power. This provisional condition however, to which the government assigned half a year, during which the usual taxes were raised, must necessarily reach its goal, and some final resolution must be formed before the termination of the allotted period. In the beginning of the month of June (on the 6th) the emperor therefore sent two documents to the general government, the second of which was only to be made public in case the estates of Brabant should refuse to accede to those changes in their constitution which were submitted to them in the first. The emperor's proposals were laid before the estates by Trautmannsdorf on the 18th of June, and he used all his influence to induce them to enter into deliberations and negotiations respecting them. In his communications he gave the estates to understand that the emperor was not disposed to insist upon the unconditional acceptance of his proposals* instead of their ancient constitution, but was inclined to hear, consult and negotiate with the estates on the subject.

The estates, not without good reason, were suspicious; they refused to enter into any negotiations whatsoever respecting the existing constitution, and consequently compelled Trautmannsdorf to come forward with the second document, with which he was provided against this eventual decision. The discussions respecting the imperial rescript continued during the whole of the 18th of June, but as early as three o'clock in the afternoon

* According to the emperor's proposals, all the other towns of Brabant were to be represented in the estates, a privilege which had been hitherto enjoyed by the cities of Louvain, Brussels and Antwerp alone, whose peculiar interests were often different from those of the country at large. Further, constant and sufficient supplies were to be provided for meeting the necessary expenditure of the state in Brabant, as was done in Flanders. Thirdly, in the diets each estate was to deliberate and resolve in a separate chamber, but a simple majority was to decide, and the refusal of one estate was not to render invalid the consent and approval of the other two. Fourthly, the council of Brabant, as a court entitled by the *Joyeuse entrée* itself to confirm the imperial ordinances, should confirm all ordinances which were not contradictory to that document, and in cases of difficulty were directed to send their representations to the government of the province.

a very considerable military force had been assembled in the square before the Hotel de Ville. The estates having continued firm in their resolution, Herr von Külberg, councillor of state and director of the chancery, appeared in the assembly at seven o'clock in the evening and read the imperial decree to its members, by virtue of which the rescript of the 7th of January was forthwith to be carried into effect by force of arms. The whole assembly were then compelled to leave their hall, their papers and documents were seized upon and sealed up by the royal commissioners, the minutes of all their proceedings since the year 1786 were torn out of their records, and the system recommended by D'Alton was then for the first time vigorously pursued. The desired end however could not be attained in this way, because it was counteracted by Trautmannsdorf; the emperor Joseph had diminished the number of his troops, whose services he needed against the Turks; and the jealousy of the other powers, even of the German princes, would not have suffered the march of large bodies of Austrian troops into the Netherlands. The Belgian malcontents had long before opened up communications and entered into an understanding with Prussia, the hereditary stadtholdress of Holland openly favoured their cause, and the English ministry secretly fomented the spirit of resistance; the malcontents therefore were suffered to collect their adherents on the frontiers of Brabant, and Van der Noot to form a revolutionary committee in Breda, which entered into diplomatic relations with the emperor's enemies. At the same moment also the affairs of the general seminary of Louvain were again brought forward, and an opportunity was thereby given to the archbishop, supported by the whole body of the clergy from the pulpit, in the confessional, and by innumerable writings, to warn the people against those schismatic doctrines which the emperor was attempting to force upon them through the instrumentality of the new theological professors in Louvain and their disciples.

The proceedings and incidents which, from the 18th of June till the middle of July, were preparatory to a formal insurrection, and the manner in which Trautmannsdorf, by his conduct, inspired the emperor's opponents with courage, may be seen in detail in De Berg's 'Memoirs.' An accidental circumstance led to the first tumult, in itself insignificant and contemptible. There was a brewer named Windelinckr, who, having been banished on

account of having been concerned in former disturbances, had received permission from the mayor of his town to return to his birth-place; on the 22nd of July, as he was coming out of the church, he was arrested by a brigadier of the mounted gens d'armes, who was accompanied by six gens d'armes and twelve men belonging to the regiment of Ligne, then in quarters at Tirlemont. Windelinckx was thrown into prison, and this caused his friends to summon together some hundreds of peasants from a village in the territory of Liege with a view to effect his liberation. The peasants obeyed the call, presented themselves, set the prisoner at liberty, and committed acts of violence of every description. Whilst these excesses were going on in Tirlemont, the originators of the tumult caused the tocsin to be sounded in all the villages around, in order to draw the whole body of the peasants to the scene of action. In Tirlemont, Diest and other places, great mischief was perpetrated, and the peasants were afterwards compelled to return to order; but similar disturbances broke out simultaneously in Mons, Louvain and Antwerp, and D'Alton gave rise to general discontent in Brussels, by the manner in which he attempted to prevent the outbreak of an insurrection by force of arms. On the 28th of July he caused some twenty young people who were singing patriotic songs in a public-house to be seized upon and carried off, and proposed to send them forthwith through Namur and Luxemburg to the Hungarian army. This circumstance excited general displeasure, and Trautmannsdorf, who was always ready to do the very reverse of what D'Alton recommended, gave ear to the public complaints, caused the young men to be brought back from Namur to Brussels on the 11th of August, and delivered them to the city courts, which pronounced their acquittal, and added that there was no ground of complaint against them.

The counteracting measures adopted by the two heads of the imperial authorities, the disinclination of the native judges, officers and authorities to punish any of their promoters, gave rise to disturbances and excesses throughout all the towns and villages of the country, so that crowds of country people and mobs of ruffians engaged in numerous acts of robbery and violence. Great numbers of able-bodied peasants and vagabonds assembled on the territories of Holland and offered their services to the committee in Breda, at whose head were Van der Noot and Van Eupen. The former regarded himself as a great diplo-

matist, applied to the powers allied against the Turkish war, and was at least secretly listened to in Holland, Prussia and England, which had entered into a close alliance since the expedition of the duke of Brunswick. As early as May 1789 he took a journey to the Hague, and on the 8th of that month had an interview with the grand pensionary Van Spiegel, of which he has given a full and official report in his collection of documents relating to the revolution in Belgium*. The most important circumstance connected with this document is the proof which it affords that the government of the hereditary stadtholder should enter into diplomatic relations with persons like Van der Noot and Van Eupen, who were the leading men of the committee in Breda, and that the grand pensionary should give them hints as to their manner of proceeding in order to secure support from England, Holland and Prussia. In accordance with these views the Dutch ambassador negotiated with Herzberg in Berlin, but Van der Noot took a journey to England to no purpose, for Pitt was too prudent to enter into communication with him; he therefore left that to Van Spiegel and the hereditary stadtholdress, although Van der Noot at this very time assumed to himself the pompous title of *agent plenipotentiaary of the people of Brabant*. In the end of August Van der Noot was in Berlin, and the Dutch ambassador prevailed upon Herzberg, who unwillingly acceded, to give him a verbal promise, that if the Belgians succeeded without foreign aid in driving the Austrians out of the Netherlands, and the hereditary estates of the country, not Van der Noot's revolutionary committee, should then apply to the king, he would probably pay attention to their application. The chief point was now to profit by the services of those who were collected in the territory of Holland, drilled in the use of arms, and formed into a kind of revolutionary militia; for the accomplishment of this object, Van der Noot and Van Eupen were obliged to have recourse to the services of colonel Van der Mersch, as they themselves were totally unfit for military undertakings.

Contemporaneously with Van der Noot's diplomatic journeys, another advocate named Van der Vonck turned his attention to

* *Résumé des Négotiations qui accompagnèrent la Révolution des Pays-Bas Autrichiens, avec les Pièces justificatives, &c.*, Amsterdam, 1841. This document is also to be found word for word in De Berg's '*Mémoires et Documents*,' vol. ii. pp. 164, 165.

reforms, and used all his exertions to effect a revolution in Belgium in accordance with the views of the constituent national assembly of France, and without flying from the country, or making any public demonstration, quietly to overthrow the existing government. It was impossible to realize his views, because he was at the same time opposed to the monarchical principles of the emperor and to the hierarchical and feudal prejudices of his countrymen. He however formed a party who have been called *Vonckists*, in reference to which, as well as to the revolution in Brabant, the most important materials are to be found in a book published by Vonck himself, first in Flemish and afterwards in bad French*. Van der Noot was at first unwilling to form any connexion with Vonck; Van der Mersch however, who had served as a colonel in the Austrian service, but afterwards resigned his commission and lived on his estate in Flanders, became a convert to Vonck's opinions, like him did homage to the principles of Lameth and Lafayette, and offered to put himself at the head of the people who were assembled in the territory of Liege. The republican society organized by Vonck to defend their *altars and homes* (*pro aris et focis*) induced great crowds of able but ill-armed men to assemble on the Belgian frontiers, where they were drilled and organized as well as possible by Van der Mersch, who since the beginning of September had entered into a close alliance with Vonck. As early as the end of September, Van der Noot also united his committee with that of the Vonckists, and made incursions into Brabant; the mob however which Van der Mersch had collected in Liege for the most part left the district and fled into the Dutch territory, as soon as a hundred of the imperial troops presented themselves in any direction. The imperial authorities did not determine upon recourse to force in the interior of Belgium till everything was ready for the insurrection and it was too late to adopt such means. Very numerous arrests were made, but Van der Vonck himself escaped disguised as a priest, and on the 18th of October succeeded in joining Van der Noot and Van der Mersch in Breda.

The invasion of Belgium, which Van der Mersch ventured to make on the 24th of October, at the head of the numerous but

* *Abrégé Historique, servant d'introduction aux considérations impartiales sur l'état actuel de Brabant, par M. Vonck. Traduit du Flamand et augmenté de plusieurs notes. A Lille chez Jacques, imprimeur libraire, sur la petite place.*

cowardly and useless Belgian rabble which had been drawn together in Holland, would undoubtedly have failed, like its predecessors, had it not been for the imprudence of the Austrian general, Von Schröder. This undisciplined rabble, whose number amounted at most to 5000 men, without any artillery and mostly without uniform, was led across the Belgian frontiers by Van der Mersch, who then for the first time allowed arms to be distributed amongst them, and published a manifesto previously prepared in Breda, in which, with obvious reference to Van der Noot's diplomatic negotiations, the independence of Brabant was announced. Every one laughed at the expedition, because no one could conceive that the Austrians would make such an unskilful use of their army as they really did, seeing that their forces, making allowances for those in the occupation of the different garrisons, still amounted to 16,000 men. The number of the undisciplined and cowardly throng under the conduct of Van der Mersch, as they marched through Hoogstraten to Turnhout, did not amount to 3000 men. They advanced in two divisions, one of which could not be restrained from flight before they had seen the enemy, and the other boasted the more because they were afterwards victorious.

Van der Mersch advanced without interruption to Turnhout. On the 26th, general Schröder, in Malines, received the news of the occupation of Turnhout by the insurgents, but he was not aware that Van der Mersch was reinforced and the whole population of Turnhout under arms. On this occasion Schröder committed a great military error; it is true he obeyed D'Alton's commands to attack the enemy as soon as possible, but he overlooked the recommendation which was added, first to give him an account of the position and strength of the malcontents and then wait for further orders. Schröder had hoped to fall in with Van der Mersch on his march from Turnhout to Diest; the latter however had retired into the small town, spent the whole night in digging trenches across the streets, and caused all the outlets of the place to be barricaded. The entrance to the town was only partially closed, as well as the various accesses to the public square, where Van der Mersch had stationed his chief force, 1600 men, in the churchyard and the town-house. The rest of his force was scattered about in the houses by the way, behind the garden hedges, and at loopholes or broken walls in the streets. Schröder should have surrounded the city, but he

imprudently fell into the snare prepared for him in the town, although his guides, whom he had forced into his service, had escaped. He was first detained in the town by the people concealed in the houses and cellars and behind the hedges and walls, who kept up a continual fire upon his men from windows, roofs and loopholes, and then compelled them to retreat. The loss sustained by the Austrians in this unfortunate attack upon Turnhout would have been easily repaired, for they left only one cannon in the hands of the enemy and not more than 100 men killed or wounded, but the consequences of the victory gained by this miserable army of Van der Mersch were incalculable.

Whilst Van der Mersch remained in Turnhout and fully occupied the attention of the body of 7000 Austrians, which D'Alton was able to employ against him under the command of lieutenant-general von Arberg, Van der Noot and his committee in Breda were preparing an insurrection in Flanders, in which Ghent alone would be able to furnish a power in favour of the new republic, and the second column of Van der Mersch's army was designed to support the insurrection in Ghent. Van der Mersch and his followers being again driven completely out of Brabant, this small army marched to Flanders on the 4th of November, where it was reinforced by some Walloon deserters and provided with cannon and standards by the liberal duchess d'Ursel and other persons of distinction, whilst there were only two battalions of imperial troops in the city. After numerous delays, fears, and many attempts to desert, the trembling Brabanters at length reached Ghent. The Austrians at first offered them a brave resistance, and the cavalry of the insurgents, consisting of a very few men, among whom were prince de Ligne and Devaux, fled with uncontrollable precipitation and spread the news of their complete overthrow through the whole of the province; the numerous population of the city however having taken up arms, the imperial troops which occupied the streets were obliged to withdraw. Von Lunden, who commanded the troops which had been sent against the rebels, certainly maintained his ground on the Place d'Armes till the evening, and when it became dark also reached the quarter of St. Peter's, but he was there cut off from all connexion with the garrison properly so called, which occupied the citadel under the command of Von Arberg. Von Arberg was unable to cannonade the town, because he had no one who could properly direct the guns, and

the common artillerymen were all drunk ; and Von Lunden made a vain attempt to force his way through the streets of the city, now in open insurrection, and to join the troops in the citadel. On this occasion, the violent soldiers, by the cruelties which they perpetrated, enraged the minds of the inhabitants against the imperial government, and Von Lunden was at last obliged, in consequence of want of provisions and ammunition, and after a hot engagement for three hours, to lay down his arms on the 16th of November.

A close examination of D'Alton's military measures and those of his staff would probably tend to throw the whole blame of the insurrection in Flanders upon the commander-in-chief ; but from the time of Lunden's capitulation in Ghent, Trautmannsdorf destroyed even that which D'Alton made good. Without informing D'Alton, he entered into direct correspondence with Von Arberg, and commanded him to evacuate the citadel on the night between the 17th and 18th of November, which was as much as to command him to suffer himself to be beaten. The various divisions of the Austrian troops in the other towns of Flanders were also cut off, and in Brabant Trautmannsdorf obviously promoted the insurrection which he wished to suppress, by an unseasonable recall of all that he had formerly decreed in the name of the emperor*, and by the manifestation of an exaggerated sense of danger, the result of his fears. Previous to these events, when the insurrection spread in Brabant, the estates of Flanders on the 23rd of November had adopted a republican constitution and declared themselves independent†; Hainault had completely thrown off its allegiance, Namur in part, and Limburg was about to imitate their example. This was the work of the three powers who had now entered into formal diplomatic relations with the committee in Breda, in order, as their diplomatists express it in the documents pub-

* He published edicts on the 20th and 21st, on the 25th and 26th of November, by which the constitution was again restored, the general seminary abolished, and a general amnesty and relinquishment of all military measures were promised.

† The estates declared the supreme rights of the emperor to be forfeited, resolved to renew their union with Brabant, to propose a confederation of all the provinces of the Netherlands, to raise an army of 20,000 men in Flanders, to declare the council of Flanders to be a sovereign tribunal, to appoint deputies to purchase munitions of war, and to elect deputies to constitute an executive committee ; at the same time they threatened the government in Brussels with making reprisals upon the soldiers and imperial officers for the cruelties perpetrated by Von Arberg on the citizens of Ghent.

lished by Van Spiegel in 1841, "*to profit by the crisis in the Austrian Netherlands in a manner suitable to their common interests.*" It was not quite impossible for count von Cobenzl, who was sent from Vienna for the purpose, to effect any reconciliation : he came too late, because Van der Noot, Van Eupen, the archbishop of Malines, the abbot of Tongerlo and their creatures could no longer think of a reconciliation with the emperor Joseph. In the meantime also Van der Mersch had rallied his columns, which had been driven back into the Dutch territory, again commenced the war, and proved more fortunate than before, because the Walloons deserted to his standard, not merely individually but in troops, and the Austrian commanders exhibited an incomprehensible degree of incapacity. Van der Mersch moreover entertained different views from those of the advocates and priests in Breda, and therefore had concluded a suspension of arms for eight days with D'Alton ; the conditions of the truce were not sanctioned in Breda,—it was nevertheless observed,—till the signal of revolt was given by the capital in Brabant as had been previously the case in Flanders.

The committee in Breda, and especially Van der Noot, who was all-powerful in Brussels with the guilds, had taken all the necessary means to cause a general insurrection in Brussels ; as early as the 8th of December 1789 various circumstances occurred, which proved that the inhabitants of the capital only awaited the signal to fall upon the Austrian government and troops. It will be seen from the passage of M. de Berg's '*Mémoires*' given in the note, that portions of the Austrian garrison of Brussels began to desert as early as the 9th, and that many of the soldiers were corrupted*. Thursday the 10th of Decem-

* De Berg. *Mém. et Docum.*, vol. ii. pp. 427, 428 : " Le 8 Déc. on vit des femmes, des enfans, et puis des jeunes gens, des hommes se mettre à combler les fossés, à briser les chevaux de frise, à en faire des feux de joie dans les rues ; quelques militaires voulurent s'opposer à cette opération, ils furent hués par la populace ; le capitaine Trager, du génie, fut frappé d'un coup de fer par un perruquier dans la rue Magdaleine. Ce nouveau triomphe des patriotes acheva de démoraliser le soldat. La désertion qui jusqu'alors ne s'étoit faite que par petites troupes de quatre à cinq hommes à la fois, commença à se pratiquer en grand, par pelotons, par compagnies entières. Le général d'Alton, toujours mal inspiré, avoit logé dans les couvents les troupes qui étoient récemment revenues de Louvain. Ce fut une occasion de les séduire, on les fit boire, on les enivra, on leur distribua de l'argent. Dans la journée du 9 cinquante grenadiers sortirent à la fois du couvent des dominicains avec armes et

ber was one of those ecclesiastical fête-days in which the power of the clergy over the minds of the faithful is usually the strongest. On this day of solemn piety and repentance for Van der Noot's guilds, and for that portion of the people who think they do God service by running barefooted through the streets, as happened on this occasion, and accompanying the long ranks of the processions into the churches, the whole of the people were assembled in the sacred edifices, when, immediately after high mass, the signal for rebellion was given. The concerted signal was, "*Long live Van der Noot and the patriots!*" The moment the signal was given, those who were in the secret mounted the Brabant or the present Belgian colours, and distributed them to all who were present. Immediately afterwards every one appeared decorated with this emblem,—the sign of the Belgian declaration of independence, which the men wore on their hats and the women on their breasts. The military were assembled, it is true, but it was not thought advisable to proceed to extremities; and no steps were taken till the danger of plunder and murder on the part of the populace became so imminent in the evening, that Trautmannsdorf at length consented to a measure, from which D'Alton used all his efforts to dissuade him. The arms which had been taken from the citizens were again restored to them, to enable the city guard to preserve and maintain public order. On the morning of the following day it was resolved in the council of state, that the government should retire from Brussels to Namur on the 12th, and take with them the public moneys, which amounted to 2,000,000 of florins; Trautmannsdorf and two secretaries alone were to remain in Brussels. On the afternoon of the 11th, however, collisions took place between the Belgians distinguished by their cockades and the Austrians, and blood was shed. D'Alton now ordered the soldiers to fire on the people, and attempted to maintain himself in all the posts of the city, but in the evening he was driven completely out of the lower town and obliged to confine himself to the maintenance of the upper town and the Place Royale. On the 12th he was again attacked. The Austrians defended themselves with courage, and on this occasion used

bagages, criant dans les rues qu'ils allaient à l'armée patriotique et amenant avec eux les gardes des portes de la ville. Dans la nuit du 9 au 10 deux cents autres suivirent cet exemple."

their artillery also; but the very circumstance of more than a thousand men having gone over to the patriots in the last two days proves that it was quite impossible for Brussels, with about 6000 demoralized Austrians, to be maintained against a numerous body of people, the armed citizens and the deserters incorporated with them. Attempts were nevertheless made to suppress the tumult, and Trautmannsdorf succeeded in effecting a truce and a temporary agreement; D'Alton however knew beforehand that this would lead to nothing, and hostilities were again actually renewed about noon. Whole crowds now began to go over to the patriots; half a company of the Ligne regiment immediately took their place in the ranks of the patriots and fired upon their former comrades. D'Alton therefore concluded a mere military armistice, and retired with such of the troops as still remained; whilst Trautmannsdorf continued to delay and hope for reconciliation, till he also was at length obliged to withdraw with the last of the troops in order to avoid being taken prisoner.

The cities of Louvain, Malines, Namur and Antwerp were all immediately afterwards evacuated by the Austrians, who marched direct to Luxemburg; and as early as the 14th Van der Mersch made his entry into Brussels. The public treasure, which, according to their previous resolution, was to have been removed, fell into the hands of the Belgians, in consequence of which D'Alton was to be tried by a court-martial; he died however before his trial could take place. All this was the work of the advocates, priests, hierarchs, and friends of feudality and the middle ages who were assembled in Breda, and at whose head Van der Noot made his entry into Brussels on the 17th. Prussia, Holland and England were desirous of using Belgium as well as Poland as a bugbear to the Russians and Austrians, and then leaving them to their fate; and now, in order to obtain the long-promised protection of these powers, on the advice of Van der Noot and other diplomatists of his stamp, the independence of the Netherlands was proclaimed as early as the 13th, and the estates were summoned to meet on the 29th. The estates immediately adopted the title of "*The high and mighty estates of Lower Lorraine, Brabant, and the marquisate of Antwerp.*" As early as the 25th Limburg also joined the hierarchical and feudal confederacy, the foundations of which were the guilds and corporations of the citizens, organized in the spirit and after

the manner of the middle ages. There was therefore no necessity for any lengthened deliberations respecting the constitution of the new republic of the Belgian united provinces, for this had been already formed in the middle ages, and recognized the pope as a supreme legislator. The oath of fidelity to the union was administered and taken on the last day of the year 1789. We should think it a disgrace to receive into the pages of a general history the details of the history of this ephemeral Belgian republic, which was the work of Van der Noot, Van Eupen and other such persons; and in what follows we shall merely touch upon those points which are in some way connected with the history of the French revolution.

On the recall of Laudon the command of the Austrian troops in Luxemburg devolved upon field-marshal Bender; this force consisted only of 10,000 men, and was therefore wholly unable to undertake any decisive measures against the insurgents, who in a pamphlet published at that time in Brussels were called "*those high-minded citizens to whom the Belgians were indebted for their freedom,*" as long at least as the revolutionists were supported by Holland and England. The nature of the freedom thus called Belgian will be best understood from an enumeration of the names given in the paper referred to*; and this will be still clearer, when we remember that cardinal von Frankenberg was appointed president of the congress of deputies which met in Brussels, and were sent as representatives from Flanders, Hainault, Namur, Tournay, Malines and Guelders (that is Roermonde), and that he was associated with such men as Van der Noot and Van Eupen. The nature of this congress must be obvious to all those who are acquainted with what has been and continues to be the course of events in Belgium in our own times; it was, in fact, the representative of the majority of genuine and true Belgian catholics, who are obliged to exclude every ray of reason in order to remain orthodox, and to obstruct every description of progress which produces no pecuniary ad-

* This pamphlet, consisting of twenty-three pages, was printed in Brussels in 1790, under the title "*Qu'allons nous devenir,*" &c. It contains the names of Van der Noot, Vonck, Verloog, Torfs, t'Kint and Le Hondt, all advocates; of the abbots of Tongerlo and St. Bernard; Fiser, architect and inspector of buildings in Brussels; and of the trading classes, Sagersmanns, Weemaels, D'Aubremez, &c. &c. Van Eupen was called "*Secretary of State of the Confederacy,*" after the fashion of Van der Noot, who now bore the title of "*Agent Plenipotentiary of the Belgian nation.*"

vantage, in order not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their traditional customs. In accordance with this principle, the congress commenced its operations with the immediate discouragement and even persecution of all liberal views, and of those defenders of the political economy of the new age who had been called into life in the Netherlands as well as every place else by the French revolution, and among whom were members of the high nobility. All such persons were included under the name of Vonckists, and among the rest was general Van der Mersch, who had rendered the greatest services to the cause of the revolution and was still at the head of a military division.

The aristocracy of Belgium were not long in perceiving that their condition had been much better under the feeble government of the Austrian high nobility, which Joseph would not endure, but which Leopold restored in all the hereditary states in 1790, than under the dominion of Van der Noot, the abbots, and the guilds and corporations of the cities. The last-mentioned party placed themselves completely in the power of the cunning English, Dutch and Prussian diplomatists, by whom the *chargés d'affaires* of the new priestly republic were received in the Hague and in Berlin, in order that they might pretend to negotiate *for* them, but in reality *concerning* them, in Reichenbach. This was obvious to almost all at the time; it was only such narrow-minded and self-sufficient men as Van der Noot and Van Eupen who could mistake the fact; otherwise they would have withdrawn in March 1790 from all connexion with foreign diplomatists and have entered into negotiations immediately with Leopold himself. The archduchess Christina and her husband, duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, who were at the head of the government of the Netherlands, were now in Bonn: Leopold had no sooner undertaken the government of the hereditary states, and shown himself to be the restorer of all that was ancient and obsolete, than Christina and Albert caused an offer to be made to the people of the Netherlands also, in the name of the new ruler, of the restoration of their former privileges and constitution, and of placing everything upon the old footing; but at this very moment the advocates and priests hoped to be able to secure for themselves unlimited power. At the very moment in which the proposal was made they had just gained a complete victory over the liberal party, which was supported by persons of great power and wealth, such as the duke

d'Arenberg, the duke and duchess d'Ursel, count von der Mark, viscount Walkiers and others; they were therefore afraid of rivals, and after the steps which they had already taken, of the vengeance of those whom they had persecuted when again restored to power. Walkiers's corps was disbanded, he was obliged to seek his own safety by taking refuge in Ghent, and all connexion with the irreligious liberals, whom no priestly government could endure, was forbidden under the severest penalties; and Van der Mersch had been removed from his command. Van der Mersch set his enemies at defiance, and with the help of his friends in the army attempted to maintain himself in Namur against their power; he was however dismissed, afterwards confined in the fortress, and general Schoenfeld, a creature of the two ruling advocates, was appointed in his stead. The proposals and offers which were made from Bonn having been declined, the Austrians in Luxemburg made war upon the new republic; but the hostility of the Austrians was far less injurious to them till the conclusion of the convention of Reichenbach, than the protection of those powers which had been brought upon them by the diplomacy of Van der Noot.

The ambassadors of the three powers then in the Hague drew up protocols similar to those which have been written in London in our own times respecting Belgium and Greece, to the destruction of both; and as soon as the Reichenbach convention was signed, Herzberg issued a declaration by no means favourable to the *new* republic, by virtue of which the three powers expressed their desire to maintain the *ancient condition* of things unaltered*. The diplomatists moreover would too willingly

* This appears to us to be the meaning of the declaration made by Herzberg on the command of the king;—that the king had united with the two naval powers, England and Holland, who had become guaranties of the constitution properly belonging to the Austrian Netherlands, and were parties to the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, by which the possession of the provinces previously belonging to the Spaniards in the Netherlands was transferred to the house of Austria, in order to consult upon the future destiny of these provinces. The king in full concurrence with these powers would always pursue such measures in reference to the future fate and constitution of the Austrian Netherlands as were calculated to restore these provinces to the dominion of Austria, upon the guarantee of the latter for a general amnesty and the means to be employed, and as would secure their ancient constitution to these provinces, to be guaranteed by the naval powers. Joseph Ewart and baron von Reede, respectively for England and Holland, declared on the very same day, that their governments would engage for the fulfilment of the obligations entered into by Prussia, and were ready to send plenipotentiaries to a congress for peace, in order to undertake the duty of mediators.

have seen the dominion of their protocols much longer extended in the Netherlands, and Van der Noot and Van Eupen might have long continued to rule under their protection had not their companions and themselves been too blind, and the military force which they had got on foot too contemptible. The powers proposed to send ambassadors, who were to regulate the Belgian affairs on the spot by means of protocols, or rather were to put them into confusion; but Van der Noot and Van Eupen began their management so badly, that the Austrians in Luxemburg, having received considerable reinforcements during the months of August and September, had resumed partial possession of the country before the protocolling and mediating ambassadors had arrived. The Belgian army was under miserable commanders, and many officers resigned their commissions from vexation and disgust, and the arming of the people which was ordered by Van der Noot and Van Eupen led to nothing; nevertheless the progress of the Austrians in the month of September and during a part of October was retarded, partly by their usual systematic tediousness and partly by the protocols issued from the Hague. At this time, lord Auckland, the grand pensionary Van Spiegel, and the Prussian ambassador count Keller, had met in a diplomatic congress in that city.

On the 17th of September the congress insisted that the Belgians should agree to a suspension of hostilities, whilst the congress proceeded to settle their affairs by protocols; and Van der Noot on the other hand insisted that an immediate attack should be made upon the Austrians by the whole Belgian force, before the troops of the former then in Luxemburg should be strengthened by the reinforcements on their march. The whole of the Belgian leaders were in favour of a suspension, but Van der Noot succeeded in procuring a decisive rejection of the proposal on the 5th of October, because, as he said, he knew with certainty that the mediating powers at Reichenbach had conceded all those points to the Austrians in which he and his adherents never could acquiesce. Notwithstanding this, the allied powers by means of ministerial notes prevented the Austrians from marching upon Brussels, which they would have been able at any moment to reach. They not only waited till the beginning of October for the submission of the Belgians, but Leopold, nine days after his coronation as emperor of Germany, in consequence

of an agreement with the congress in the Hague, fixed the 21st of November as a new and peremptory limit to the Belgians. It was indeed determined that the republic and its name should disappear, that Van der Noot and his confederates should be deprived of all influence, but in other respects everything was to be restored to its ancient condition, and a full amnesty granted to all those who should again voluntarily acknowledge the imperial government*.

During the negotiations, which were prolonged from August till November, the imperial court quietly came to an understanding with those classes of persons to whom the old, feeble imperial government was more acceptable than the tyranny of the priests and corporations, and at the same time with all those who abhorred the name of a republic, and shrunk back with horror from the contemplation of the scenes which had taken place in France. Even military Russia and the aristocratic governments of England and Holland were by no means displeased that the republicans furnished them with an opportunity of surrendering them to the vengeance of the obscurists, with whom Leopold had surrounded himself. The imperialists were now ready for action, and the period for decision almost elapsed, when the party of Van der Noot, on the 20th of November, made an attempt at the eleventh hour to create a monarchical and no longer a republican Belgium, but independent of Austria. They elected the archduke Charles for their prince, an election which only served to make them more ridiculous than they had been before. On the day succeeding this election the time for

* On the 31st of October, the ministers in the Hague declared to the Belgian plenipotentiaries, that it now depended upon the Belgian nation alone, whether they would have the restoration of their legal constitution, as it existed in its greatest purity before the commencement of the preceding reign, as well as of all their religious and civil privileges, and a complete oblivion of everything which had taken place during the recent disturbances. The ministers further declared, that in this they not only spoke the feelings of the emperor, but that his minister at the Hague, the count Mercy d'Argenteau, approved of all the points contained in the present note, and was ready to confirm them by an especial manifesto in the name of his monarch. At the conclusion came the chief point:—"Only one-and-twenty days longer would be given to the nation to declare their acceptance of these conditions. In case they allowed this period to elapse without coming to a decision, or should in the meantime give occasion to any new hostilities, the plenipotentiaries declared they could no longer determine the fate of the Netherlands, and that those who through their obstinacy were the causes of the mischiefs to which the nation must fall a sacrifice would have to answer for the consequences."

decision was expired ; the Austrians advanced, the Belgian army melted away, and the estates of Namur separated and facilitated the march of the Austrians to Brabant.

The Austrians, under field-marshal Bender, now reinforced, and amounting to 32,000 men, marched by way of Namur to Brussels without meeting with any hindrance or obstruction. On the 1st of December Van der Noot and all the rest of his republican confederates and members of congress fled from the country, and the whole of Belgium was again occupied by the Austrians. On this occasion cardinal Frankenberg, archbishop of Malines, showed himself to be as admirable a statesman and diplomatist as his colleague Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, proved himself to be during the whole of his life. The cardinal had fomented and guided all the disturbances, gone hand-in-hand with Van der Noot, presided in the republican congress, and yet on the 12th of December 1790, precisely a year after the expulsion of the Austrians from Brussels (December 12th, 1789), he appeared among the most enthusiastic friends of the house of Hapsburg. He was the very man who celebrated the solemn *Te Deum*, which was sung on the above-mentioned day, for the suppression of the insurrection which he himself had caused and for the restoration of the Austrian dominion. The triumph of ancient principles over every species of innovation in Belgium was proclaimed with loud rejoicings by count Mercy d'Argenteau, as soon as he arrived in Brussels (January 4th, 1791) with full powers from the emperor. No suspicion was entertained, that by the annihilation of this legal and clerical republic the number of friends to the French revolution would be increased, just as the Prussians, four years before, never suspected that they would render the hereditary stadtholder an object of hatred by the expedition of the duke of Brunswick to Holland. The number of Belgian refugees and malcontents in Paris became very considerable, and like the Dutch refugees, they kept up a correspondence with their friends at home, and in 1792 they facilitated the conquest of Belgium by the French, as the Dutch did that of Holland in 1795. The case was so similar in Liege, which at that time belonged to the German empire, that we must briefly turn our attention to the disturbances in this ecclesiastical principality.

In Liege, as well as in most of the other spiritual states, the citizens enjoyed the ancient rights and privileges, of which they

have been completely deprived in all the German temporal sovereignties from the time in which their princes began to surround themselves with mercenary troops and vagabonds recruited from the rabble; they were obliged however to maintain a continual strife and lawsuits on the subject of their rights with the bishop. As early as the year 1684, when the troops of Louis XIV. were in possession of the country, the bishop availed himself of the aid of the French to deprive the nobles of most of their privileges and to extend the prerogatives of the hierarchy. The nobles indeed brought their complaints before the imperial courts, but the pedants who then constituted the tribunal were not accustomed to bring any cause to a speedy determination, and the courts were so constituted and the proceedings so arranged, that many were never decided; this was the case in the complaint made by the nobles of Liege against the bishop and his chapter: advocates, procurators, agents, and all the officers of the courts were enriched by delays; juristical doctors and professors in the universities wrote dreadfully learned books in folio and quarto; but '*Liege versus Liege*' continued to be a standing cause, not only before the imperial courts but also at the diet in Ratisbon, which was indefatigable in consultations and assiduous in protocolling, but which never came to any conclusion. The country people and citizens also were at strife with the bishop, and finally lost all patience when the self-willed Constantine Franz began to treat them as if they were the *property of his church*, and that too at the close of the eighteenth century. The nobles had waited in vain for a decision of the court for many decennia, and the citizens became incensed when they saw themselves likely to be involved in the same labyrinth, and they therefore had recourse to the law of nature, then recognised in France, in opposition to the documentary and parchment law of the jurists.

Feelings of enthusiasm in favour of the regeneration of European politics, such as was announced in France by the most vehement democrats, were at that time so general in the territory of Liege, that even children and women became fanatical on the subject. As a proof of this, we only require to remind our readers, that Théroigne de Méricourt, first renowned for her beauty and afterwards notorious for her licentiousness, went from Liege to Paris when she was only a very young girl: as is well known, she has gained for herself a species of immortality by her participation in the storming of the Bastille, and afterwards in all

the dreadful scenes of the revolution, because her wild enthusiasm and her maddening speeches were used to excite to deeds of desperation in cases in which reasonable men shrunk from appearing. We can therefore have no difficulty in explaining the fact, that the inhabitants of Liege found it easy, only four weeks after the storming of the Bastille in Paris, to get up a similar scene in the capital of their spiritual tyrant. The citizens of Liege became at last weary of wandering with the assessors of the imperial court through the deceitful paths of laws, which we must unhappily call German, and therefore on the 17th of August 1789 they had recourse to arms. The country people from the neighbourhood poured into the city in streams, formed a union with the citizens, deposed the city magistrates appointed by the bishop, chose new ones, and compelled the bishop to confirm their choice.

The bishop fled to Treves, there recalled all the concessions which he had been forced to make, and in his turn lodged his complaints with the imperial court. This tribunal of nobles was ready to deal out a very different measure of justice to the rulers and the ruled: it came to a speedy determination, and made an offer of the bayonets of the empire in favour of the priests. The execution of their decree against Liege was to be carried into effect by the troops of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Münster, together with those of the elector palatine and the king of Prussia as duke of Cleves. These indeed, according to ancient traditionary German usage, obeyed the decree with great slowness and circumspection. The troops of Prussia and the Palatinate did not advance into the territories of Liege till the end of November, and those of Münster took up their quarters in Luxemburg on the frontiers of Liege, in order to be ready to execute by force whatever might be resolved on by the commissioners appointed by the three princes. Among these commissioners the representative of Prussia had the greatest weight, for the king had caused 7000 men to be sent on this occasion. Neither Von Schlieffen, the commander of the troops, nor the noble-minded and wise Von Dohm, the commissioner, were disposed to deceive the confidence of the Liegeois, who had applied to Prussia from fear of Cologne, which was under the dominion of a priest, and of the Bavarian Palatinate, which was governed by the slave of priests. Prussia was very far indeed from conceding to the priests a sovereignty to which they were not entitled, as was

done by Münster and the Palatinate. Dohm suggested and recommended mediation and amnesty, whilst the bishop and his companions in Cologne and Münster, as well as the imperial court, which for centuries had emulated the councils of Brabant and Castille in the maintenance of usurpations, demanded punishment and unconditional subjection.

It will readily be supposed that the case gave rise to the exchange of innumerable and copious papers, because for centuries there was no more attractive field open to the German jurists, publicists and court scribes; the bishop himself corresponded with Herzberg. In the course of this correspondence between an orthodox and pious bishop and a minister who professed the religion of Frederick II., the former entailed upon himself as much disgrace as the latter obtained great and well-merited honour from all those by whom good actions are regarded as of more value than dead faith. The proof of this assertion will be found in the printed documents themselves. Prussia did not on this occasion suffer herself to be employed as the instrument of oppression, but declared that she would have nothing more to do with the affair, and withdrew her troops in the beginning of April, which constrained the Palatinate to follow her example. The latter was afterwards desirous of returning in connexion with the contingents from Münster, but they were not equal to the Liegeois, and only brought disgrace upon themselves and an empire, which was not in a condition by the usual means to execute its own decrees, but was obliged to have recourse to a miserable pettifogging trick, in order to induce the emperor Leopold, who was the defender of everything ancient and obsolete, to mix himself in the affair. It was shown on this occasion that it was a mistake to suppose that the times were gone in which it was possible for the united power of a people to enter successfully into competition with the new institution of mercenary soldiers; for it appeared that this was only true in cases of tumults and insurrections of the populace and masses, but not of a well-organized militia composed of the people, animated and stimulated to action by a conviction of the truth and justice of their cause. The imperial court, being embittered and enraged at the defeat of their mercenaries, had offered the whole German executive power, consisting of the Palatinate, Münster, Mayence, Würzburg and Würtemberg contingents, and last of all, those of the circle of Lower Saxony, to maintain the cause of the bishop

and his chapter, the members of which belonged to the same estate as the assessors of the imperial court; but the whole of this miserable combination of contingents fought with the insurgents from April till December without success, suffered numerous defeats, and were often driven by the Liegois far beyond the frontiers of the bishopric.

The war was carried on by the estates of Liege with an army far superior to that of the empire; at length the elector of Mayence himself felt, that right was on the side of the estates of Liege; he therefore induced the king of Prussia to undertake the office of mediator, and after some conferences in Maseyk, an agreement was concluded respecting the preliminary articles, which were to be guaranteed by the whole electoral college. Before the three estates of Liege in the beginning of November showed any disposition to be satisfied with this determination, they had several times made applications to the French national assembly, and even as late as October, both in writing and by deputies; this was quite enough of itself to draw down upon them the resentment of the emperor and of all the enemies of innovation. They finally agreed to accept all the articles of Maseyk, but with this reservation, that the bishop, who was again to be restored, was to redress their complaints and to secure to them the free choice of the civil magistracy. This however was declined by the bishop, who had entered into a secret understanding with the emperor. The conservators of all those abuses, which during the middle ages had become rights by virtue of parchment and seals, and who held their court in Wetzlar, now drew forth a new instrument of destruction from their legal armoury, to be employed in favour of the bishop and the chapter. The imperial court having to no purpose offered the aid of the circles which have been already mentioned, bethought themselves that the Belgium recently re-occupied by force had once been called the circle of Burgundy, and they now made an appeal to the emperor, as the only prince of this circle, to support the army of execution with his troops. After consultation and agreement with the bishop, the emperor lent a favourable ear to this appeal on the part of the judges in Wetzlar, and field-marshal Bender immediately united his troops with those of the useless army of execution, in order to restore the bishop to his power.

The first consequence of this kind of imperial justice was, that

the imperial court inflicted the punishment upon the inhabitants of the city and territory of Liege, which was really due to the bishop and his chapter. In January 1791 Liege was occupied by a superior force of imperialists and Austrians, and on the 11th of February the imperial court decreed that the oppressors were to receive a million of florins from the oppressed. Count Metternich, whose family had the largest interest in livings and stalls connected with all the German sees and in the election of bishops, next granted permission to the bishop about to be restored to issue a proclamation, whose effect must have been to turn away the hearts of all from any regard to the rotten German empire, and to lead them to look with hope to the French, who did despite to feudality and all hierarchal tendencies and ideas. On his return on the 13th of February 1791, the bishop had the shamelessness to take possession of the country and people as the *property of his church*, and that by virtue of a proclamation directly contrary to that law of which he and the court in Wetzlar boasted as German law. Immediately afterwards, as an ecclesiastic, he instituted a series of persecuting measures by the instrumentality of his tribunals and police, such as were resorted to nowhere in Europe except by ecclesiastics in the states of the church.

Severe punishments were not only inflicted on the originators of the disturbances and those who were concerned in them, but domiciliary visits were made to every man of liberal opinions, and above all to writers for the public, and absent persons were summoned and their properties confiscated. These measures led to an increase of fermentation among the people, precisely in the same manner as the same effects are produced at the present day by conduct of the same description in the papal states. The bishop of Liege was obliged to retain imperial troops in his territory, precisely as the pope at present is constrained to found his hope of the continuance of his temporal power on the proximity of Austrian forces. The refugees of Liege joined the Belgian patriots in Holland and France, kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with their countrymen who were oppressed by the priests, threatened the rear of the allied armies as early as September 1794, and at the close of the year returned hand-in-hand in triumph together with the republican French.

During the most violent scenes of the revolution in Paris, we constantly find the refugees of Liege and the expatriated Vonck-

ists among the most active participators, and as early as the 18th of December 1791, when the war between France, Prussia and the emperor was threatening to break out, they offered their military services to the French. They were desirous, as they said, of forming a distinct legion in the French army, consisting wholly of inhabitants of Liege, even when the prospect of a war was still distant.

b. POLAND.

Russia had become a guarantee for the maintenance of that article of the constitution which was passed into a law in the year 1768, and by virtue of which every single member of the noble estate could invalidate by his *veto* the resolution of all the rest. By the instrumentality of this law, Russia contrived to maintain her dominion over the disunited grandees and the kingdom. It was very easy to prevail upon some one member of the nobility to act as a mere instrument of the foreigners, and by interposing his veto, furnish them with recurring opportunities for interfering in the internal affairs of the country. Great care was therefore taken that this most injurious custom and law should be also received into the constitution forced upon the Poles in 1775. The chief direction of all the most important affairs having been once entrusted to a permanent council, the king became completely powerless and the diet a mere tool, because, although this council pretended to act only in concurrence with the king, it really overruled his will, and consisted of persons who were merely Russian creatures. This body was not influenced by the pleasure of the king, but guided solely by the instructions which it received from the Russian minister. A single vote, and therefore any evil-disposed person, or one who might be sold to the enemies of his country, was able to invalidate any resolution which might be agreed to by the whole body except himself, and consequently insurrections and the confederations connected with them became in reality the only means of carrying through any project whatsoever. In every confederation the principle of the majority of votes was recognised, and by virtue of such a union, even when the particular had not become a general confederation, a resolution could be obtained from a diet. A confederation at first indeed was formed by the union of single members of the noble estate, but afterwards it

usually soon embraced whole circles, waiwodeships and provinces; and after having been united by a formal act, appeared in the diet as a unity. By means of such a confederation-diet in 1776, the Russians succeeded in establishing the permanent council, and by means of the council the permanence of her dominion; and in consequence of the form of government then introduced, none of the succeeding diets, till 1788, were able to come to any resolution worthy of mention. In the year 1788 there at length appeared to be some reasonable hope of shaking off the power of Russia.

The king and the Russian party in Poland themselves gave occasion to a confederation, but they failed in the attainment of their object, which was to induce the Poles to enter into a union with Russia against the Turks. The king, who is praised by Oginski in the style of Lacretelle, Ségur and other Frenchmen for qualities which we do not dispute, by his journey to Kaniow and his conduct towards Potemkin and Catharine, had at that time completely lost the respect of all those who had any standard for the value of a king and a statesman except that of the saloons. By this standard alone Oginski measured the elegant and gallant Stanislaus, the protector of all the splendid arts, when he lauded* him in the language and spirit of Lacretelle and Ségur, whose nothingness is unhappily too conspicuous in the history of all the subsequent events. Although the noblest spirits of the

* Oginski, having lauded the king in his memoirs as the protector of the arts and sciences, continues: "At that period Konarski organized schools for the poor, and improved the methods of instruction. Bohomolec published a learned periodical, composed plays for the Polish theatre, and struggled against the prejudices of the people. Krasinski, who was a most delightful poet of various talents, criticised, entertained and instructed. Wengierski wrote severe satires and embodied bitter truths in clever and witty verses. Kopczynski composed a grammar and reduced language to determinate rules. Naruszewicz, renowned as a poet and historian, translated Horace and Tacitus, and whilst he selected the former as his model, raised himself as a historian to the rank of the second. Trembecki could have gained for himself the first place among the poets of the time of king Stanislaus had he been less indolent and somewhat less of a courtier. The learned Albertrandi, a distinguished antiquarian, was sent by the king to Rome and Stockholm with a commission to collect materials for a history of Poland, and enriched the archives of the country by several hundred volumes of valuable MSS., all of them written with his own hand. There were the astronomer Poczobutt, the naturalist Strzicki, Sinadecki, Skrzetuski, Wyrwicz, Staszick and Kollontay," &c. And then he proceeds to enumerate others as heroes of the saloons and perfect masters of conversation and manners: "there were Joseph Poniatowsky, Ignacius and Stanislaus Potocki, Czartoriski, Sapieha, Malachowski, Mostowski, Weyssenhof, Niemcewicz and Matuszewicz. *Sed ohe jam satis superque est!*"

Polish nation were indignant that their king had conducted himself like the slave of Potemkin, by begging for favours from the empress, which she partly granted and partly refused, Stanislaus hoped to be able to persuade the Poles that they could only deliver themselves from Prussian oppression through the aid and instrumentality of Russia. Frederick II. and his minister Herzberg were determined to force the cession of Thorn and Danzig; they kept both these cities and the whole neighbourhood in a state of fear and anxiety, and nothing but Russian interference had hitherto saved them from their grasp, or appeared to be able to prevent the continuance of Prussian oppressions. That portion of the Poles which was sold to the Russians were desirous of availing themselves of this condition of things to bring about an alliance with Russia against the Turks. They acknowledged however, what the Russian minister also admitted, that this could only be effected by means of a diet, and that the diet could only be made an instrument of the Russians by what was called a general confederation. In a general confederation the power of an individual (the *liberum veto*) became null, and everything was decided by a majority of votes. The parties were by no means agreed respecting the manner in which this was to be accomplished, for a freely formed general confederation appeared both to the Russian ambassador and the poor soul of the king, a thing in itself by much too dangerous.

Felix Potocki recommended a confederation, which was to be formed according to circles and waiwodships, before the assembling of the diet, whilst the Russian ambassador and his humble servant the king required that it should only be formed *during* the diet, and emanate from the permanent council. The latter opinion prevailed, and a diet was summoned for the 30th of September 1788. This occurred at the very time in which a close alliance was formed between England and Prussia against the views of Joseph and Catharine; Prussia therefore immediately declared her determination to resist any alliance between Russia and Poland against the Turks, and a Prussian army appeared on the frontiers of Poland. From this moment the patriotic party in Poland felt themselves in a condition, by a union with Prussia, to counteract all the projects of the king, who was disposed to favour Russia, of the Russian ambassador, and of the permanent council which depended on him.

The permanent council and the Russian ambassador soon per-

ceived that they had miscalculated when they supposed that they could prevail upon the electoral assemblies to give the deputies whom they elected such instructions as were calculated to promote their own views. They had instructed the assemblies to commission their representatives to demand a confederation, the reinforcement of the army, and a radical improvement in the department of finance; whereas the electoral assemblies merely instructed their deputies to insist upon a reformation of the constitution, and to effect a deliverance from the Russian guarantee for the maintenance of the old one. After the elections, not only the Russian ambassador but the marshal of the kingdom, proposed by the king and the Russians, declared that a confederation formed by the permanent council could not be suffered to take place. Malachowski, who was selected to be marshal of the kingdom, demanded, that in case it was their desire he should undertake the office proposed, they must necessarily wait for the institution of a confederation, and till the marshal was elected in the usual way in a free diet held without a confederation; and secondly, in order to put an effectual bar to every species of cabal, it should be expressly declared that the confederation had no other object than to make it possible in the diet to decide questions submitted for discussion by a majority of votes, and without the *liberum veto*. This was the meaning of Malachowski's demand, which was couched in the following language: "The marshal cannot allow any chamber of confederation or any power to be holden with a view to sanction particular enactments, but all decisions in the diet itself must be determined by a majority of votes." This principle having been conceded, the future confederation, even before the opening of the diet, was delivered from the power of the king and the Russians, who wished to use it as the mere instrument for effecting their designs.

The diet was opened on the 6th of October, Malachowski chosen as marshal of Poland, and Sapieha of Lithuania; and as early as the 17th the confederation declared, or rather resolved, that all motions and decrees should be decided by a majority of votes. The confederation was not on this occasion the work of an insurrection, but was equally demanded by the Russian and the patriotic party, both of which were agreed upon the necessity of harmony. On the 12th of October a note signed by the Prussian minister Von Buchholz, and powerfully seconded by Hailes, the English representative, was handed in, in which the

accusation brought against Prussia of endeavouring to win over Polish towns or provinces was absolutely denied, and a united protest was made at the same time against the formation of any new alliance between Russia and Poland. The king of Prussia, according to the declaration of his minister, had nothing to say respecting the increase of the Polish army, but he warned them not to employ it against the Turks; and in case any force should be attempted to compel the Poles to the adoption of such a course, he offered to conclude an alliance with them, and to give his guarantee for the preservation of the integrity of the kingdom of Poland. The resolutions of the diet were completely in accordance with the expectations of Prussia; it renounced every idea of an offensive alliance with Russia, and, relying upon the aid and protection of Prussia, entered upon its deliberations respecting those reforms, the necessity of which was most obvious.

The diet first agreed to the augmentation of the army to 100,000 men, and in order to organize this army, erected a new council of war, which was made independent of the king and the permanent council. This was the first step towards the abolition of the permanent council, which was a creature of the Russians, and coordinate with or superior in authority to the king. On the 3rd of November a resolution was passed, that, instead of a permanent council, the sittings of the diet itself should be declared permanent. This step roused the attention of Stackelberg the Russian ambassador, who handed in a note on the 5th of November, which contained a threatening declaration, and concluded with these words: "As to the idea of establishing a permanent diet, and in this way overturning the constitution hitherto existing, my duty imposes upon me the necessity of declaring, that the empress would feel great pain in relinquishing her feelings of friendship for the king and her connexion with the illustrious republic, but that at the same time she must regard any alteration whatever of the constitution of 1775 as a breach of the existing treaties and relations between the two powers." This note, and still more the tone in which it was written, awakened, it is true, strong feelings of displeasure towards the ambassador; but the Poles were still more incensed at the conduct of the king, who, in a servile speech, ventured to recommend to the diet the same spirit of concession to Russia by which he himself was degraded. The Prussian ambassador, who wished to employ the influence and power of the Poles in favour of the

Turks, in the same manner as the Russian was anxious to use the same power and influence against them, on the 19th of November handed in a declaration to the diet, which was the very reverse of that of the Russian.

“The king,” writes the ambassador, “has perceived with pleasure, that the illustrious states, according to their well-established rights, have placed the relation of the army to the government on such a footing, by a public resolution in conformity with the principles of the constitution of the country, as to secure the independence of the republic, and to render it impossible to employ the military force of the nation for the promotion of any particular objects, or to remove it from foreign influence.” With respect to the guarantee of the Russians for the maintenance of the constitution of 1775, and the threats contained in Stackelberg’s note, it observes: “The king of Prussia feels himself justified in expecting, from his knowledge of the penetration and well-known firmness of the diet, that its members will not suffer themselves to be deterred from the adoption of a resolution which does so much honour to the correctness of their views respecting the future, by any warnings or allusions to the guarantee of any particular resolutions previously passed, whatsoever they may have been.” From this time forward the Poles placed all their hopes upon Prussia; and the cabinet of Berlin, well knowing that on the next occasion they would be obliged to sacrifice Poland to the Russians, sent Lucchesini, an Italian, instead of an honourable German, as their ambassador to Warsaw. This minister, who afterwards, till our own century, in connexion with Lombard and Haugwitz, formed the triumvirate of the cabinet of Berlin, which proved so injurious to Germany, and finally to Prussia herself, then put in practice his genuine Italian diplomatic arts in Warsaw.

According to custom, the diet should have closed its sittings with the year 1788; in spite however of the Russians, they had been prolonged for an indefinite time. As early as January 1789 the decisive step was taken for the abolition of the permanent council, which had been imposed upon the Poles by the Russians, but no further progress was made. Eight valuable months were wasted in the delivery of well-set speeches, which, according to the French fashion, were richly garnished with patriotic phrases; disputes were carried on concerning unimportant things, and a very tedious judicial process was conducted with Slavonian vio-

lence, so that no part of the real business of the state was attended to or performed till the 7th of September, except a decree authorising an insignificant loan of 10,000,000 of florins for Poland and 3,000,000 for Lithuania.

At length, on the 7th of September 1789, a resolution was passed that a committee, or, as they expressed it, a deputation, should be appointed in order to institute inquiries respecting all the branches of the administration, and to prepare and submit to the diet the draft of a new constitution. The committee was then really named, and consisted of eleven persons, of whom five were nominated by the king, partly ministers and partly senators, and six by the chamber of deputies from their own number*. Lucchesini, the Prussian minister, and the representative of England, now proposed an alliance, and took care that this offer should be made known to the diet; but at the same time they made such a skilful use of the well-known diplomatic language, that their courts were not, properly speaking, bound. Among the eight articles which the committee afterwards published as the preliminary types of the new constitution, it did not venture to recommend the abolition of the principle of an electoral kingdom and the introduction of that of a hereditary monarchy. The plan itself met with the approbation of the diet, which entered into negotiations with Prussia respecting a defensive alliance, and finally prorogued its sittings from the last of December 1789 till February 1790. Russia, being well acquainted with the nature of the Prussian views respecting Poland, declared that she had nothing to say against an alliance between Poland and Prussia, and thus the real views of the cabinet of Berlin were cunningly brought to light. Prussia declared, in fact, that the conclusion of the alliance depended upon the cession of Thorn and Danzig.

The patriots availed themselves of the interval of adjournment in order to obtain those powers from the circles and provinces by which they were deputed, which were necessary to enable them to convert the diet into a national assembly. For this purpose circulars were issued to all the provinces, districts and

* Those named by the king were Krasiński, bishop of Kamieniec, Potocki, marshal of Lithuania, Oginski, royal commander-in-chief of Lithuania, Chreptowicz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and Kassowski, vice-treasurer of the crown. On the part of the deputies, Suchodolski deputy for Chelm, Moszczenski for Bracław, Działowski for Posen, Sokolowski for Inowrocław, Wawrzeczki for Braclaw, and Weyssenhoff for Livonia.

towns. In these letters the steps already taken by the diet and the views entertained with respect to the future were explained, and the deputies afterwards instituted meetings among themselves, in which they developed and explained their views, and endeavoured to rouse the nation to a feeling of enthusiasm in favour of a new life and a system of legal order. Prussia was at that time (the commencement of 1790) about to engage in a war with Austria; but having afterwards thought of being able to attain her ends at the congress of Reichenbach, at length intimated that she would not insist upon the cession of Danzig and Thorn, and the diet on the 15th of March 1790 then resolved upon concluding the alliance. The alliance was really concluded fourteen days afterwards, and six days after that ratified by the respective powers. We learn from Oginski, that the high nobility, indeed, were dreaming of a pompous, luxurious and splendid peerage, somewhat after the English model; and also that, instead of ending, they commenced with the exhibition of their splendour; instead of organising the whole nation in armed bodies by the sacrifice of their wealth, and securing the means of keeping this array on foot by unusual frugality, and thus preparing for the impending war threatened by the Russians, they gave scope to their folly; and the chiefs of families who loved ostentatious, luxurious and vain splendour, pomp and extravagance, undertook embassies to all the courts in Europe, where they exhibited their splendour and contracted debts like sovereign princes. Among the number of these ambassadors was Oginski, whose property at this time was increased by an inheritance of 20,000,000 of florins.

Oginski, in his Memoirs, is altogether wrong when he brings a severe accusation against Herzberg for taking so little notice of his Polish patriotism and enthusiasm. Herzberg was well acquainted with the hypocrisy of the king and his relations; he knew that Branicki, who owed his immense fortune to treason, and not like Oginski to inheritance, as well as Felix Potocki and Rzewusky, were really in secret alliance with Russia and Austria, and merely for appearance' sake pretended to be patriotic. The Prussian minister knew that bishop Kossakowski, and even the brother of the grand marshal chancellor Malachowski, were sold to the Russians; what value therefore could he attach to a constitution which was betrayed and sold even before it was accepted? Instead of blaming Herzberg, Oginski should rather have done

him honour, because, like an honest German noble, he did not attempt to deceive him, in the same manner as Lucchesini did the other Poles. Herzberg met with young Oginski in Breslau (June 1790), and there distinctly informed him that Prussia could place no reliance on the Polish enthusiasm, which would quickly evaporate, and merely regarded the alliance with Poland as a means of promoting Prussian objects*.

In the meantime the Russians and their adherents first availed themselves of the pretence of respect for the law of 1768, and afterwards they had recourse to every possible means to retard the decision of the diet respecting the scheme of a constitution, which their committee had laid before its members. The deputation had continued from May till September to bring one chapter after another of the new constitution before the assembly, till at length the whole ten were brought under consideration, but none of them were found to contain any recommendation as to the abolition of the principle of an electoral monarchy. On the 24th of September 1790, the sittings of the diet were prolonged by resolution till 1791, and in the circulars issued for the purpose of calling electoral assemblies, the nation was at last asked, whether they would not wish to name a successor to the king in his lifetime? Fourteen days afterwards another question was added to this,—whether it was not their pleasure to nominate the elector of Saxony as heir to the throne of Poland? On the 9th of October a new missive was directed to all the palatinates and districts, which were ordered to hold provincial diets on the 16th of November, and to take into consideration the printed scheme of a new constitution, as well as the question concerning the nomination of the elector of Saxony as heir to the throne. The whole of these provincial assemblies (with the exception of three or four) left everything connected with the constitution unconditionally to the diet, without binding their deputies by any instructions whatever; all of them except Volhynia readily

* Oginski, in his *Memoirs*, part i., writes as follows: “All the questions which he put to me respecting the diet at Warsaw, the opinions which he pronounced upon some of the most distinguished men of this assembly, his displeasure at the obstructions thrown in the way of a commercial treaty between Poland and Prussia, convinced me that he entertained no good feeling towards the Poles. He was only *concerned to make the alliance*, in order to follow up the system which he had commenced, of weakening Austria, of securing Thorn and Danzig for Prussia, and yielding to the impulse of the English cabinet. With this view, Ewart, the English minister, incessantly importuned him, and supported himself on the necessity and advantages of an Anglo-Prussian alliance.”

acceded to the proposal of declaring the elector of Saxony successor to the throne of Poland.

The Russian party succeeded in causing great delays, by insisting that the law of 1768 expressly prohibited them from making any change in their fundamental laws, without unanimity on the part of the diet. This difficulty was no sooner surmounted, by the repeal of this law, than the clients of the Russians hoped to protract the decision till the termination of the Turkish war, by engaging in endless debates on every article of the constitution. The patriots escaped from this snare by a resolution of the diet, that the votes should be taken not on each article in particular, but on the whole together, in such a way that whatever was not approved by the diet should be referred back to the committee to make the necessary alterations. Two disputed points were however immediately decided, one relating to the form of the assemblies, the other to the demands of the towns. Having agreed on these points on the 24th of March 1791, it was also resolved that the superintendence of all the officers of the executive power should be entrusted to the king and the council of state. The king and the council were also to be entrusted with the duty of summoning the diets, and taking all those measures which might be provisionally necessary for the well-being of the state.

These tedious consultations of the diet were prolonged for two years, at the end of which the circumstances were altered. Herzberg's influence was weakened by the obscurists and cabals; Bischoffswerder and the cabinet triumvirate, whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention hereafter, began their game at Berlin in connexion with the king's mistresses. The diet moreover had unnecessarily offended Herzberg and the king by declaring its determination not to cede any portion of the Polish territory (that is, Thorn and Danzig). The Poles having perceived when it was too late that their decision had been too long delayed, the committee very suddenly and unexpectedly laid their scheme before the diet for its acceptance on the 2nd of May 1791. The king, who at that time was singularly ostentatious of his patriotic enthusiasm, eagerly insisted that the committee should immediately submit their plan under the title of a *resolution respecting the form of government*. On the evening of the 2nd the scheme was first read in the Radzivil palace before the patriotic members of the diet, to the exclusion of the others, and was received with unbounded applause; and the very same night

it was signed in the house of Malachowski, marshal of the kingdom. On the 3rd the diet was assembled for the solemn acceptance of the constitution; thousands streamed from all directions to rejoice at the near-approaching regeneration of Poland, the annihilation of anarchy and the complete abolition of foreign rule. On this occasion, the powerful members of the diet, who had sold themselves, and the Russian ambassador, had recourse to every possible means which chicane and evil inclinations could suggest to prevent the passing of the resolution. They in fact succeeded in protracting the decision of the question respecting the adoption of the plan recommended by the committee for several hours.

During this sitting the king played the character of a patriot in such a masterly manner that the whole assembly were in raptures, and he became an object of wonder and admiration in every part of Europe. On that day the spectators no longer looked on the king as the mere head of a court and as a master of the polite arts, but as an energetic statesman; and yet at that very time he was nothing more than a good comedian! He made a speech to the assembly with a view to recommend the immediate and unanimous acceptance of the proposed plan; and the majority having at length required him to close the debate, he commanded the bishop of Cracow to read before the assembly the oath to the new constitution. He himself first took the oath, and then by his addresses, encouragement and example, he gave rise to a theatrical scene of patriotic enthusiasm for national regeneration similar to that which was enacted in Paris on the 14th of July on the Champ de Mars. He rose from his throne, preceded the assembly, who all followed him in procession except twelve dissentient members, passed through the covered passages of the palace, and thus conducted them into the high church. The oath was then again solemnly administered upon and at the altar, and ratified by a high mass and the rejoicing of thousands, who had assembled in and around the church; the signatures to the new constitution were first to be formally and solemnly attached on the 5th of May.

On this occasion, bishop Kossakowski, who ought to have subscribed first in the character of president of the committee, who drew up the plan of the constitution, clearly showed that he and his compeers had only been intent on deceiving and betraying the patriots. According to the order prescribed by the diet, it

was his duty first to subscribe the new constitution, as well as other laws passed by the diet; he declined however on this occasion, and had recourse for his justification to the subterfuge, that he and the committee, whose president he was, could not with propriety subscribe any law which, like the draft of the constitution, was passed by the majority merely as a whole, but upon the single articles of which no definite conclusion had been adopted. They were only required or permitted to subscribe, when, as president and deputation, they were *expressly* entrusted with this duty by the diet, and had received full powers for the purpose. Means were immediately taken to remove this difficulty. Malachowski, marshal of the diet, had scarcely proposed and afterwards thrice repeated the question, whether the diet was ready to issue its commands to the deputation, and give them full powers to sign the constitution drawn up by the committee and sworn to on the 3rd of the month, in the presence of the two chambers of the diet, when Kossakowski's hopes, which rested on the opposition, were destroyed by the affirmative voice of an immense majority. Even the deputies, who had excused themselves by the nature of their instructions, and protested on the 4th against the constitution subscribed by the majority on the 3rd, alarmed by the great unanimity which prevailed, now withdrew their protest.

We leave our readers to obtain an acquaintance with the details of the new constitution from other sources, because we, following facts alone, can only very rarely suffer ourselves to advert to the plans and projects or the manifestos and articles of politicians and diplomatists*; in this case, however, we must refer to a few points, in consequence of their immediate relation to our subject. In the draft the hereditary principle of succession was recognised; the succession was secured to the elector of Saxony, and,

* Literary intelligence does not fall within the scope of our plan, and least of all in this place, because the draft merely remained a matter of theory, and never became a fact. We shall however point out to those who desire this information where it may be found: *Mémoires d'Oginski*, at greater length in Manso, *Geschichte des pr. Staats*, i. § 313–317. The draft is comprised under ten heads: 1, diets; 2, diets of the kingdom; 3, courts of the general diet; 4, council of state; 5, commission of police; 6, commission of war; 7, commission of finance; 8, commission of national education; 9, commission of waivodeship; 10, rank and condition of the officers of the republic. The whole will be found as afterwards published as a law in the name of the king, and a *resolution of the government* of the 3rd of May, in the *sixth chapter* of part the first of a work published in 1793 under the title, 'Vom Entstehen und Untergange der Polnischen Constitution vom iii. Mai 1791.' Seite 200–231.

if he left no son, the throne was to descend to his daughter and her heirs. Further, a greater degree of power and influence in public affairs was granted to the king than he had previously possessed. All their privileges, it is true, were secured to the nobility, but the citizens notwithstanding obtained a political existence. The obstructive character of the *liberum veto* was removed, and separate confederations and assemblies of confederates were prohibited; and in conclusion, it was determined that a complete revision of the constitution should take place every twenty-five years.

Although an alliance against *every description of innovation* had been secretly formed between Austria, England and Prussia at the very time in which the acceptance of the new constitution, which was to give Poland a new weight in the scale of nations, spread universal rejoicing throughout that kingdom, and Herzberg's influence in the cabinet of Berlin, which was favourable to liberality, was undermined, yet Prussia continued for some time longer to pursue its previous course. In a note delivered on the 17th of May 1791 to the committee of foreign affairs, count Golz, then Prussian ambassador in Warsaw, declared, that "the king congratulated the nation on account of the quick removal of all obstructions to the improvement of the constitution." At the same time the minister communicated a letter from the king, which to every one not familiar with the style of diplomatic correspondence must have conveyed the impression that the king completely approved of the principles of the new constitution. Taking into account the indefinite and obscure language of diplomacy, we should indeed infer nothing more from the letter, than that the king of Prussia (who most probably had never read the draft) was not dissatisfied with a work of which count Herzberg and Burke were loud in their commendations, as Oginski proves from their own words. The king of Prussia, in his letter, not only clearly expresses his approbation but his great joy at the adoption of the principle of hereditary succession, the selection of the elector of Saxony as next heir to the throne, the confirmation of the monarchical principle, and the increase of the royal power and influence.

In a letter to king Stanislaus, dated the 25th of May, the king of Prussia expresses himself in a similar manner, and in a ministerial note of the Prussian cabinet, dated the 21st of June, all the steps taken by the diet, which were afterwards so se-

verely blamed, were officially approved. It therefore appears to us probable, that had the life of Leopold been prolonged, who was never serious in the war against France, or in the part which he took in the plans of the Prussian cabals and the English aristocracy, the Russians would have had much greater difficulty in carrying out their plans against Poland than was afterwards the case. This supposition fully accords with the accounts of the three secret articles of the congress of Pilnitz, to which we shall refer. A conference was held in Pilnitz, in September 1791, between the emperor Leopold and the king of Prussia; and it is said that one of the secret articles relating to Poland confirmed the succession to the throne of Poland to the elector of Saxony, and the two others guaranteed the independence and integrity of the new hereditary monarchy. Leopold's death in March 1792, however, altered the whole state of affairs.

It was quite possible to concede all that the able, intelligent, and temperate defender of unfortunate Poland states in the concluding chapters of the first part of his eulogy upon the patriotic portion of his countrymen, of their magnanimity, moderation, wisdom, efforts and sacrifices, nay even of their voluntary taxation and the augmentation of their army to 100,000 men*, and yet to maintain that the country fell a prey to Russia, not as he alleged in consequence of the conduct of Prussia, but of the treachery and meanness of the Polish magnates. When the most distinguished Polish nobles and their king sold themselves, then indeed Austria and Prussia, if they did not wish to sacrifice their own subjects for foreigners, might well relinquish the idea of rescuing Poland from the Russians; there remained nothing for them but to become partakers of the spoil. Among the magnates, there were two who immediately separated themselves from the cause of their country, Branicki, and Rzewusky, son of the martyr of 1775; their influence and conduct however were less injurious than those of others, who played a double character in their native land, who, concealed themselves by masks and under cover of darkness, murdered their nationality.

Branicki, who had always been a traitor, and by treason became immensely rich, was married to Potemkin's niece. He now went to the tyrant to Jassy and was present at his funeral;

* The seventh chapter of the first part of 'Vom Entstehen und Untergange,' u. s. w. is devoted to an account of what was gained by the constitution.

Rzewusky withdrew to Vienna, and there and from thence he continued to pursue the objects of the conspiracy; the other traitors, of whom the king himself was one, played the characters of the most zealous patriots, till the Russians gave them the signal to throw off the mask. The foremost rank among these detestable enemies of their country was occupied by the same Felix Potocki who succeeded in 1775 in obtaining from the empress of Russia *four* starosties as the *reward* of his treason to his country, when Branicki obtained only *one*. Together with the king and Potocki must be consigned to infamy chancellor Malachowski, brother of the noble-minded marshal of the diet, and the shameless priest Kossakowski, who was the Judas Iscariot among the patriotic apostles, and was president of the committee which drew up the plan of the constitution. The whole of these men, having been long sold to Russia, had recourse to every possible means of obstructing and preventing the working of the new order of things; they took care to connect every description of determinations and orders which were calculated to produce disputes and dissatisfaction with the new constitution; and, in addition to this, they had especially excited the people by the imposition of certain taxes. When they found themselves unable to attain their chief object, Branicki went to Potemkin, whilst the primate and count Rzewusky also left the country. Felix Potocki joined his troops in Lithuania, and in the meantime the chancellor and the bishop subscribed the constitution; all of them however anxiously waited for the moment in which the Russians would break silence. On this account Branicki returned earlier, in order at the diet to conspire against the diet; but he afterwards again left it, in order to return in company with the Russians, whilst Felix Potocki and Rzewusky had entered into correspondence with Potemkin from Vienna. As early as the period of which we now write, the Russians had spun those threads on all sides which they still continue to spin. They employed men and means of the most various and opposite descriptions as spies and instruments, in order to become acquainted with and to win over all those persons who are ready to sell their country, and who prefer money, estates and orders to truth and loyalty*. The magnates al-

* We shall here quote a passage from the work referred to in a preceding note, in order to enable the reader to connect all that then took place, with what is still going forward. Part II. p. 11: "Russia has agents of all descrip-

ready mentioned had been long in correspondence with Potemkin; they were even present with him at the very moment in which he was carried off by death on his journey to Jassy, and after his death remained in that city, in order to console the small Russian party in the diet with the prospect of Russian bayonets.

Those powerful magnates who had publicly seceded from the cause of their country, and thrown themselves completely into the hands of the Russians, now began to form the most scandalous conspiracies against national regeneration and against the government of legal order, partly in the diet and partly in the different localities of the kingdom in which they had influence. Among these conspirators the names of bishop Kossakowski, governors Ozarowsky and Czetwertinsky, and deputy Zlotnicki, must be especially mentioned. The last of these was the person who in the name of Potocki summoned the poor and rapacious nobility of Podolia to arms. By the choice of his ministers, king Stanislaus gave obvious proofs of the emptiness of his speeches, the vanity of his hypocritical patriotism, and of the cowardly or treacherous use which he made of the new powers with which he was entrusted. He appointed the faithless Branicki minister of war, and the traitorous chancellor Malachowski minister of justice. Branicki, who had also previously travelled publicly to Jassy to the Russians, whilst the diet was engaged in deliberating upon the articles of the constitution, having returned and remained as long in Poland as he could promote his traitorous designs, now again returned to the Russians, in order to consult with them on the best means of effecting with the greatest ease the oppression and downfall of his country. On this occasion he availed himself of the pretence of Potemkin's death, and the inheritance which thereby fell to his wife; and because the king was in his secret, he was able to return to Warsaw, to arrange everything for the coming events, and again sped back to Petersburg, still under pretence of attending to the affairs of his inheritance. Felix Potocki and

tions, almost at every court. In addition to the ambassador, humbler diplomatic spies are maintained, who watch every step not only of the government, but even of the Russian ambassador himself, and each of whom, according to necessity, then receives especial commissions. In such cases Russia usually selects foreign adventurers of approved abilities. Felix Potocki and Rzewusky found two persons of this stamp in Vienna, one of whom was the agent of the court and the other of Potemkin."

count Rzewusky had preceded him thither. They there found the brother of bishop Kossakowski, who had long been a general in the Russian service, and whose house now formed the point of union for these traitors to their country.

The result of the deliberations of Branicki, Potocki, Rzewusky and others was a determination to call upon the Russians to protect what they called Polish freedom; and the means employed to bring the Russians to Poland was one of those confederations expressly forbidden by the new constitution. It is most highly probable that the acts of the confederation directed against the constitution were all devised and settled in Petersburg under Russian influence; it was however necessary to conceal this fact, because a Polish confederation could only be formed on Polish ground; the band of magnates who were sold to Russia were therefore obliged to return to Poland, before they could make known the reality of their confederation.

The empress Catharine had reached the sixtieth year of her age, and Plato Suboff, her favourite at that time, who had hitherto confined himself to the duties of his position, which were become less onerous, began to take part in public affairs. Plato, the insipid Markoff, Soltikoff, minister of war, and some other persons of a similar stamp, persuaded the empress to send an army into Poland and to employ open force. The persons who then possessed dominion over the king of Prussia suffered him to play an unworthy character, for they persuaded him to employ the arts of duplicity and diplomacy instead of acting openly and like a king. Prussia would have saved herself from all the reproaches and accusations which are heaped upon her, and sometimes unjustly, in the work upon the 'Origin and Fall of the Polish Constitution,' had she immediately declared that she would look after her own interests and aggrandisement, because it was impossible to save a nation which (as Prussia long knew) was betrayed by the king and the first persons of the kingdom. Instead of advising the king to pursue this open and honourable course, he was suffered to wear the mask of a faithful ally of the new constitutional monarchy of Poland till the middle of May 1792. For this reason he again sent Lucchesini to Warsaw, who till past the middle of the first decennium of the present century continued always to be the forerunner of every piece of treachery and disgraceful conduct practised by the cabinet of Berlin: on this occasion he was to play a character which no honourable man could well undertake.

By means of artful, conciliatory or consolatory answers, which he communicated in person to the king or the diet, in order to leave no record of his treachery, Lucchesini contrived to amuse and keep back the Poles, till a complete understanding with the Russians had been effected through Danish mediation. This had no sooner taken place, than, to the astonishment of every one, he assumed a very different language on the 14th of May, and renounced the relations hitherto existing. The Russian troops had been already long on their march, in order by force of arms to restore the ancient anarchy of Poland; and the diet had organized an army, to be commanded by Joseph Ponia-towsky, in order to repel the invasion. Up till this time, the king and the diet had made the marquis acquainted with every step which they took, and he had expressed his gratitude for every communication; but he altered his tone on the very day on which the traitors to their country at length sprung the mine in Targowitsch, which had been filled in Petersburg. This time also the cunning Italian was not forgetful of his thanks and the display of his hypocritical friendship for the king and the diet, on being made acquainted with their military measures; but he added, that "*his king however could take no account of the plans with the consideration of which the diet was occupied.*"

The band of conspirators against their country, who were gathered together in Petersburg, in the meantime had placed themselves and *their* Poland completely under the protection of Russia, then went to Targowitsch and there caused their confederation to be proclaimed. Did we not know from other sources that the manifesto which was published on the 14th of May 1792 in Targowitsch had been previously agreed upon with Plato Suboff, who had had the entire management of Russian affairs since Potemkin's death, with Suboff's mentor Soltikoff, who had first introduced him to the notice of the empress, and with the Gallo-Russian Markoff, this would be sufficiently obvious from the date alone*. With Russian audacity, the few

* It is said with respect to this circumstance, in a note to the second part of the book entitled 'Vom Entstehen und Untergange,' &c., "On the 14th of May there was no assembly in Targowitsch; nay, the founders of the confederation could not have been there on that day. Potocki set out from Petersburg on the 7th, and Rzewusky on the 10th of May, and could not consequently be in Targowitsch on the 14th, which is by much too far from Petersburg to be reached in that interval of time. It was therefore a scandalous falsehood for the Targowitsch confederates, who first came to Poland with the Russian army, to affirm that their proclamation was subscribed at Targowitsch on the 14th of May."

men whose names are mentioned in the note* assumed the appearance and tone of being the representatives of the whole nation; we shall not trouble our readers with the sophistical language employed by them in the act of confederation, which precisely resembles the philosophy of law and justice contained in other manifestos. They speak, as they allege, in the name of all the senators, ministers and the whole nobility, and call upon the whole people, with the aid of Russia, to unite in their endeavours to *restore a free and republican system of government*, and to put an end to the new monarchical constitution. After the lapse of only four days from the publication of this manifesto, the Russian minister Bulgakoff sent a note to the king and the diet on the 18th, in which he declared that the empress would support the demands of the Targowitsch confederates by her arms.

Among the reasons which the Russians assigned for their interference, or rather for their brutal dominion in Poland, some are remarkable for their *naïveté*, and one especially does very little honour to the Germans and to the nationality and patriotism of their princes. The small German princes, as the Russian apologist alleged, are accustomed to see with satisfaction the interference of foreign powers with their internal affairs, and it is always agreeable to them, when foreign states become guarantees for the preservation of their ancient constitutions, and consequently, we may add, of all their defects also. The Polish diet was accused of having converted itself into a confederation, prolonged the time of its sittings, and, in order to recall the fable of the wolf and the lamb, it was further alleged that ambassadors had been sent from Warsaw to Constantinople to conclude a peace with the Turks. Had not the other chief powers of Europe been involved in precarious relations with France, of which we shall afterwards give an account, and had not the ephemeral democracy of France, which could never long exist in such a country and among such a people, inspired them with the utmost dread, they certainly never would have suffered such men as Suboff, Soltikoff and Markoff to have insulted the Polish nation and king by the use of such language as the following:—

* Those who signed the terms of the conspiracy against their country were, — one senator only, Anton Czetwertyński, governor of Przemyśl; Branicki, minister of state; and Rzewusky and Felix Potocki, who had formerly been ministers; and from among the nobles, Wielochurski, Złotnicki, Mosszczewski, Zagorski, Suchorzewski, Kobylecki, Schweykowski and Hulewicz.

“The empress,” says Bulgakoff, “is ready to *pardon* those Poles who unconditionally submit to her will; but only on condition that they recall the oath which they have taken to the constitution of the 3rd of May 1791.” Nay, the free Poles were afterwards addressed as if they had been mere Russian vassals! “*The Poles*,” he continues, “*should place their whole reliance upon the magnanimity and generosity by which the whole conduct of the empress is uniformly guided.*” The Polish nation was filled with immense indignation at the use of such language, but the people could do nothing without the king, the ministers and the magnates, who, like the king, were only concerned for their luxuries, comforts and enjoyments, and for all of whom the language of the Russian minister was well-calculated. King Stanislaus, instead of attaching himself to the great number of those who were ready to risk everything to gain everything, or for an honourable and glorious fall, sought for aid from the Prussians, and relied upon the former smooth words and promises of Lucchesini. We may suppose however the greatness of his astonishment, when the unprincipled Italian audaciously returned him an answer, which was directly contradictory to all his former promises. “As,” says Lucchesini, “the king of Prussia has had no share in the formation of the constitution of 1791, he does not consider himself bound to furnish assistance to those who now propose to defend that constitution by force of arms.” Still more bitter and comfortless than the diplomatic note of the Italian was the peculiar answer of the German king to a private letter which poor Stanislaus had addressed to him.

The king abuses and blames the Polish constitution, which he had previously recognized and approved of both in ministerial notes and private letters, and not only refuses to render any assistance to its defenders, but concludes his letter with a threat and the indication of a new partition. He states, (we may add, in the language of deep irony,) “that he is ready to unite with the empress of Russia and with the court of Vienna, and in common with them to enter into consultation, with a view to devise measures calculated to restore repose to Poland.” The Poles were still more shamefully betrayed by their own king than even by their previous allies; he shrunk with fear from the adoption of the only means of deliverance which remained, yielded to his effeminacy and cowardice, and tried to pursue that middle course which in matters of great moment or danger

leads only to pitifulness or contempt. A Polish army it is true had been got on foot in Warsaw; the king however did not put himself at its head, but obtained the supreme command for his nephew Joseph Poniatowsky, because, as he was desirous of being reconciled with the Russians, he could make the best use of his nephew in obstructing every bold measure to which the patriots were disposed to have recourse, and to keep himself free from imputations. The Polish army, destined to oppose the Russian force, which was sent to the aid of the Targowitsch confederates, was separated into three divisions: the first under the command of Joseph Poniatowsky, the second of Michael Wielhorski, whilst the third had at its head Kosciuszko (Kostschiesky), who had gained great glory in the North American war of freedom, by the side of Pulawsky.

The whole war was badly managed from the beginning, not merely because the chief command was entrusted to a young and inexperienced man, all whose measures were prevented or embarrassed by his weak uncle, who was merely solicitous about the favour of the Russians, but the Russians were superior to the Poles in number, although Oginski undoubtedly makes this difference too great. According to Oginski's account, Kochowski and Kreczetnikoff, the Russian commanders, had 80,000 Russians and 20,000 Cosacks at their disposal. This army was allured over by that of the Poles, which had been compelled to retire, reinforced by the clients of the confederates, and the whole of Lithuania joined the Russian confederation. Oginski had resigned the office of commander-in-chief in Lithuania; the Russian commander immediately appointed the Russian general Samuel Kossakowski, brother of the bishop, in his stead, and as if, in addition to the infliction of an injury, he meant to show his contempt, he appealed on this occasion to public opinion, which no Russian either can or dare for one moment consider. In order to organize a Lithuanian confederation, Alexander Sapieha, the high chancellor, was afterwards made marshal of Lithuania against his will, and the confederation formed in this way joined with that of Targowitsch.

The bravery and courage displayed in the field by the Poles against the Russians, who were superior in force, were under these circumstances entirely fruitless. They were deserted by the Lithuanians; the king rendered the execution of any heroic determination utterly impossible, by bringing persons into the

council of war whose sacrifices and desperate resolves, when necessity impelled, appeared ridiculous. The whole detail of these affairs will be found in the fourth chapter of the second part of the ‘History of the Polish Constitution,’ already often referred to; we shall satisfy ourselves with recording a single example. Together with the traitor Malachowski, the king took into the ministry the disloyal Chreptowitsch, who carried on an uninterrupted correspondence with Bulgakoff; it was the peculiar business of this man to work upon the mind of the miserable Stanislaus, under the directions of the Russian minister. He represented strongly to the king, that if he did not rouse the empress’s vanity by too determined a resistance, he might obtain easy conditions, such as would not be directly burthensome to the nation, and would be greatly to his own private advantage as well as to that of his family*. It was no wonder therefore, that all the efforts and resistance of the Poles during the months of June and July proved entirely fruitless, although Kosciusko gained great glory in the battle of Dubienka, when he maintained his position against the Russian general Kochowski. He was immediately afterwards obliged to commence his retreat, because the Russians were advancing through Gallicia and threatening his rear.

At this time the king played a scandalous game. He kept the guards and about 5000 other troops, which would have greatly augmented the strength of the Polish army, around his own person; he was in fact daily expected to join the army when he was only thinking of the mode of executing his traitorous designs. At the very time in which the Poles were fighting so gloriously at Dubienka, Stanislaus was negotiating with Bulgakoff through Chreptowitsch to sell himself to the Russians. It

* The readers for whom this work is especially designed, will no doubt thank us for quoting a passage from Oginski’s *Mémoires*, instead of attempting to give any characteristic description of the king. In this passage he appears and speaks in all the effeminate pitifulness of his nature. Oginski was at that time with the king, and had read to him the bold manifesto issued by the majority of Lithuanians in Grodno, in opposition to the declaration of their countrymen who were well-disposed towards the Russians. He states, “After I had read the document, I added, that it was signed by several hundred names, had been printed in Grodno, and a copy sent to me.” The king exhibited a mixture of hopefulness, disquiet, and astonishment. But what was my astonishment, when after some reflection he stopped and said to me, “*That is well! very well! but do not these men fear to compromise themselves and expose themselves to danger and persecution, should the alternative prove unfavourable to us?*”

is indeed probable that the Poles were betrayed by the king before the battle at Dubienka, and that the guards and other troops were intentionally kept away from the army; this may be presumed from the date of the battle, compared with that of the king's public renunciation of the constitution to which he had sworn. Kosciusko was victorious on the 17th of July, and as early as the 22nd, Stanislaus declared in the council of the high dignitaries, officers of state, and ministers of the kingdom, that he had resolved to subscribe the Targowitsch confederation*. The weak-minded king excused himself for adopting this course by the poor subterfuge, that he would thus preserve Poland from a second partition. The men who openly and boldly declared in the assembly, in which Stanislaus made this contemptible display of cowardice, that the king from being the protector had become the betrayer of his country, notwithstanding the failure of their efforts, deserve our particular respect and commendation in these times of ours, in which sacrifices are called follies, the cowardly middle path that of wisdom, and the pursuit of wealth, honours and pleasure exclusively prudence. These were, Malachowski and Sapieha, marshals of the diet; Ignaz Potocki, grand marshal of the court of Lithuania; Soltan, court marshal of Lithuania; Ostrowski, treasurer of the crown, and Kollontay, vice-chancellor of the crown. Those magnates, who had long since betrayed and sold their country, or who, like the king, had become merely anxious respecting the advantages and enjoyments of themselves and their families, and masked their treason under some doctrine of expediency, were, the king's two brothers, the grand chamberlain and high chancellor of the crown, Malachowski, grand marshal of the crown, Minszech, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, Chreptowitsch, vice-commander of the forces in Lithuania, Tyskewitsch, grand treasurer of Lithuania, and Dziekonski, grand treasurer of the court.

On the following day, the king carried into execution what he had announced in a polished speech on the previous one as his irrevocable determination. What that really was, has been best described by Dziekonski, treasurer of the court, in a rhe-

* What is almost incredible is, that in this meeting he read the letter of the empress, in which she *commanded* him to join the confederation, and added a sentence at the conclusion, in which he was treated with the greatest contempt. It is as follows: "*that it was only in his power, by subscribing the act of confederation, drawn up under her protection, to render it possible for her to call herself any longer his sister and friendly neighbour.*"

torical and pompous speech, full of eulogies on the king, which he delivered in presence of the high assembly. He said, "*We are all grateful to the king for endeavouring to save the country by submitting to the diminution of his own glory.*" As early as the 23rd the king subscribed the Targowitsch confederation, and therefore sacrificed the kingdom, the army, the constitution and its noble defenders to the Russian Plato, Branicki, Felix Potocki, Rzewusky, Kossakowski and their accomplices, instead of at least daring the uttermost. The capital and the whole country were deeply incensed at the king's meanness; but what was to be done? Every man was now obliged to think of himself, for the Targowitsch confederates, in consequence of Stanislaus's perjury, from being the opponents, had all at once become the representatives of the national will. From that moment, the traitors, according to positive law, were in a condition to persecute the majority of their countrymen, in the name of the Polish nation, and for having remained true to their oaths and their nationality. In this they by no means failed; they persecuted them by civil and military tribunals; their estates were placed under sequestration, or wholly confiscated. Inasmuch as we are not engaged in a history of unfortunate Poland, but only desirous of indicating the connexion of the events which there took place with the general history of Europe, we hasten on to the development of the plans first formed by the Russians in 1792 in Verdun, and afterwards more minutely defined in Berlin, Vienna and Petersburg. The first care of the promoters of the conspiracy was to give some appearance of justice to the treason of the Poles and the military force of the Russians. This was effected by converting the Petersburg conspiracy into a Polish confederation, appointing Felix Potocki, the ringleader of the traitors, grand marshal, and calling together a general assembly in Brzesk, which was to represent the diet of the kingdom. On this occasion all the necessary forms were neglected, for the particular confederations of the districts, waiwodeships, &c., which ought to have preceded, were only subsequently formed, and marshals of the various districts and waiwodeships were appointed as the number of the traitors increased. The combined forces of Russians and Poles immediately took possession of the whole country, oppressed and maltreated the inhabitants, destroyed the new order of things piece by piece, and introduced the old everywhere in its stead. The Russians therefore, under pretence of restoring

the ancient constitution, the republic and freedom, re-introduced anarchy into the state, and brought back the former abuses, which were acknowledged by all parties, both into the civil and military affairs of the kingdom. The reason why Austria conducted herself as an offended party in the Polish affairs will be explained by what follows.

Immediately after Leopold's death, Prussia and Austria, relying upon the aristocracy and plutocracy of England, had commenced a Polish war against France; the cession of any portion of its territory, and especially that of Danzig and Thorn, having been haughtily refused to Prussia by the new Polish monarchy, that country had immediately opened up negotiations with Russia by the mediation of Denmark, induced Austria by means of numerous cabals to participate in their designs, and both agreed secretly to recall the guarantee for the integrity of Poland, which had been secretly given in Pilnitz. The commencement of a treaty between Prussia and Russia was already made, when Lucchesini the Italian was sent to Warsaw to keep up the appearance of friendship on the part of Prussia towards the Poles, till the Russian army should be on its march, and the treason of the venal Poles completely organized. Constitutional Poland was deceived by Lucchesini's smooth words, and was relying confidently on the promised assistance of Prussia, when the king's letter, to which we have already referred, suddenly and without reason, declared that the relations hitherto existing had ceased. In the meantime the Russians had taken possession of Poland, and in default of a diet, what was called the Generality, first in Brzesk, and then in Grodno under the influence of the Targowitsch confederacy, ruled unhappy Poland betrayed even by its own king. One hostile declaration on the part of Prussia now followed another, and the world soon began to suspect a new partition of Poland. The true views of the Russians and Prussians were first known in January 1793, when the Prussians were driven out of Champagne, and the Austrians had lost Belgium, when the former were scarcely able to save the left bank of the Rhine, and the latter were arming to defend the Seven United Provinces against Dumourier by the aid of the English and Dutch. At the end of the year 1793, Branicki and Felix Potocki having been alarmed in Grodno and gone to Petersburg to complain of the report concerning a new partition, Plato Suboff, who indeed was by no means accustomed to speak the truth,

audaciously replied to Oginski's expression of the general belief of such an opinion, that "*none but enemies of the empress could engage in spreading such reports.*"

At the very time in which Plato Suboff made this declaration, Russia and Prussia had long agreed upon the plan of a new partition of Poland. Negotiations had been carried on respecting the subject during the whole of the year 1792, and at the close of that year, Prussian troops were collected on the frontiers of Poland. Previous to the commencement of the campaign against France in 1792, Prussia had put off the agreement with Russia as to the fate of Poland till after a peace with France, and therefore Lucchesini was obliged to amuse and deceive the Poles till May. During the campaign, a general congress was summoned in Luxemburg to agree upon a general treaty of partition respecting certain portions, which were to be separated from France, Germany and Poland, and distributed anew by the ambassadors of Prussia, Austria, Russia, England and Holland; this however led to no results. The Russian, Austrian and Prussian ambassadors had already arrived in Luxemburg, and the Dutch and English were expected, when the failure of the undertaking of the Austrians and Prussians against France compelled the latter to avail itself of the difficulties of the emperor, in order to effect the oppression of Poland. England was satisfied by Russia consenting, in two agreements, to carry on hostilities against France and its trade, and conceding advantages to English commerce. Russia, which still pretended to maintain the rights of neutral nations by sea, even attempted at a later period to come to an understanding with England respecting the relinquishment of the rights of neutrals, in order not to be impeded in her designs on Poland. On this occasion the Danish minister Bernstorff gained for himself great glory, for he produced a much more powerful effect by his declarations against the English usurpations, than the Russians did by their fleet. Lucchesini having played the inglorious part of the character of a Prussian minister at the court of the constitutional king of Poland, Buchholz no longer found any difficulty in assuming a hostile position as regards the constitution, the king having already renounced his protection, because the partition was settled before Prussia commenced her retreat from Champagne in the autumn of 1792.

The Russian and Austrian ministers were at that time with the

king of Prussia in Verdun, and those preliminaries were there agreed upon which were afterwards extended into a treaty in Vienna and Petersburg. Prussia promised, and kept the promise just as little as those which had been made to Poland, that if England, Holland and Austria did not oppose her union with Russia for the partition of Poland, she would again take part in the war. Prussia now proceeded, on the 4th of January 1793, to conclude that treaty of alliance with Russia, which is indeed mentioned by Martens, but which is just as little incorporated in his collection of treaties (*Nouveau Recueil*, &c.) as the single articles and determinations agreed upon in Vienna and Petersburg at that time concerning the partition. It is of little importance to us to know those secret speeches and writings, as our object is merely to introduce and judge of the results, which must necessarily be known to all.

The Russians were in possession of the whole of Poland at the time in which the Prussians concluded the treaty of the 4th of January 1793, and Möllendorf, at the head of a Prussian army, marched into Great Poland; they however immediately caused their troops to retire from those districts into which the Prussians advanced. On the 16th of January 1793, a declaration was published by Möllendorf, which appears to us more disgraceful to the king who suffered it to be issued than even the violence practised by his troops. Military violence may certainly be much better excused by political necessity and by the right which is given by nature to animals and men, of the stronger over the weaker, than the diplomatic sophistry of a declaration which at the same time does despite to common sense, to public morality and all feeling of shame. The declaration moreover might have had its value in reference to the English aristocratical and plutocratical parliament, which was to be induced to keep silence, and with the Austrian aristocracy, whose jealousies were to be allayed, for it sought to terrify both by the bugbear of French democracy. It is obvious that England was at that time satisfied at the expense of France and of neutral navigation, and induced by commercial advantages to connive at the proceedings of Russia, because at the very moment in which Prussia took possession of her part of Poland, Russia on the 8th of February 1793 renounced her treaty of commerce with France, and on the very same day signed two treaties with England, one in reference to trade and the other to the war. In

the Prussian declaration it is said, "The spirit of the French democrats and the horrible principles of that dreadful Parisian sect are continually spreading in Poland; the intrigues of the emissaries of the jacobins have there found a powerful support. There already exist in the country some formal jacobin clubs, which disseminate and proclaim their opinions without disguise or shame; and this dreadful plague has especially spread its baneful influence in Great Poland, into which Möllendorf has now advanced with the troops under his command," &c. We do not think it necessary to communicate longer passages, because the whole document is precisely of the same complexion. In reference to the military occupation of the country it contains the following expression:—"Great Poland will be especially occupied by the Prussian army, because the most of the zealous advocates of that patriotism are there to be found which the king of Prussia has characterized as false; it may also be necessary to take possession of some waiwodeships bordering on Prussia, and thus to *guard* the latter from infection, by the suppression of jacobinism in the districts thus occupied." Whoever doubts that the daring sophistry of diplomatists is pushed to as great an extent in this Prussian declaration in favour of military and monarchical deeds of violence, as Barrère and Robespierre had long pushed the same art in favour of republican violence and murder, has only to read the account of the manner in which the king of Prussia is justified in this manifesto for having suddenly proved false to those promises which he had made twelve months before. The king of Prussia, it was alleged, had entered into a defensive alliance with the *monarchical republic*, but the Poles had changed this republic into an *hereditary monarchy*; and that therefore the king was not bound to furnish the aid which he had promised, because he must maintain unimpaired the guarantee which the empress of Russia had given for the permanence of the previous republican constitution.

The invading Prussian troops not only seized upon three waiwodeships in Great Poland, but took possession also of Sieradia, Leutschitz, Rawa, Cujavia, Inowroslav, Plotzk, and a part of Masuria. Prussia had fixed her affections on Danzig and Thorn for twenty years past, but England even now felt a difficulty in allowing the freedom of these commercial cities to be destroyed; these difficulties were however first removed in February, when

the treaties with Russia already mentioned were partly made and partly near their conclusion, and on the 24th of February Prussia took possession of Danzig and its territory. The declaration* issued on this occasion complains, that the inhabitants of Danzig had never exhibited any friendly feelings towards Prussia, that the town had lately become the seat of some malicious sects of the jacobins, and that it had received one of the jacobin scoundrels within its walls, and could not be persuaded to deliver him up till after many representations. "This recent example," it proceeds, "other frequent abuses of a misunderstood freedom, the intimate connexions which the friends of insurrection in France and Poland maintain with a party, which, by means of the boldness of its principles, has obtained the upper hand of the majority of well-disposed citizens; and finally, the facility which the common enemy would find, with the aid of their adherents in Danzig, of providing themselves with provisions, have drawn the attention of the king to that city, and placed him under the necessity of taking means for restraining its inhabitants within suitable bounds in order to provide for the security and quiet of the neighbouring Prussian provinces. To this end," &c. During the whole month of March this unfortunate city was so harassed, that as early as the 2nd of April 1793, the burgomaster and council declared that they and their fellow-citizens felt themselves constrained to yield to their fate, and would submit to the supremacy of the Prussians†.

The undertakings of Prussia alarmed the Targowitsch confederates and traitors, who were willing to sell their country to Russia alone, but not at the same time to Austria and Prussia; most of them therefore left the general assembly, which had been removed from Brzesk to Grodno, and retired to their estates. Felix Potocki foresaw the coming storm; he knew that the Poles would be compelled to sanction a new partition of their country; he therefore caused himself to be sent on an embassy to Petersburg on the 9th of March 1793, and thus escaped the difficulty; whilst the high chancellor Malachowski, in the name of the king and the government, published a weak and pithless answer to the Prussian declaration. The announcement of the alliance between Russia and Prussia was in the meantime delayed, and

* Marten's 'Nouveau Recueil,' vol. v. pp. 120, 121.

† Ibid., vol. v. pp. 122, 123.

general Igelström and Sievers were sent as ambassadors from Petersburg to Grodno, in order to compel the Poles to acquiesce in the spoliation of their country; and their answer to the inquiry put by the Targowitsch confederates respecting the meaning of the invasion of the Prussians and its approval by the empress, was from the very first of an evasive character. They professed to be astonished at the circumstances and to be wholly uninformed of their purport. On receiving this reply, the confederates published an appeal, which appeared to prepare the way for a general arming among the nobles; but being creatures of Russia, they immediately recalled it on being reproached by Sievers, and threatened by Igelström with the disarming of the garrison of Warsaw.

The preparations for the last decisive step were made by the Russians immediately after Felix Potocki's departure for Petersburg. It was resolved to appoint a new head to the confederation in his stead, and king Stanislaus was persuaded to go from Warsaw to Grodno, and to change the general assembly there met into a diet; that is, not merely to summon to this assembly the confederates, but plenipotentiaries from the whole nation. Before this plan was carried into effect, a scheme was devised as to the course of conduct to be pursued by the diet, and the manner of holding the provincial assemblies by which it was to be preceded. Military force was to be employed as the chief instrument, the Russian army was to be concentrated on the Dniester, or still better in the Ukraine, and a sufficient number of troops drawn round Grodno closely to blockade the diet in that city. As soon as these measures were adopted, the Russian and Prussian ambassadors simultaneously (April 9th, 1793) sent a declaration of precisely the same import by their respective secretaries to the general confederation. We shall quote merely a few sentences from this diplomatic note, in order to show in what manner the conduct of the republicans in France was used as a pretence in order to justify those military and monarchical tyrants for treading under foot right, justice, reason and humanity in Poland.

In essentials, the same things were repeated in this diplomatic note which had been previously said in the Prussian declaration. Much stress is laid upon democracy and jacobinism, although the Poles, whose nationality was at stake, neither knew nor wished to know anything of either the one or the other.

Much was said concerning the extinction of a fire, which, if it had been really kindled, would neither have found fuel in Russia nor in Prussia. Finally, it is observed with great apparent simplicity, that Russia and Prussia were unable to conceive any better means of *guarding against* that complete annihilation with which the republic was threatened, not merely by internal disturbances but by the monstrous and erroneous opinions expressed among the Poles, *than by incorporating its frontier provinces with their own states and taking actual possession of them, and in order seasonably to protect them against the dreadful consequences of such opinions, &c.* The cowardly confederation did not venture to return any answer to this truly contemptuous declaration; Walewski, who now filled Potocki's situation, and Severin Rzewusky indeed for themselves protested against the proposal, but were obliged in consequence immediately to retire from Grodno, or risk the loss of the whole of their estates.

Austria deported herself as a suffering party, although Thugut and his adherents, from the 28th of March 1793, had become complete masters of the cabinet and of the good-natured emperor Francis. They were at that time full of the idea of seeking for compensation in France for the advantages which Prussia had realized in Poland, as was proved in Verdun; and it was not till the following year that Thugut and the prince of Coburg began to entertain the unlucky thought of preferring the easy gain of Poland to the difficulties of realizing an equivalent in France. The king of Poland was treated in some measure as a prisoner in Warsaw, insulted in every way by the Russian generals, and besieged by their soldiers in his own palace. Many members of the general confederation which governed Poland from Grodno left that city, it is true, but there was no want of men of rank, who allowed themselves to be made tools for every dishonourable purpose. Among these may be enumerated the two Kossakowskis, Zabiello, Ozarowsky, Pulawsky, Ankwitsch, Sierrakowsky, Wlodek and others, who were not ashamed again to place at the head of the generality of Grodno the marshal of the diet of 1775, who had been condemned as a traitor by the whole nation. Adam Poninski, marshal of the diet of 1775, during the last diet had been found guilty of high treason, bribery and public robbery, declared to be an outlaw, and sentenced to banishment, and yet the shameless leaders of the generality of Grodno again restored him to his former station. In Lithuania,

neither the vice-chancellor Kollontay, the treasurer Ostrowski, nor the court-marshal Soltan, would disgrace themselves by becoming the mere instruments of foreigners; but the same grantees who restored Poninski to the office of marshal found people in Lithuania also whose services they used instead of the officers of the crown whose names have just been mentioned. When these offices were again occupied, the idea was seriously entertained of changing what was called the generality of Grodno into a diet. For this purpose the presence of the king was necessary, and he willingly obeyed the commands of foreigners, although when he went from Warsaw to Grodno, such men as chancellor Malachowski and vice-chancellor Chreptowitsch were not disposed to accompany him thither.

In Grodno not only the king at first, but even the general assembly, which was wholly devoted to the Russians, delayed the calling of a diet, because the purposes for which it was intended were known from the last Prusso-Russian declaration, but they had recourse to a subterfuge which it was easy to set aside. They alleged, that according to the former and now restored constitution, *the king and his permanent council* alone were capable of calling a diet, but that the council was now abolished. This permanent council therefore was also immediately restored, and for a reason which sounded almost like the manifesto of the partitioning powers, who pretended to such a friendly anxiety for the welfare of Poland. It was said that this was done in order that the *country might not be without a council and government*. This new permanent council of government was composed entirely according to the wishes of the partitioning powers, and of such persons alone as were disposed blindly to follow the directions of Russia. These persons were entrusted with the drawing up of the proclamation (*universalien*) addressed to the local diets for the election of deputies. Every care was taken that none should appear at the diet who had not previously approved of all the steps taken by the Russian party. All means, allowable and unallowable, were adopted without distinction; in one case corruption and falsehood, and in another the confiscation of estates and military power, were resorted to in order to exclude every patriot from election, and to secure the return of those who were merely creatures of Russia. The consequence was, that all the pains which were taken to give the diet of Grodno, which was opened on the 17th of June 1793, the ap-

pearance of a free, legal and full assembly of the representatives of the nation, proved vain*.

As early as two days after the opening of the assembly (on the 19th of June), the Russian and Prussian ambassadors delivered notes of a similar tenor, in which they imperiously demanded the cession of certain districts of Poland therein enumerated. On the 23rd the diet replied to these notes in a very different tone; toward Russia they expressed themselves with humility and submission, but to Prussia in language of insolence and contempt. The diet entreated the empress of Russia not to compel them formally to confirm a new partition of Poland, partly because the diet had no power to sanction such a partition, and if they had, their permission would be no justification for the spoliation of their country. In the note delivered to the Prussian ambassador, he was only briefly required to give orders to the Prussian troops to evacuate the provinces of which they had taken possession. From this time notes from both the ambassadors, Sievers and Buchholz, followed close one upon another. The Russians began to treat all those who would not yield unconditional obedience according to the Russian custom. As early as the 2nd of July fifteen deputies were thrown into prison, and five were placed under a guard of Russian soldiers in their own houses. These persons were only able to obtain their freedom again by promising to concur in the nomination of a committee to negotiate with Russia a treaty to be concluded for the partition of Poland. Debates were afterwards, it is true, carried on for several days respecting the powers to be conferred on the committee to be so chosen, but eventually the diet was obliged in this, as in everything else, to yield to the influence and commands of Russia. On the 17th the committee received commands from the diet to accept of the conditions of the Russian proposal. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that a negotiation which affected the half of Poland should have been brought to a close as early as the 22nd. An obstinate contest was afterwards commenced with Prussia, in which the diet seemed to forget that the Prussian demands were at the same time also the Russian.

* Ten at most of the whole number of senators were present and in the chamber of deputies; deputies were wanting from the following provinces or districts: — Kiew, Braclaw, Podolia, Posen, Kalitsch, Gnesen, Sieradia, Leutschitz, Brzescie, Inowroclaw, the country of Debrzyn, Polozk, Minsk, Witebsk, and the district of Braslaw.

Prussia first required that a committee should be appointed for the arrangement of her demands, such as had been appointed in the case of Russia, or rather that additional powers should be conferred on the same committee so as to embrace the questions affecting her. On this occasion, for the first time, it was hinted, that in case of the partition, Austria would certainly expect not to depart empty-handed. It was at that time of great importance both to the English and Austrians to keep the king of Prussia in a good humour, who still continued, in August 1793, to linger on the left bank of the Rhine, as the duke of Brunswick after the reduction of Mayence had absolutely done nothing to support the Austrians in their undertakings against Alsace. Russia was therefore prevailed upon by the powers carrying on the war against France to press forward and support the Prussian cause in Poland, in order that the king might not be obliged to withdraw his troops from the war of the revolution. The diet however, even after having accepted the Russian conditions and agreed to the treaty of the 17th of August 1793, perseveringly refused to accede to the demands of Prussia, or in other words, to grant powers to the committee for negotiating as to the cessions which she claimed, or to sign the treaty of partition agreed upon through the mediation of Russia, reserving its ratification for the diet. All the Prussian representations having failed to produce any effect, Sievers, on the 30th of August, delivered a note which was accompanied by the plan of Podborsky as to the mode of proceeding, and threatened to treat the whole assembly as Henriot and the mob of Paris in the beginning of June 1793 had treated the national convention.

On the 2nd of September, when the diet was assembled for peaceful deliberation, Sievers marched his Russians into their chamber, and stationed guards around the assembly and the castle. The king, the throne and the diet were surrounded by Russian soldiery, whose cannon were pointed against the chamber; and Sievers declared, that unless the diet on that very day conferred upon the committee full powers to sign the treaty, he would have recourse to force, and compel them to submit at the point of the bayonet. The diet was indeed obliged to give way to force, but not without attempts to obtain a further delay. The committee were accordingly empowered, but with the reservation that the treaty should not be ratified till an agreement had been entered into with Prussia, through the mediation of Russia, on

a treaty of commerce and other points yet undetermined. From this moment there commenced a new series of diplomatic cabals and acts of violence, which we shall only notice in general, without going into particulars. In order to have the whole business arranged on the 2nd, and to throw the blame of the last and most hateful steps upon Prussia, Sievers approved, if, as some allege, he did not actually suggest the reservations. Buchholz, on the contrary, was extremely dissatisfied, and wrote to the king to induce him wholly to reject the arrangement sanctioned by Sievers on the 2nd of September, and to insist upon the unconditional acceptance of the treaty.

This message from Grodno reached the Rhine precisely at the period when the duke of Brunswick's successes against the French at Pirmasens strongly disposed the king to lend the Austrians further and vigorous support against the French, which the duke of Brunswick and Lucchesini would have willingly prevented. On the arrival of Buchholz's despatches, Lucchesini was summoned to head-quarters, a great council of state was held and four resolutions adopted, two of them apparently for the promotion of the king's views against France, and two others to furnish him with a becoming pretence for withdrawing from the army. With regard to France it was resolved, first, that Prussia should unite with the Austrians in an attack upon the French army on the Rhine and Moselle; and secondly, that England and Austria must indemnify Prussia for the expenses of the war. In reference to Poland, it was resolved that an extraordinary courier should be immediately despatched to the court of Petersburg, in order expressly to obtain the completion of the new treaty of partition, and especially because the king was fulfilling and would continue to fulfil his obligations towards his allies. At the same time it was resolved that the king, without any previous announcement of his design, should immediately depart for his Polish possessions. The whole affair was so arranged as to furnish the king an honourable pretence for withdrawing from the scene of war on the Rhine, of which he was become weary, and for leaving the conduct of the cabals against the Austrians in the hands of Lucchesini and the duke of Brunswick.

Long before the king's answer to Buchholz, refusing to allow of any exceptions or conditions in the act of cession, reached its destination, Sievers and Buchholz had withdrawn the whole conduct of the business from the confederation of Targowitsch, that

is, from Kossakowski and his party, with whom it was difficult to come to any result, and again transferred it to the weak Stanislaus, who on his part was anxious again to acquire some new importance, and with whom matters could be easily arranged. On the 15th of September a document was laid before the king in his own chamber for signature, by virtue of which the Targowitsch confederation, which had hitherto continued to exist and conduct all public affairs, was declared null and void, and the conduct of business exclusively confined to the king and the permanent council; or, in other words, a new royal confederation was formed. The king and a small number of persons secretly signed the declaration, and on the following day this new act of confederation was subscribed by all the members of the diet. On the 21st the despatches arrived from head-quarters, and Sievers immediately received some hints from his court, which indicated to him the necessity of acting in the most conciliatory and favourable manner towards Prussia in order to keep her armies on the Rhine, and he forthwith adopted an entirely new strain. Now, he rejected everything of which he had approved on the 2nd, in a note dated on the 21st declared his complete concurrence with the Prussian ambassador in all his demands, and in a second note of the 23rd, that not one of the reservations mentioned in the resolutions of the diet of the 2nd could be suffered to be retained. Russia now required the speedy acceptance of the treaty of partition. The diet exhibited a disinclination to yield to these demands, and four deputies were immediately arrested and carried off by a guard of Cosacks*.

The scenes which followed at the meeting of the diet were indisputably far more disgraceful than those which were enacted by the fish-women of Paris in the national assembly at Versailles in October 1789. The diet was surrounded and overawed by Russian soldiers; general Rautenfeld sat in the assembly on an arm-chair, in order to direct the seizure of every one by the guard who did not speak exactly as the Russians desired. When the time for voting arrived, every one remained silent. The marshal repeated his call, but the general silence continued. At length Rautenfeld appealed to the king, who was present, when the latter excused himself by alleging that he was unable to do

* Their names were Krasnodembski, Szydowski, Mikarski and Skarzynski. The whole charge which Sievers brought against them in his note was that of having praised the jacobinical principles of the constitutional diet.

anything. Rautenfeld himself was perplexed as to his manner of proceeding. At length he left the chamber, consulted with Sievers, returned to his place, and in the name of the ambassador conveyed the most reproachful language and threats, both in words and in a note, to the grand-marshal*; the silence however continued.

The incarcerated diet having, in spite of all threats, persevered in maintaining an obstinate silence as their only reply to the repeated demands made to them to acquiesce without reservation in the act of cession in favour of Prussia, the marshal of the diet at length interpreted their silence as consent, signed the document in their presence, and the committee followed his example; both he and the committee, however, entered their protest on the same day, which was afterwards made public, under the title of a declaration of the diet. Count Ankwitz, deputy of Cracow, long known as one of the betrayers of his country, and a man shameless enough to deny on one day what he, to every one's knowledge, had done on the day before, suffered himself to be still further used as a tool, and to be made the instrument of a proposal to the diet to place the remainder of the country in subjection to Russia, after having in this manner been compelled to cede the two-thirds of their territory. This plan of subjection was concealed under the name of a treaty of friendship and alliance with Russia. This new treaty, consisting of fourteen articles, was then in like manner forced upon the beleaguered diet and signed on the 14th of October 1793. The most disgraceful thing in this treaty appears to us to be,—that it was said without any feeling of shame, that by the Polish constitution, foreign affairs, the right of peace and war, &c. were made dependent on the will of Russia, because *Russia had rendered most important services to Poland.*

It may be readily supposed that the most shameless betrayers of their country were afterwards richly rewarded with what the world calls high honours, with orders, in which Russia abounds, and with the estates and lordships of which the friends of liberty

* Rautenfeld declared aloud to the king, in the presence of the assembly, "that all the members of the diet should be compelled to remain in the chamber till they had yielded; and if these means proved insufficient to induce compliance, he had orders to have recourse to force." In his note to the grand-marshal the ambassador declared, "that the king himself should not be allowed to leave the throne, and that he would oblige the senators to sleep upon straw in the place of assembly, till they were prepared to submit to his will."

were forcibly despoiled. Among the numerous gainers by their treason, the first places must be assigned to Bielinski, marshal of the diet, to the two deputies Ankwitz and Podhorski, and the two Kossakowskis, the bishop and the general. Oginski, whose education and manners were French, did not suffer himself to be made a tool of on this occasion; but from the account which he gives in his 'Memoirs' of the character which he played in Petersburg, Warsaw, and shortly afterwards as minister in Grodno, he proves himself to have been a mere common man of the world, such as those are who have ruled in France since 1830. For this reason, his accounts are the better calculated to make us acquainted with the character of the king. From all the speeches made by Oginski, from the measure of praise and blame which he metes out, it may be gathered that Stanislaus was a splendid and admirable courtier, rich in all the phrases of politeness and vanity; a character, in short, who would have made a sensation in the saloons of London, Paris, or Berlin, but who was neither possessed of any sense of kingly dignity, nor estimable as a man.

We pass over all the articles of this treaty of partition, because it, as well as the treaty of alliance, lost all their value and efficacy as early as the following year. It need only be remarked in general, that by this treaty, Russia, in the midst of peace, acquired a territory of more than 4000 square miles (German) in extent, and containing above three millions of inhabitants, whilst Prussia obtained more than 1000 square miles and one million of people*. The diet of Poland, which was to convert this spoliation into a legal acquisition, had, properly speaking, only been called for a few weeks, but really continued its sittings for five months. At its conclusion on the 23rd of November, the last act was the complete and summary abolition of all those improvements which had been made by the last diet, and a resolution, that those laws alone should be regarded as having any validity or force which had been in operation previous to 1788. The confederation of Targowitsch had also passed and issued numerous decrees (*sancita*) which hitherto

* Strictly speaking, Russia received 4157 square miles (German) of territory, 350 towns, 8783 villages, 574,654 houses, 3,055,500 inhabitants, and 24,660 soldiers; Prussia, 1061 square miles of territory, 262 towns, 8274 villages, 195,016 houses and 1,136,389 people. There remained to Poland, 4411 square miles, 762 towns, 11,260 villages, 625,248 houses, 3,468,808 inhabitants and 36,000 soldiers, of whom a part was left to Prussia.

had possessed the force of laws. These however the majority of the deputies wished to overthrow, and a committee was appointed to draw up a report on the subject for the diet. This circumstance furnished the Kossakowskis and their adherents, who had already used all possible means through Plato Suboff, with an opportunity of making a new attempt to overthrow Sievers the ambassador, the only man who, notwithstanding all the severity of his words and actions, was not a genuine Russian, but still retained some feelings of kindness and shame*. Their object was to bring a new storm upon Poland. The committee frequently reported upon a great number of orders and decrees (*sancita*) in a mass, so that the diet had no sufficient opportunity of examining whether some of these reports did not contain offensive materials; and Sievers, who was by no means well-disposed to the Targowitsch confederation, very willingly consented to the abolition of all their resolutions. In consequence of an oversight of this kind, that resolution was also annulled by which the Targowitschers had abolished the military orders and founded the constitutional diet, at the time in which the Polish patriots took the field against the Russians in 1792. The designation of the order (*virtute militari*) recalled the recollection of the war of the patriots, and it was therefore very imprudent in the patriots to utter loud rejoicings at the precipitancy of the diet, and again to resume the insignia of their order.

The Polish traitors turned the circumstance to account: Sievers, who as ambassador had followed the king from Grodno to Warsaw, was recalled in disgrace, and the offices of commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in Poland, as well as of political representative, which had been hitherto conducted by Sievers, were entrusted to Igelström. The oppression of the Poles became daily more severe, instead of being diminished as had been universally expected. A division of the army lay in Podolia and Volhynia, under the command of count Iwan Soltikoff, and troops were stationed on the frontiers of Lithuania, from Minsk

* He was a relation of Sievers, who made his fortune under Elizabeth, and from the humble business of a coffee-house-keeper was elevated to the dignity of a count of the empire and grand-marshal of the court. This relation directed his studies, procured for him situations in Livonia, and then brought him to Petersburg, where he was appointed a councillor of state. He died as a senator, privy councillor, &c. &c., and his son was afterwards created a count.

to Riga, under prince Repnin. The Prussian general Schwerin, with two divisions of his Prussians, covered South Prussia and the banks of the Narew, whilst another Prussian cordon stretched along the whole of the new boundary as far as Kowno, in the ancient kingdom of Prussia. This Prussian cordon was connected with the division of Russians under Igelström, which occupied the portion of the territory still left to the Poles, and whose head-quarters were at Warsaw. In that city Igelström played the despot, and his behaviour was of such a character as almost to convey the impression that his object was to provoke an insurrection, in order to be furnished with an opportunity of putting an end to the whole kingdom.

Igelström, by new Russian threats, first compelled the king and the permanent council to restore all the laws of the Targowitsch confederation, which had been abrogated by the diet, without any regard to the laws of the old constitution, and treated the most illustrious and distinguished Poles like Russian subalterns. Oginski, in his 'Memoirs,' recites a case which may serve as an example. On an application being made to him, he had the audacity to reply, that he must not be mistaken for a Sievers, who suffered liberties to be taken with him. Such things were calculated to give the deepest and bitterest offence to a military aristocracy, who were vain and vehement like the French, and provoked them to dare everything for their liberty. Moreover, it was not the two Potockis, the Oginskis, Kollontay, Malachowski and other grandees who fled from their country who were the first to peril their lives in its cause,—they had too much to lose; and in 1794 as well as in 1831, by their calculating, weighing and balancing, they lost everything which might have been gained by despair and reckless enthusiasm. It was Zajonczeck and Kostschiesky or Kosciusko who roused and animated the people.

The Potockis, Kollontay, Malachowski, Mostowsky, and many other malcontents took up their residence in Dresden and Leipzig, and there formed a central point for the direction of the conspiracies in the interior of Poland, and sent their countryman Bars to Paris, to open up communications with the committee of general welfare, who however gave them nothing but fair words. The elector of Saxony protected these noble exiles even when required by Russia to give them up, because they were the men who had drawn up that constitution which would have brought

him and his family to the throne of Poland. Zajoneczech laboured to promote the good cause in Warsaw, whilst Kosciusko first travelled to Constantinople, to rouse the Turks who had been lulled into repose by the arts of Russian diplomacy, and next to Paris; but at the close of the year he was again at Sandomir, and because he was watched, went afterwards to Italy till the outbreak of the insurrection throughout the whole of Poland. At the same time Zajoneczech was in Warsaw, where he won over the whole of the former Polish army, and, as a rich banker, became a guarantee for the attempt to liberate their country from the yoke of strangers and oppressors. The king was informed of everything, but was deficient in courage to take part in the undertaking; he gave hints to the Russians of what was in contemplation, and became anew a traitor to his country. A system of persecution was commenced by the Russians; Zajoneczech found it advisable again to retire to Dresden, and Igelström resolved at least to make it impossible for the conspirators to avail themselves of the regular troops and stores of the kingdom for the promotion of their desperate designs. In the commencement of the year 1794 he obtained from the king and the permanent council the discharge of the greater part of the troops which had been still kept on foot, and insisted upon Zajoneczech's banishment as soon as he returned from Dresden to Warsaw. This intelligence led to the determination to commence the insurrection before the dissolution of the army, which the king and his council, upon Igelström's command, had already decreed. On this resolution, Kosciusko, who was appointed to take the lead, returned from Italy to Sandomir, in order to raise the banner of freedom in Cracow, and to proclaim a war for the deliverance of the country from its oppressors, although he himself never cherished any serious hopes of success.

Kosciusko, accompanied by several officers and a small escort, made his entry into Cracow on the 25th of March. The 500 Russians who were stationed in the city withdrew; the 400 Poles who were united with them joined his standard, and on the 24th he was proclaimed generalissimo of the insurgent Poles, who now poured in from all quarters. The first important reinforcement consisted of a division of the standing army under the command of Madalinski, who joined him from Warsaw. The Slavonian government on Igelström's command had already reduced the army to 36,000 men, and it was now to be further diminished to the one-

half of that number. For this purpose it had been separated into divisions, and orders issued to the commanders of those divisions to complete their dissolution. One of these divisions, under colonel Madalinski, lay at Pultusk, eight hours from Warsaw. Madalinski at first delayed to act according to command, under the pretence that two months' arrears of pay were owing to his soldiers; he then undertook a rapid march through the districts of Sohaczew and Rawa, which were weakly occupied by the Prussians, to New Miasto, and afterwards through Sandomir to Cracow.

The act of insurrection having once been made known, the office of dictator for the continuance of the war was at a later period bestowed upon the generalissimo, because no one put any trust in the king, and he was also in the power of the enemy. Kosciusko called upon the whole youth of the palatinate of Cracow, from eighteen to twenty-seven years of age, to take arms. A system of patriotic requisitions, borrowed from the example of the French republican government, was resorted to, in order to provide for the maintenance of the army. In the meantime, Igelström had despatched from Warsaw a body of 6000 or 7000 Russians to attack Madalinski before he should be able to reach Cracow, and Kosciusko therefore left the latter city on the 1st of April, to hasten to his aid. The insurgents fell in with the Russians on the 4th near the village of Raslawicz, and defeated them after an engagement of five hours' duration. A considerable number of Russians were made prisoners by the insurgents, and a stand of colours captured; and the easily-inflamed, but also easily-cooled nation was roused to the greatest enthusiasm by the news of the victory.

During the period of Madalinski's pursuit and the following days, Igelström, by his brutality towards an independent government, which did everything he desired, contrived to embitter the feelings of the whole people of Warsaw; and at length he demanded the surrender of the arsenal, and threatened to seize upon it by force if it was not peaceably given up. He required besides, that all those who had taken any part in the insurrection in the palatinate of Cracow should be declared enemies and traitors. The Prussian ambassador also was obliged in like manner to make complaints, and the Austrian representative to join him, in order to disprove the commonly-prevailing opinion, that Austria secretly favoured the Poles. Buchholz, the Prussian ambassador, demanded satisfaction from the Polish government,

on account of the violation of the Prussian territory by Madalinski on his march; the Austrian ambassador complained of the calumnies circulated against his court, and affirmed that it was certainly resolved to make common cause with Russia and Prussia. Stanislaus and his permanent council, as had always hitherto been the case, allowed themselves to be made the instruments of discharging against their countrymen the bolts which were forged by the Russians in Petersburg. On the 11th of April a proclamation was issued by the Polish government, in which the conduct of the insurgents was characterized as unjust and traitorous, and in express terms accused them of participating in the revolutionary opinions of the French. Besides this, Igelström communicated to the servile government the names of twenty-six persons of distinction whom he proposed to arrest, as well as Ozarowski, grand-marshal of the crown, and Zabiello, general of the camp of the Lithuanians, his plan for disarming the whole Polish army on the 18th of April, and putting the Russians in possession of their barracks, powder-magazines and arsenals. At this moment he received the unexpected intelligence of the defeat of his Russians at Raslawicz.

Igelström no sooner received this intelligence, than he anticipated a general rising in Warsaw, and almost despaired of his power to prevent it. On the 16th of April he wrote to the Russian minister of war as follows: "The whole Polish army, 8000 strong, is in a state of rebellion; and the confederates of Warsaw, Sandomir, Chelm, Wladimir and Luck organized according to jacobinical principles. The insurrection acquires strength every moment, develops itself rapidly and makes dreadful progress. Let Soltikoff's army immediately advance and all will be suppressed. . . . No reliance can be placed either upon Prussia or Austria; God knows what is become of them as powers supposed to be terrible! The Prussians are no longer what they were under Frederick II. They appear only to keep on the defensive, wish to proceed methodically, and fear everything. Judge then of my melancholy situation, surrounded by enemies and spies, without help or assistance either from our allies or our troops." The Poles, confederated for the restoration of the constitution of the 3rd of May 1791, assembled on the very day on which this was written in the house of Kilinski, and drew up the plan of a general insurrection, which was appointed to take effect on the 17th and 18th. Both the citizens of Warsaw and

the Poles who were in the army made a violent attack upon the Russians in the city, and a bloody struggle ensued in every street. The Prussians, who had a camp not far from Warsaw, took no measures for aiding the Russians, and when the latter were defeated, the miserable Stanislaus Augustus became once more enthusiastically patriotic. A Prussian general having asked him, during the fight with the Russians in the city, whether he was for or against the Poles who were engaged, he replied, that *he and his nation made only one, the Russians were their only enemies, and the king flattered himself the Prussian general would not commence hostilities upon them.* The Russian garrison consisted of 7948 men; of that number 2265 were slain and 120 wounded in the two days during which the contest lasted.

This bloody struggle was afterwards continued till the 1st of May, and during that time 1700 Russians were made prisoners. The battle was the hottest in Igelström's palace, which was stormed by the insurgents; but in the meantime an opportunity was afforded to the general to escape into the Prussian camp by means of a treaty for capitulation. After his flight the people continued the storm, and were so enraged on account of the numbers who were slain by the Russians, that when the palace was taken they could not be restrained from plunder. The archives, and consequently all the letters and documents, furnishing indubitable proofs of the treachery and venality of the great nobility, fell into the hands of the insurgents. It deserves to be mentioned, however, to the honour of the people of Warsaw, that the regency no sooner issued a proclamation on account of some bank-notes which were taken away, than the notes, together with 95,000 florins which had been found in Igelström's treasury, were restored. In such a case as this, where the whole chance of success was placed upon a cast, no reliance could be placed upon the king, and a regency was therefore established till the arrival of Kosciusko, which, on account of the citizens of Warsaw, undoubtedly assumed somewhat of a revolutionary form. The military administration was conferred upon general Makranowski, and the civil jurisdiction upon Zakrzowski, formerly president of the city. These two persons, who were among the most zealous advocates of the constitution which it was proposed to restore, were to be assisted by a council of regency, consisting of six noblemen and an equal number of citizens.

The Russians were in like manner surprised in Wilna, Lublin and Chelm, and in each case a greater or less number taken prisoners or slain. In Lithuania as well as in Poland, a regency was appointed, in which Wielhorski, Jassinski and Oginski played the chief parts. Many bloody scenes were enacted in Wilna, and one of the Kossakowskis, who accidentally happened to be in that city, was seized upon and executed in a manner which recalled the Parisian mode of dealing with those who were regarded as enemies of the people. Similar scenes occurred in Warsaw on the 27th and 28th of June. The maddened people exercised summary and cruel justice upon some of the selfish nobles, because they possessed abundant proofs, that most of these men, in the previous years, had allowed themselves to be used as tools and were afterwards betrayed. The second of the Kossakowskis, Zabiello, Ozarowski, the primate bishop Masalsky, count Ankwitz, and six or seven other persons of eminence and distinction, were on this occasion executed without trial or conviction,—a proceeding wholly incapable of being defended, but easily explained from the existing state of feeling. Unfortunately Kosciusko was prevented by the course of the war and the threatening preparations of the king of Prussia from proceeding rapidly to Warsaw and there assuming the dictatorship.

The king of Prussia having renounced the war with France on his own account and withdrawn from the Rhine, had left Möllendorf behind in command of an army, which rendered very trifling services indeed for the large subsidies which were received on its account. The king went to Posen, and the prince of Nassau, who was at that time in the Russian service, to Petersburg in order to concert measures with the empress for the suppression of the insurgents, and his council of war got on foot sixty battalions and ninety squadrons to oppose them. Schwerin was no longer in favour with the king, and till he himself arrived, the interim command was conferred on general Fyvat. Buchholz was recalled from Warsaw, and the Polish resident Zablosky was detained as a hostage for his safe return, although, in fact, war had not been proclaimed by Prussia. Unhappily the whole unlucky band of Prussian intriguers followed the king on the 14th of May, from Potsdam to Posen. Among these were general Bischoffswerder and colonel Mannstein, the princes, Von Voss minister of state, and Lucchesini the Italian, whose

friend Haugwitz was also expected, because on his arrival at Berlin from the Rhine on the 14th he no longer found the king in that city. All these people began again to speak of diplomatists, notes and protocols, and of a congress in which Lucchesini was to play a part; but the Poles had no confidence whatever in a man who had so shamefully betrayed them, and the empress of Russia would not listen to any negotiations; the Prussians were therefore compelled to make up their minds to a struggle with the desperate and despairing Poles. The Poles prepared to meet them, as Kosciusko thought it advisable to come to an issue before they were joined by the Russian army.

The Russians then in Poland were under the orders of Denisoff and preparing to attack Cracow. Kosciusko endeavoured to come up with the Prussians before they formed a junction with the Russians, but proved unable to prevent Favrat from joining the troops under Denisoff in the beginning of June, precisely at the very moment in which the Poles, on the 6th of June, were about to attack them at Jendrziow, about four hours from Szczecocyny. Kosciusko was not aware that 24,000 Prussians, under the immediate command of the king, were advancing in another direction. At the very moment in which the victory was in the hands of the Poles, this new army appeared in the field on their left wing, and Kosciusko was obliged to withdraw with the loss of 1000 men and eleven pieces of cannon*, and to give up his retreat to Cracow. The glory of the day however remained with the Poles; for Kosciusko retired not only without loss from what the Prussians boastingly call the *battle of Szczecocyny*, but, although surrounded and pressed on all sides by Russians and Prussians, they were unable to prevent him from reaching Warsaw by a circuitous march through Radom, and he entered the capital on the 10th of July. The war being now concentrated around Warsaw, the deliverance of Poland was no longer possible, and the contest became a struggle between vengeance and despair.

The Poles were unable to hold their ground in Lithuania, unless aid was given them by Kosciusko, and as he was unable to afford them any, Zajonczeck was defeated at Chelm on the very day on which Kosciusko retreated from Szczecocyny. A small

* The king of Prussia, in his despatch to his cabinet-minister Von Alvensleben, states the loss of the Poles at 2000 men and 13 pieces of cannon.

division of the Prussians appeared before Cracow, and Winia-
nowski, to whom Kosciusko had entrusted the command, and
who had previously shown himself to be a brave and skilful
officer, surrendered the city on the 15th of June, under circum-
stances of such suspicion, that Kosciusko caused his name to be
nailed to the gallows. At the same time it was resolved in Thu-
gut's and the prince of Coburg's council in Austria, to carry
on the war with France merely for English subsidies, and as
far as these subsidies reached, but to turn their chief attention
to Poland, where Prussia threatened to become by much too
powerful. The chief forces of the Russians were yet only ad-
vancing, the regency in Warsaw however had already declared
war against Prussia in a manifesto signed by Potocki, before
Kosciusko's entrance into the city, and the Prussians therefore
immediately attacked Warsaw, in which the main body of the
Poles was now united. The city, it is true, may be said to have been
fortified to a certain extent, but the Poles placed their chief re-
liance upon four fortified camps, which had been formed around
it in such a manner as to communicate with one another and to
enclose a large fortified space of ground. The Polish army
around Warsaw was wholly commanded by men who afterwards
became distinguished under Napoleon, their general-in-chief
being Kosciusko, acknowledged even by Suwarrow to be a hero.
Among the number of these brave men was also Joseph Ponia-
towsky, who was drowned in the Elster after the battle of Leip-
zig, and was on this occasion first defeated by the Prussian ge-
neral Götz. Kosciusko occupied the camp of Mokotow, which
was nearest to the city; those at Wola were defended by Dom-
browski and Zajonczeck, whilst the fourth at Mariemont was
entrusted to the command of Makranowski. The suburb of
Praga was also fortified, and the whole body of the citizens of
Warsaw armed and in the field. Both wings of the Polish army
were covered by the Vistula. As early as June, Russia, through
Thugut, had first induced the emperor Francis to leave his army
in the Netherlands, on account of the state of affairs in Poland;
and secondly, count Rasumowsky, the Russian ambassador in
Vienna, was despatched to the emperor in Frankfort to submit
to him proposals for a new partition of Poland. Immediately
on his arrival in Vienna, the emperor had given orders to secure
for Austria a share in the Polish spoils, before Rasumowsky was
able to deliver his despatches, because he had missed the emperor

in Frankfort. When therefore the Prussians first seriously commenced operations for the siege of Warsaw, the emperor Francis caused general Harmoncourt to advance with an army into Little Poland; and on this occasion the general issued a proclamation in which he declared, that his object in marching into the Polish territories was to guard against the dangers to which the frontiers of Galicia might be exposed by the disturbances in Poland.

On the advance of the royal Prussian army against Warsaw, its numbers were stated to amount to 40,000, supported by a division of Russians 10,000 strong, under general Fersen. All those who were acquainted with the retinue by which the king of Prussia was attended, and the generals whom he employed, anticipated from the first little success from this methodical expedition against Warsaw, conducted quite in the ancient Prussian fashion; and in fact, the expedition against Warsaw terminated still more disgracefully than even that in Champagne in 1792. Before the commencement of the attack, the Prussians were concentrated about an hour from the city, near Wola and Mariemont. Count Schwerin, who was as incapable as he was presumptuous, held the chief command, whilst the king had established his head-quarters in the centre of the army, and issued his orders through his favourite and adjutant-general von Mannstein. Mannstein was continually at open hostility with the prince of Nassau and general Fersen, and therefore with the Russians. The bombardment was commenced at the end of July. This indeed drew from king Stanislaus a whining and cowardly letter, and yet at the commencement of August, when the city was summoned to surrender, he was obliged to acknowledge that the answer did not depend upon him, but upon Kosciusko, who was not alarmed at the first cannon-shot. The siege was prolonged during the month of August; the shells thrown by the enemy did very little mischief to the city; and although the assaults made upon the four Polish camps around the town were attended with partial success, they led to no decisive result. At length the Prussians began to be apprehensive of being attacked in the rear, in consequence of the impending revolt of the Polish provinces which had been taken possession of in the previous year.

From the 16th of August there were also daily engagements with the Poles in the open field, in which Joseph Poniatowsky,

Dombrowski and Poninski signalized their skill and courage. The Poles maintained their positions in all directions, till the news arrived in the Prussian camp, that on the 21st and 22nd an insurrection had really broken out in the Prusso-Polish provinces. On the receipt of this news, it was resolved to attempt a general assault, and in case this did not succeed, to raise the siege. In consequence of this resolution, an assault was made along the whole line on the 28th of August. The assault ended in a general engagement, because the Prussians, who wished to confine their operations to an attack upon Dombrowski alone, were unexpectedly assailed by Zajonczeck with the division under his command. The Poles maintained their positions on this occasion also, and the king immediately ordered steps to be taken for breaking up the siege. In order to comprehend this, we must bear in mind that the insurgents had already defeated a Prussian division at Fraustadt, made themselves masters of the towns of Kalitsch and Posen, and seized upon some transports from Breslau to Warsaw. They had even penetrated into Upper Silesia, and it was necessary forthwith to despatch 4000 men from the besieging army into that province. At last a courier brought intelligence that Madalinski had occupied Bromberg, and that Danzig, Culm, Graudenz and even Pomerania were threatened.

The miserable intriguers by whom the king of Prussia was surrounded exaggerated the dangers to which his army was exposed, and succeeded in effecting this disgraceful retreat; Mannstein however was not able to deceive general Zajonczeck in the same way in which he deceived his king. Mannstein was completely unsuccessful in a conference which he proposed with a view to arrange terms of agreement. The attempt to induce the Poles to agree to a suspension of arms also proved unsuccessful, and the Russians under Fersen first withdrew and took up their quarters in the palatinate of Lublin; on the 6th of September they were followed by the Prussians in three divisions. The first marched to Czenstochau, the second to Petrikau, and the third to Zakroczyn; their withdrawal was so precipitate, that it resembled a rapid flight; and they left behind them many sick and wounded as well as large quantities of baggage at Rakoczyn, three hours from Warsaw. All that can be said to throw light upon the obscurity which rests upon the sudden retreat of the Prussians, and for its excuse or de-

fence, appears to us to have been said by Oginski, in the passage of his 'Memoirs' which we subjoin*.

Madalinski was despatched by Kosciusko to pursue the Prussians and support the insurgents, but he suffered a defeat on the Narew and was driven back; Dombrowski, on the other hand, proved more successful. He and Madalinski pushed forward to Bromberg, Gnesen was occupied by the Poles on the 27th of September, Poniatowsky also sent from Blonin to aid the insurgents, and even Pomerania and Brandenburg were threatened, for Dombrowski and Madalinski had obtained very considerable magazines in Bromberg. Another army of 2000 men, under the prince of Hohenlohe, now advanced against Poland, where the extension of these expeditions against Prussia brought great glory to the Poles, but at the same time proved the ruin of their cause, because at that very time a new Russian army under Suwarrow was advancing by forced marches against Warsaw.

Since the peace with the Turks, Suwarrow had remained for two years at the head of an army which was scattered about in the provinces of Ekaterinoslaw and Tauria, from Oczakow to the mouth of the Dniester. His head-quarters were at Cherson, when he received the command immediately to proceed to Poland. At the end of May he appeared suddenly in Red Russia at the head of 12,000 Russians, disarmed 8000 men of the Polish army, whom he had surrounded, and then assumed the chief command of the whole Russian army in Poland. Having appointed the frontier-town of Warkowitsch as the rendezvous of the troops, he himself with 8500 men, on the 14th of August

* Oginski in his Memoirs, part ii. p. 10, says: "The whole of Europe was astonished at the retreat of 4000 Prussians, and a great variety of suppositions throw a veil of obscurity over the affair. There were some who ascribed it to the empress of Russia, and were of opinion that she was far from wishing the capital of Poland to fall into the hands of the Prussians; others ascribed it to the dislike of the empress to Frederick William, who proved himself unable with such a superior force to put down a mere mass of insurgents, and reports were even put into circulation that this had led to a breach between Russia and Prussia. Others alleged that the numerous cases of desertion in the Prussian army, and the diseases which had broken out among the troops in consequence of the hardships of the service and the want of necessary supplies, were the true reasons for raising the siege. *All these reasons might have had some influence, but they did not constitute the chief grounds, for the true cause of this retreat must be ascribed to the insurrection alone which had broken out in the rear of the Prussian army, and continually became more extensive in those provinces which had lately fallen to the lot of Prussia.*"

At the conclusion of the chapter Oginski describes the first commencement and reasons of this insurrection, its rapid extension after the confederation of the 22nd of August, and the surprise of the Prussians in Sieradz on the 23rd.

1794, set out from Niemeroſſ, which lies at a diſtance of eighty-four hours' march from Warkowitsch, and in ſpite of the dreadful condition of the roads, reached that city in eight days. Suwarrow himſelf, ſitting upon a coſack horſe, was always among the foremoſt, lived on the ſame fare as his ſoldiers, and cheerfully ſhared all their labours and privations. The various diviſions of the army were no ſooner aſſembled, than, after a ſhort period of reſe, he marched againſt a Polish army of 20,000 men under Sierakowski, who had been ſent to arreſt his progreſs. In the firſt engagement, on the 18th of September 1794, this Polish army ſuffered no inconfiderable loſs, but ſucceeded in regaining its camp. Suwarrow however gave the weary Poles no reſt; he followed cloſe upon their footſteps and renewed the engagement on the 19th. On this day almoſt the whole of the Polish army was deſtroyed, and their artillery became the ſpoil of the Ruſſians*.

From the battle-field Suwarrow advanced directly upon Waſaw, and the terror of his name flew before him. Koſciuſko reſolved to do his uttermoſt before the Ruſſians reached Waſaw. He firſt haſtened to Sierakowski and furniſhed him with new troops, in order to enable him to obſtruct and haraſs Suwarrow in his march; then to Grodno, and directed Makranowski with the army of Lithuania to put himſelf in the rear of the Ruſſians; and finally ſped back to his camp at Mokotow, broke up his quarters and ſought out Ferſen to attack him, before he could form a junction with Suwarrow. This laſt march contributed to the downfall of Poland, becauſe Poninſki, whoſe ſervices were calculated, failed twice, from want of ſkill or bad luck, or from a wavering diſpoſition, to meet the expectations of a hero, who did incredible things. Koſciuſko had taken up a poſition at Macziewice, an eſtate of count Zamoyski, nearly fifty miles from Waſaw, in the palatinate of Lublin; Poninſki was deſpatched with a diviſion in order to obſtruct Ferſen's paſſage of the Viſtula, till Koſciuſko ſhould have croſſed the river and fallen upon him on the other ſide, and there to form a junction with him; but he neither ſucceeded in preventing the Ruſſians from effecting the paſſage, nor did he come to his aid, although he was only fifteen miles diſtant from the ſpot where the fate of Poland was decided. Poninſki miſſed the point at which Ferſen propoſed

* According to the Ruſſian accounts, of 13,000 men only 300 eſcaped; 500 were taken priſoners and all the reſt ſlain, and 20 pieces of cannon taken.

to cross, and whilst he was making preparations to dispute the passage at one place, Fersen crossed at another and immediately stormed the camp of the Poles (10th October 1794).

Kosciusko and his Poles, who continued to place a vain reliance upon Poninski, fought with all the courage of despair, and the Russians were compelled to pay dear for the victory of Macziewice; but for that reason it was complete. Six thousand Poles lay dead upon the field; 1600, for the most part severely wounded, were made prisoners, among whom was Kosciusko, three other generals, and the whole of the staff. Up till this time Suwarrow had remained at Brzesk, but after Fersen's victory he formed a junction between the two armies at Stanislawow. The Russian army now amounted to 30,000 men, of whom however only 22,000 could be brought into the field; notwithstanding this, Suwarrow resolved to storm the fortified lines of the suburb of Praga, which were defended by 30,000 Poles under Makranowski. This suburb of Warsaw was protected by three fortified lines, provided with 104 cannon and mortars of great calibre, whilst Suwarrow had no heavy artillery and only eighty-six field-pieces; he therefore resolved to attack the Poles, as he had done the Turks, with the bayonet. Praga was the key to Warsaw, but before it was possible to approach the fortified lines by which it was surrounded, the entrenched camp, which was situated in front of the lines and in which the Polish army was lying, must first be carried. In order to understand how so great a general as Suwarrow was could venture to think of a storm under such circumstances, we must remember that Fersen had annihilated the greatest of the Polish generals and their choicest troops, and that the Poles by whom Suwarrow was opposed were like the Turkish armies, and like them might be attacked and terrified by the bayonet*.

Zajonczeck had already assumed the chief command of the Poles instead of Makranowski, when Suwarrow, on the 22nd of October, marched from Koblynka, and at 10 o'clock in the morning appeared in sight of the camp before Praga. Two days were spent in making preparations for storming the camp, and on the 24th, Suwarrow having divided his army into four columns, took the entrenchments of the Poles by storm. In this affair

* Suwarrow was indisputably a great general; he was neither impelled to action by foolhardiness nor the love of slaughter; but still he remained a *genuine* Russian. Neither Marlborough nor Buonaparte ever spared their men when a victory was in question.

1000 Poles were driven into the Vistula, 2000 cut down, and as many taken prisoners. Suwarrow had previously used extraordinary expedition in order to anticipate the Prussians, who, after the suppression of the insurrection in Great Poland, were again advancing against Warsaw; after therefore having succeeded in storming the camp, circumstances did not permit him to spare blood in order to make himself master of the city, although it must have been quickly compelled to capitulate to the united forces of the Russians and Prussians, without the necessity of having recourse to that fearful slaughter to which Suwarrow gave occasion. Preparations continued to be made till the 4th of November for storming the fortified lines, and every human being in Warsaw capable of bearing arms crowded to Praga in order to defend the works. The Russians stormed and finally took the trenches after a bloody fight, which lasted for five hours. We dare not venture to pronounce how many persons were slain by them in this murderous affair, but certain it is, that in their reports they diminish their own loss, till their assertion becomes ridiculous. Within the trenches the struggle was commenced anew between the desperate Poles and the enraged Russians. The scene of carnage was so dreadful as to make a more detailed account of its horrors revolting, and although posterity will not cease to admire Suwarrow's bravery and military skill, his name must ever be associated with those of Attila and Tamerlane. First of all, 8000 Poles were cut down in the fight,—then women, children and old men were murdered, the houses set on fire and the bridges burnt, so that the crowds who attempted to seek for safety or protection in the city were remorselessly driven into the Vistula. The buildings were speedily reduced to heaps of ashes and rubbish, and buried their inhabitants under their ruins. According to the authority of sources which we have no means of verifying, 12,000 human beings met their death on this eventful occasion, which united with the 8000 who fell in the defence of the trenches, make up the number of 20,000 Poles, who paid the forfeit of their lives in one day in and near Praga.

Warsaw itself capitulated on the 5th of November, and in the terms of the capitulation, was delivered up to the Russians on the 6th. Poland was now annihilated. One division of its troops after another was disarmed, and all the generals and officers who could be seized were carried off. The king however, who could be induced to do anything if his comforts were spared, was used

as an instrument to give to power the impress of right. He was again placed apparently at the head of the kingdom till the spoilers had agreed upon the division of the spoil. It was necessary that Austria should be admitted to participate in the booty, for so Catharine had promised, when Thugut called the good emperor to return from the Rhine to Vienna; the share however was small, although the negotiations respecting the partition were prolonged for two years. Suwarrow held a splendid military court for a year in Warsaw, far eclipsing the king, till at length the city was given up to the Prussians: as early as the commencement of the year 1795, Stanislaus was sent to Grodno. In this city the king continued to live upon a pension, till he was subjected to the humiliation of being ordered to Petersburg by Paul I., after having been thrown into the shade by Repnin in Grodno, who, as governor-general of the provinces incorporated with Russia, lived in royal pomp and luxury. A fuller account of the chief circumstances connected with the last partition of Poland, and the manner and time of its being carried into effect, will all be best learned from the words of Oginski, which we therefore subjoin in a note*.

* For this purpose we present our readers with the conclusion of the fourth chapter, part ii. of Oginski's Memoirs. He first states, that the whole of the year 1795 was spent in negotiations with Prussia, and that the last treaty for the partition of Poland was not signed till the 24th of October 1795. In December Suwarrow travelled from Warsaw to Petersburg, where the empress appropriated the Taurian palace for his residence and nominated a special household for his service. On the 1st of January 1796, Warsaw was first given up to the Prussians, and negotiations were carried on till the 21st of October 1796, respecting the boundaries of the palatinates of Warsaw and Cracow. By virtue of this partition, first finally arranged in October 1796, Austria obtained the chief parts of the waiwodeship of Cracow, the palatinates of Sendomir and Lublin, together with a portion of the district of Chelm and portions of the waiwodeships of Brzesk, Podalachia and Massovia, which lie along the left bank of the Bug. All these districts contain about 834 German square miles. Prussia received those portions of Massovia and Podalachia which touch upon the right bank of that river, in Lithuania those parts of the palatinates of Troki and Samogitia which lie to the left of the Niemen, and, finally, a district in Little Poland which belonged to the waiwodeship of Cracow, making in all about 1000 German square miles. Russia received the whole of what had hitherto been Polish Lithuania as far as the Niemen and to the frontiers of the waiwodeships of Brzesk and Nowogrodek, and from thence to the Bug, together with the greater part of Samogitia. In Little Poland she obtained that part of Chelm which lies on the right bank of the Bug and the remainder of Volhynia, in all about 2000 German square miles. During the negotiations for the partition, Russia caused Stanislaus Augustus to lay down the crown; since he obeyed, as he had always done, the Russian commands to such a degree, that on the 25th of November 1795, he signed his own resignation in return for the means of luxury. The three partitioning powers ensured him a yearly income of 200,000 ducats and promised to pay his debts. The emperor Paul I. called him to Petersburg, where he died on the 12th of February 1798.

FIFTH PERIOD OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

SECOND DIVISION.

FROM THE TIME OF THE COALITION AGAINST THE
NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE TILL THE TRUCE
OF UDINE, WHICH PRECEDED THE PEACE OF CAMPO
FORMIO.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, ENGLAND TILL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

§ I.

FRANCE TILL THE APPOINTMENT OF A GIRONDIST MINISTRY.

AT the moment in which the first French national assembly, which gave the nation a new constitution, was dissolved on the 20th of September 1791, the deputies of the second, commonly called the legislative assembly, had been already chosen. This assembly was to confirm and extend the basis of the new constitution by a new system of legislation, suitable to the complete change which had been effected in all the relations of the country; its sittings were opened on the 1st of October. The new assembly was opened under circumstances which augured very unfavourably for the restoration of public order, and the founding and maintenance of a constitutional government in the new kingdom. None of the deputies belonging to the first assembly were elected as members of the second, because they had passed a self-denying ordinance and expressly excluded themselves from the number of those eligible; nor was there any one in the new assembly who was any representative of the spirit and genius of the previous one, whose work also the government did not fa-

vous. Every one however saw that great changes must be adopted in the new constitution, if it was to become permanent. The new deputies were sworn to be faithful to the constitution, but there was scarcely one of them who was disposed to adhere strictly to the letter of his oath; on the contrary, the majority in the first sitting declared war against it. In reference to the court, which through the queen drove the vacillating king hither and thither, the memoirs of madame Campan furnish abundant proofs, that one continuous system of conspiracy, emanating from the highest quarters, was maintained against the constitution and its principles, although it could not then be proved by documents, as has become possible since the restoration. We have at present the documentary proofs in our hands, in which the originators of those cabals, which were carried on nominally in favour of the king, but really against the constitution, boast of their ingenuity and skill; it can be documentarily proved that the emigrants, who negotiated with foreign powers for the restoration of their privileges, were earnestly supported by the plenipotentiaries of the king and queen.

The best account of the course pursued by what was then called the Austrian committee in the cabinet may be found in the memoirs of a man, who although he was only properly speaking minister of the colonies, was yet entrusted with the execution of all those miserable measures which affected internal politics. This person, whose truthfulness forms no part of our present consideration in this place, because we are only speaking of evil intentions, of which both he and his friends were accustomed to boast, was Bertrand de Moleville, chief of what is now called a *camarilla*, and to whose own words we direct the attention of our readers*. Montmorin also, the minister of foreign affairs, belonged to the queen's *camarilla*, who in herself was not much to blame, as she considered every thing which occurred according to her own womanly and personal views: this minister was so vehemently attacked by Delacroix and Couthon in the first sitting of the legislative assembly that he was obliged to resign his office. Necker's intimate friend Anton de Veldec Delessart was then minister of the interior, but left his portfolio to Cahier de Gerville, and to his misfortune succeeded Montmorin. Duportail was minister of war, into whose situation, at

* See 'Histoire de la Révolution,' vol. vii. chap. xiv. p. 220, &c.; and also vol. viii. p. 76 and p. 311.

a later period, De Staël and her friends brought Narbonne, who was a man of regular habits of life and a good tone. The department of justice fell to the lot of Duport de Tertre, and that of finance to Tarbé.

Among the 745 members of whom the legislative assembly was composed, there were 300 advocates, 70 priests who had taken the oath, and a very small number of landed proprietors, and the greater part of the deputies were men who had scarcely passed the prescribed age of thirty years; moreover there were some friends of monarchy among the deputies, for Matthieu Dumas, Stanislaus Girardin, Becquey, Hun, De Jaucourt, Ramon, Lacuée, Cessar, Lacepède, Quatremère de Quincy, and Viennot Vaublanc gave abundant proofs in the times of the empire and the restoration, that they were no visionary republicans. The enthusiasm for the regeneration of the nation, or rather the fear of being accused of the least want of patriotism, was notwithstanding so great, that the most prudent men thought it advisable to adopt the tone of the most vehement opposition. This is exemplified in the case of Pastoret. Pastoret did not belong to the class of young advocates who are eagerly looking out either to make their fortune or obtain renown. He had been already eleven years a public man, first as councillor of the treasury and then *maître des requêtes*, and when St. Priest was obliged to relinquish his situation in 1790, he had been for a short time even minister of the interior. On the introduction of the constitution, he filled two of the most important offices in the departmental administration of Paris, of which Talleyrand and Laroche foucault were members (he was *président et procureur syndic* of the department), and notwithstanding all this, he, as president of the legislative assembly, addressed a very insulting speech to the king on the 7th of October. On that day the king presented himself in the assembly, and addressed a few friendly words to its members, when Pastoret delivered him a severe lecture*.

The conspiracy of feudalists, hierarchs and courtiers did not allow the friends of the constitution to offer any resistance to the conspiracies of clubists, and to those who wished to make

* "Une constitution est née, et avec elle la liberté française. Vous (the king) devez la chérir comme citoyen; comme roi, vous devez la maintenir et la défendre. Loin d'ébranler votre puissance, elle l'a raffermie. La constitution vous a fait le premier monarque du monde."

their fortune by the revolution; for if they did not wish to suffer all things to relapse into the old condition, they dare not venture to put the law into execution against these private associations. All clubs and organized associations, which therefore included those of the sections and electors, were expressly forbidden by the constituent assembly to erect themselves into corporations, or to make or publish any decrees; and in order to put an end to the fearful mischief which resulted from this source, this law should have been put into execution*; but the men of intelligence among the members of the legislative body soon saw that nothing whatever could be done with the Bourbons. In the eyes of the king and queen, all constitutional forms were either ridiculous or hateful; the princes and other emigrants in Coblenz protested formally and publicly against them, and therefore the friends of a limited monarchy were compelled to take part with the enthusiastic republicans of the jacobin club. The republicans, who at that time were still united, first began in 1792 to give free expression to their opinions, and afterwards fell into two parties, the one of which was foolishly anxious by their speeches and theories to establish a republic in France on the model of Geneva; and the other, first to pursue and destroy everything old, to create a universal fermentation among the great masses of the people, and afterwards to found new social relations. The former party consisted of the lawyers of Normandy, Brittany and the seaports of the south, and because its best speakers came from Bordeaux, was called the Gironde; whilst the latter, afterwards called the *Mountain*, or the proper jacobins of the reign of terror,—men without shame or fear, who neither shrunk at blood nor murder, and afterwards formed a smaller club out of the large jacobin society,—met in the convent of the Franciscans, and for that reason were called *Cordeliers*.

Among the most distinguished men of the Gironde, or of those republicans whose views were fixed upon a republic formed and

* One of the latest laws of the constituent assembly (of the 29th September 1791) forbids “à toute société non instituée politiquement, de faire corporation, de paraître légalement sous un nom collectif et de prendre des décisions sur les affaires politiques. Les contrevenans seront *poursuivis et punis*.” Had the law been really carried into execution, there would have been an end to all the public disturbances; but the jacobin club, in which no members of the legislature remained after August 1791, except Röderer, Pétion, Robespierre, Buzot, Antoine and Coroller, continued to hold its sittings in contempt of the decree, and in November became more dreadful than ever.

ruled by educated men of the middle classes, may be enumerated the advocates Guadet, Vergniaud and Gensonné, who were all from the department of the Gironde, which gave its name to the party; Isnard, a merchant from the department of the Var, professors Koch, Arbogast and Korn of Strasburg, the marquis Condorcet, celebrated as an able dialectician and academic philosopher, and especially Brissot, by whose name the party was afterwards designated by those who wished to expose it to public hatred. Brissot de Marville had travelled in North America and published an account of his journey: he was filled with admiration of the democracy of the states, and therefore approached much nearer than any of his friends to the vehement jacobins, but was nevertheless of opinion, that it would be better for France not to have everything centralized in Paris. This opinion was regarded as a mortal sin by the Parisians, and therefore they were easily made the instruments of the enemies of Brissot and his friends. Grégoire was not a member of the second assembly because he had occupied a seat in the first; he had become bishop of Blois, and influenced by his strong jansenist zeal, appointed the filthy capuchin Chabot to be his vicar-general. The latter then played a most disgraceful character in the legislative assembly, the convention and the jacobin club, which has been often cast as a severe reproach on the good-natured, pious and visionary bishop*. In the convention, Chabot was surrounded by known rascals; in this second assembly by the most vehement members of the jacobin club and all such as delight to fish in troubled waters. Among these we may mention the names of Merlin de Thionville, Bazire, Couthon, Thiriot, Quinette and others. The communes of Paris had completely slipped out of the hands of the constitutionalists, who composed the council of the department.

Robespierre filled the office of public prosecutor or attorney-general in the criminal court of Paris, but he had not yet obtained full dominion in the jacobin club, in which he was eclipsed by the powerful eloquence of the girondists. He and Camille Desmoulins, who, from his fanaticism in favour of his notions of freedom, became the organ of the cordeliers, after the complete introduction of the constitution obtained the government in the country, because there were innumerable men in Paris, as well

* The author of this history can testify from his own knowledge that this was *well* known to Grégoire.

as in the smaller towns, who although of no previous rank or consideration, had been elevated to places of honour and power, and who regarded the most violent declaimers as the best patriots. The employments, business, emoluments and honours therewith connected, fell to the lot of the poorer classes as soon as the richer and more distinguished either withdrew or hired substitutes, because they abhorred the tone given by such a monster as Marat, or shrunk from coming into contact with such resolute people as afterwards sent Legendre the butcher as their representative to the convention, where he spoke their opinions. After the autumn of 1791 Danton became the organ of the municipality of Paris, which constituted a democratic republic, and afterwards assumed to itself the name of the sovereign people: his office was next in influence to that of the *procureur syndic*, as whose substitute he acted. Marat wrote 'L'Ami du Peuple' (The People's Friend) in the fearfully energetic style of those who, before the public tribunals, treat all principles of law, justice and custom with the most audacious scorn and contempt. It is quite impossible for any one who has ever read Marat's journal (L'Ami du Peuple) to fail to recognize a certain daring genius and a mastery of style calculated to rouse, stimulate and urge to madness the lowest passions of the lowest people.

The princes did not fail to furnish the desired pretence for demanding measures of terror in the very first sitting of the legislative assembly, to that party of men who, like Marat and Danton, only saw the security of the newly-acquired rights of the people in the extinction of everything which was connected with the old system of government and administration by birth, possession of land, estates or property. The king's two brothers, in the form of a letter to himself, published a manifesto, dated from the castle of Schönbornslust, near Coblenz, on the 10th of September 1791, which was immediately afterwards circulated throughout all Europe. In this letter, which consists of several pages, the princes placed themselves and the nobility by whom they were surrounded in the most insolent and contemptuous opposition to the whole nation, and even to the king himself, who at the very moment in which the manifesto appeared had taken a solemn oath to maintain its privileges, and repudiated everything which had been done since May 1789. The non-juring clergy, almost all the bishops, and the greater part of the

curés declared themselves against the new constitution with nearly as much imprudence as the nobility, and therefore war was declared against them in the new legislative assembly from the very commencement. A paralytic advocate from Clermont, named Couthon, who afterwards reigned in the times of terror along with Robespierre, distinguished himself immediately on the opening of the assembly as a formal democrat, by refusing to show the king those forms of respect to which he was entitled by the constitution. He succeeded in having a decree passed, that in solemn sittings of the assembly the arm-chair of the king should be placed on the same level with that of the president, and on its left side. The mass of the people however, and especially the richer class of citizens, were far from having become so thoroughly fanatical, and the decree made such an unfavourable impression that it was recalled on the day after it was passed. Couthon indeed did not suffer himself to be deterred by this circumstance, but submitted another violent proposal against the princes and emigrants, which he succeeded in carrying through. As early as the time now referred to, the assembly had given it to be understood in another way, that it was well disposed to favour a new republican revolution. In its address to the king, the assembly refused to call the new constitution *admirable*, and imperiously imposed upon the king the obligation of appearing in the midst of them, not when it suited his convenience, but at such times as the assembly should appoint. By a deputation of twelve members they invited the king to come to their sittings, but as they determined on the preceding day, required him to come immediately.

As regards Couthon's proposal against priests and emigrants, a threatening resolution had been already passed in July, and Couthon now induced the assembly to agree to a second, on the 20th of October, by which the limit of a single month was prescribed to all who were absent, within which they were required certainly to return*. The friends of change did not even wait for the expiration of the term, but previous to that time passed a new penal edict, which the king was to be called upon to confirm. Louis hesitated, and was vehemently importuned and threat-

* "Ce délai passé," it is said in the decree, "le décret du 9 Juillet sera mis à exécution. Tous les fonctionnaires publics, qui ne seront pas rentrés à cette époque, seront déchus de leurs titres, places, traitemens, droits de citoyen actif. Les princes, frères du roi, et les trois princes Condé, seront déchus de leurs droits éventuels à la couronne et de tous leurs traitemens."

ened. The communal council of Sierk having detained some military waggons, other frontier authorities followed their example in consequence of the armed preparations of the emigrants, and the assembly was importuned by addresses from all quarters to pass some measures against them. After violent debates, which continued for some days, the national assembly finally declared all those Frenchmen assembled on the frontiers to be persons suspected of conspiracy against their country; and the decree went on to declare, that should not such assemblies separate before the 1st of January 1792, every one found among them after that time should suffer the penalty of death: this was especially aimed against the princes, whose estates and revenues were immediately confiscated.

The king refused his immediate sanction to this decree, but wrote letters of warning and dissuasion to his brothers, which were answered by them in such a way by public writings, that their testimony might be appealed to, if deemed advisable, to accuse the king of treason. We know, said the princes in their letters, which were printed in the newspapers, that the king is not serious (the eldest writes, *l'ordre de me rendre près de V. M. n'est pas l'expression libre de sa volonté*). The repeated and importunate demands of the king therefore were merely regarded in the country as proofs of his want of moral courage, of his dissimulation and false policy. Want of reliance on his own judgment also led the king to follow the advice of the persons about the court, and at the election to public offices in Paris, to aid and assist the worst demagogues with his money and influence, rather than the most zealous and earnest friends of the new constitution. The plans of the demagogues were regarded as visionary, whilst the maintenance of the constitution seemed at least *possible*: in consequence of this folly, the king lost the support which he might have found in such men as Lafayette, Rochefoucault, Talleyrand, and others. In the common-council, Pétion the republican was appointed *procureur syndic*, and Danton his deputy, whilst Robespierre, Tallien, and Billaud Varennes of infamous memory, were members of the court. As early as the 25th of November, this court seized upon the administration of the police and of justice, and placed their committee of police not under the control of the government authorities, but immediately under the legislative assembly. On the 25th of November, a police committee (*comité de surveillance*)

was appointed by the court, which was to consist of twelve members, who were to be replaced every three months. This committee was clothed with judicial functions, suffered to make domiciliary visits, and made responsible to the legislative assembly alone. Men who were openly-declared republicans obtained seats in this committee, such as Merlin de Thionville, Bazire, Chabot, Isnard, Quinette, Lecointre and others, and these men omitted no opportunity of persecuting the adherents of the monarchical system as the worst enemies of their Utopian dreams.

The favourers of the only constitution, which in a state of great wealth and advanced civilization is compatible with civil freedom (that is, the constitutionalists), were persecuted and exposed to the public dislike by these men in every possible way, especially after their public adhesion to the king in December, in order to protect the priests, whose consciences would not allow them to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution. This took place on the 29th of November, when it was resolved, that all ecclesiastics without distinction should take the oath, or be immediately placed under the surveillance of the directory of their respective departments. The king with great hesitation and dread ventured to use the *veto* which the constitution left him against this decree, and the constitutionalists sought to inspire him with courage. The members of the liberal and constitutional directory of the department, who were all aristocrats, published a petition to the king in the newspapers, in which they besought him to persevere in his refusal. This petition was presented to the king on the 5th of December, and he had also consulted Barnave, Duport, and other constitutionalists, before he gave his negative answer on the 14th of December. This petition and advice of the constitutionalists were successfully turned to account in order to rouse against them the suspicion of being connected with the absolutists, at that time called aristocrats.

The dispute respecting the persecution of the priests was soon followed by another in December 1791, concerning the warlike measures which appeared to have become necessary in consequence of the complaints of the German princes, and the share which the emperor Leopold and king Frederick William took in these complaints. The minister of war was accused of having participated in those measures agreed upon with Austria against the constitution; another was demanded in his stead, and he could

only be chosen by the influence of two ladies, who presided over the leading saloons of Paris, or from the men alone who assembled in them. The constitutional, elegant and fashionable prattlers assembled at the house of madame de Staël, whilst the intelligent and quiet republicans who dreamt of Sparta and Rome frequented the saloons of madame Roland. From the former, Narbonne, the new minister of war, was selected. The count, it is true, informed the assembly that he had organized an army in three divisions, and stationed it from Strasburg to Belgium under the command of Rochambeau, Luckner and Lafayette. The republicans however placed no confidence in him, and during the first months of the year 1792, the king was harassed to assent to a system of persecution against the emigrants and priests and the constitutionalists, on account of the war with the emperor.

Louvet de Couvray, the author of one of those scandalous novels whose sale even now in France would subject the seller to punishment (*Les Aventures du Chevalier de Faublas*), one of the members of the legislative assembly and of the association called the Gironde, boasts in his memoirs that on both points it was he who had given the signal for attack. On the 25th of December he appeared at the head of a deputation from one of the sections of Paris and presented a petition against the princes; he afterwards presented a second, directed against the declaration of the administrators of the department, in which they had besought the king not to confirm the decree against the priests and emigrants. Louvet's proposal was made to favourable ears, and the decree of accusation against the prince of Condé, which was issued on the 1st of January 1792, embraced even more than its proposer had demanded. An order for arrest was issued not only against Condé, but also against the king's brother and two members of the constituent assembly, the marquis de Laqueille and viscount de Mirabeau*. The king always conducted himself as persons who are weak-minded and easily provoked or offended usually do. He therefore exhibited great sensibility when the national assembly, which was under the sway of the democrats, on New-Year's-day, refused to show him those ordinary marks of

* This brother of the count Mirabeau, who died in March 1791, was engaged in raising the black legion on the Rhine; the marquis de Laqueille, as the agent of the princes, recruited those battalions which they wished to employ.

respect which politeness absolutely requires, and manifested his displeasure in a petty way towards Pétion the mayor, who was indeed too well acquainted with the laws of etiquette and the manners and usages of polite life either to use or justify the supposition that the omission arose from ignorance. The magistrates of Paris, headed by Pétion, mayor of the city, presented themselves at the Tuileries on New-Year's-day, but refused to offer the customary congratulations to the queen; the king took his revenge by receiving them at the door of the billiard-room, and dismissed them with a familiar nod.

With respect to the war, for which both the adherents of the old system and the violent jacobins were anxious, and which the constitutionalists and moderate republicans abhorred, Brissot, although he afterwards joined the Gironde, was indefatigable in his endeavours to rouse the legislative assembly, and as a member of the committee of foreign affairs, in urging on the war. He was earnest and pressing with the assembly to require the king to declare expressly and clearly to the emperor the conditions on which alone peace could be maintained, and in what cases war would become unavoidable. The emperor was to be called upon to renounce all treaties and agreements into which he had entered against the sovereignty, independence and security of the French nation. Time was given till the 1st of March, and in case he did not within the limited time give a satisfactory reply to all the demands made upon him,—not merely an evasive or dilatory answer,—even his silence would be regarded as a declaration of war. From this time forward, the friends of the ancient and purely monarchical constitution,—that is, the aristocratic part of the nation, with whom were associated all those who had awakened from the dream of the 4th of August 1789 and from liberalism,—began to intrigue with foreign powers against the new constitution. These cabals kept pace with the strong and violent resolutions which the wild democrats of the legislative assembly were accustomed to extort. On the 18th of January the king's eldest brother was declared to have forfeited all claims to any regency which circumstances might require, and on the 9th of February a law was passed by which all the estates of the emigrants were declared to be confiscated. On the other hand, in the treaty agreed upon and concluded in Berlin with Prussia, Austria and Russia, on the 7th of February, the whole was directed against the freedom and indepen-

dence of Poland, with the exception of a single article, which was specially directed against the new form of government in France.

At the same time in which these measures were publicly and secretly promoted against the king and the constitution, there sprung up an ochlocratic power in France,—a species of new order, under the appearance of complete anarchy, without any one having either projected or followed any definite plan for its establishment. This power arose out of the circumstances of the case, and was regulated and moulded by them. The jacobin club adopted a system of internal organization precisely as if it were legitimate authority, extended its power over towns, villages and hamlets, and the course of legislation favoured the complete dissolution of order instead of obstructing it. The rude mob of the capital daily perpetrated all descriptions of mischief and crime, because the higher authorities did not venture to act with energy, and the inferior magistrates did not wish to do so, as they employed the services of the mob to promote their own views. As early as this time pikemen were permitted to take their place among the national guards, and the better class of citizens employed people as substitutes, who lived upon the money which they received from this description of service. In addition to this, two steps which had been taken by the constituent assembly gave rise to disturbances in the first month of the sittings of the national assembly, which were generally attributed to those anarchists who dreamed of a republic. The decrees of the national assembly in favour of the coloured population of St. Domingo, and its imprudent and hasty declarations with regard to the freedom of all the inhabitants of the most important of all the French colonies, gave rise to a war between the slaves and the owners of plantations, which led to unspeakable cruelties and contributed to the loss of the island. On the 29th of October 1791, news was received that all the blacks in the northern part of the island were in arms against the whites, and that 258 sugar plantations had been destroyed. Similar horrors were called forth by taking possession of the counties of Avignon and Venaissin which belonged to the pope, and the introduction of the new constitution into these districts. The majority of the inhabitants of the county, and particularly the inhabitants of the town of Avignon, offered a determined resistance to these innovations; and the consequence was, that hordes of Italian and French bandits, who still infest these districts,

were let loose upon the citizens. The authorities were set aside. Jourdan, who was afterwards called *Coup-tête*, forced his way with his bands into Avignon, and cast into prison all those who were designated as bad citizens, but appeared a second time on the 30th of October 1791, broke open the prisons, and left the prisoners to the mercy of the murderers by whom he was accompanied. The scene of slaughter was revolting beyond description, and a young man boasted, that with his own hand he had murdered eighteen victims. The dead, wounded and living were afterwards thrown indiscriminately into the Rhone, or into the dungeons of an old tower, which was called the tower of the ice-pits. The higher authorities indeed at length interfered; the murderers suffered themselves to be arrested without resistance, and in March 1792, to the regret of all good men, they were pardoned by the national assembly in consequence of their good intentions.

The persons to whom the king and queen gave ear,—that part of the cabinet, which in all the journals of the day, and in all the essays of Marat and Camille Desmoulins, was characterized as the Austrian committee,—believed it possible to lay the spirit of the age by miserable means, such as may be useful in times like our own, but were at that period ridiculous and destructive, and thereby completely ruined the cause which they professed to support. These mercenaries, who were obliged to calumniate and abuse the constitution and its friends, instead of endeavouring to save a plank of the monarchy in the shipwreck, misled the king into great expenses, in order to pay for the services of people who were wholly destitute of truth, fidelity or honour. We must leave it to the French historians to show, from the documents now printed, what an abuse was made of the funds of the civil list to pay a demagoguery which was wholly useless, to keep up a system of espionage which led to nothing, and to put journals, books and libels into circulation; in a general history we can only allow ourselves to advert to a very few of these particulars. In the collection of documents brought together to justify the prosecution of the king*, the accounts which are given respecting the secret expenditure make it almost incredible, that even if the king had no judgement in such things, the honourable and well-meaning Delaporte, the intendant of the civil list, should not have been alive to such a system of deception.

* Recueil des pièces justificatives de l'acte fondamental du procès de Louis XVI.

We there find that in March 1791, Danton received money as well as Mirabeau, and that the clever and witty Rivarol, whose sarcasms however belonged to another period, and whose *Actes des Apôtres* were more injurious than useful, submitted a proposal for putting into operation a species of demagoguery on an immense scale, in which 200,000 livres a month were to be employed to hire a body of fifteen hundred men to write and act in favour of monarchical principles.

The same documents furnish us with an example of the manner in which people who are employed on such occasions treat those princes who put themselves into their hands. From another report presented to Delaporte, also to be found in this collection, it appears that Talon, an advocate of the Châtelet, received several millions from the privy purse for distribution. The advocate himself profited so largely by his own favour in this affair, that when he was afterwards obliged to leave France and took refuge in England, he kept up a very splendid establishment. In the third volume of the papers found in the iron chest, there was still another report of Delaporte, in which 100,000 livres monthly are reckoned for bribing the three or four hundred soldiers of the constitutional guard whom it was thought desirable to have in pay. Bertrand de Moleville, the head of the Austrian committee, in two works, each consisting of several volumes, has very ingenuously admitted that he was deceived from the beginning, and still continued to allow himself to be deluded. He states, that as early as the time of the constituent national assembly, the king in the space of three months expended 2,500,000 livres in bribing public speakers, and yet acknowledges with shame that this vast sum still failed to secure the advantage of their eloquence to the court, but left it to the spirit of the age, or as he expresses it, to the jacobins. Notwithstanding this, he admits that he again advised the king in 1792 to employ large sums in similar acts of corruption, which only served to expose him to hatred and enriched the most unprincipled men, who betrayed him.

This miserable conduct of the enemies of all improvement not only injured the king, but also the friends of the new constitutional institutions, who were as violently attacked in 1792 as the friends of absolute monarchy had previously been. Fabre d'Eglantine in his witty publications, Marat in 'L'Ami du Peuple,' Fréron in the 'Orateur du Peuple,' and Camille Des-

moulins in innumerable pamphlets, which were daily distributed by thousands among the coffee-houses and workshops of Paris, demanded the abolition of the constitution, which as they alleged had only proved a new bulwark to the aristocrats. The sittings of the jacobin club, of the common-council of Paris, and even of the national assembly itself, became therefore daily more stormy, and the processions and demonstrations in the streets more dreadful, especially when the legislative assembly at length passed a formal decree in favour of the murderous principles of the most fanatical portion of the jacobins. The notorious decree of March 1792, by virtue of which the infamous Jourdan and all those who took part with him in the murders of Avignon were pardoned, has been generally interpreted in this sense. All good men deplored, and all the constitutional deputies made a vigorous opposition to this proposal, whilst the republicans could not restrain their joy.

A true constitutional guard, formed from among the sons of the most respectable citizens of all the departments, such as Lafayette and his friends wished to establish, would have offered an effectual opposition to the progress and tyranny of those murderous bands whom the republicans from the commencement of the year 1792 employed either to overthrow or murder the king, had not the courtiers prevailed upon Louis to deprive himself of this assistance. The constituent assembly, after the flight of the king, had, it is true, abolished the noble guard (*gardes du corps*), but on the very last day of their sittings (30th September 1791) they had issued a decree, that not only the Swiss guard should be retained, in order, as hitherto, to do the duty of the exterior watch and ward, but that instead of the noble guard, a new citizen guard should be organized, according to proposals which proceeded from the king himself. This guard was to consist of 1200 infantry and 600 cavalry, and the nomination of the three generals who should command them was to be left entirely to the king. Moreover the national guard was to occupy the posts of honour, and the king to determine the places at which those posts should be placed. On the institution of this guard in March, the pretended friends of the king, as they themselves admit in their memoirs, destroyed the very nature and object of the institution, by that want of confidence which they exhibited towards everything citizen-like.

The sons of the most respectable families of the middle classes

in the kingdom, who indeed were honestly devoted to the constitution, were summoned to Paris, but the court and the ministers trusted them not, and those memoirs which were afterwards published, openly admit that all possible means were adopted to frustrate this design. No arts or chicanery were left unpractised to get rid of these young and respectable men, who ought to have been beyond suspicion, and to replace them by mercenaries or unknown adventurers, who appeared to the royalist officers more worthy of trust. Instead of a guard of 2000 men, who were to protect the king by the guarantee of their characters and not by arms, his friends wished to provide for his security by arms, for which 5000 mercenaries were far from constituting a sufficient force. This guard, which ought to have protected the king, awakened therefore new suspicions and hatred, and became a constant subject of declamation in the national assembly and of violent attacks in the public journals. No mention was ever made of the continual conspiracies of the king and the court, without the introduction of the names of the new guard, and its captain the duke de Brissac, and the consequence was, that it was scattered by storm as early as May, in the same way as the Bastille was taken. This occurred at the same time as that part of the national guard on which the most confident reliance could be placed, the grenadiers, became partly weary of this burthensome service, and of the abuses of the mob which was hunted upon them, and, partly intentionally, gave place to the poorer part of the people, who were only armed with pikes.

The ministers followed the same course in their treatment of the liberal part of the nation, who were however absolutely hostile to Marat and his associates, as the court did against the guard. They continued to negotiate with the court of Vienna respecting internal affairs, and because, like fools, they hoped to frighten a vain nation by threatening it with foreign powers, they called forth the long paper, in which Kaunitz (17th of February), in the language both of warning and threats, ventured to offer them some good advice respecting the management of their national affairs, and whereby he roused a general feeling of dislike. At that time Delessart, Chambonas and Bertrand not only spent hundreds of thousands to bribe Danton and other deputies, who were totally unworthy of trust, but Bertrand had so little conception of enthusiasm, patriotism, or inspiration for

any purely humane or honourable cause, that he also made attempts to corrupt the noblest enthusiasts for freedom among the deputies*. At that time the king, through Mallet du Pan, had advised the emperor and the king of Prussia to declare war, and the committee of foreign affairs appointed by the legislative assembly was continually importuned by the deputies, who suspected the designs of the court, quickly to lay before them a report on the relations with Austria; the ministers, on the other hand, availed themselves of a thousand arts in order to obstruct or delay it. Professor Koch of Strasburg, in whose school of diplomacy Choiseul, as well as Goussier and Talleyrand Périgord and the Austrian Cobenzl had been trained, was a member of the committee, and entrusted with drawing up the report which was to decide the question of peace or war. He hesitated, but the members of the Gironde made themselves masters of this affair. The republican Brissot, who stood nearer to the intemperate friends of Danton than to the milder allies of Vergniaud and Guadet, by the urgent speeches of the latter was recommended to the committee as reporter instead of Koch; he was appointed, and the whole intrigue of the ministers brought to light.

The cabals which Delessart and Bertrand, in connexion with the king, had set on foot against the defenders of the constitution, as well as against that portion of the ministry which these defenders wished to uphold, led in this way to the overthrow of the whole ministry, and brought the republicans into the cabinet. It was with great difficulty too that Lafayette and his friends maintained themselves against the vehement attacks of Marat and other libellous journalists; still however that part of the army at whose head he was placed continued to adhere to La-

* Bertrand calumniated such men as Isnard, Vergniaud and Guadet, when he alleges that they might have been purchased by 6000 francs monthly, but that Delessart was not willing to advance the money; he may have been right with regard to Brissot and Guadet. Pétion, as is well known, was called *le cartouche*, as Robespierre was named *l'incorruptible*, and Manuel, notwithstanding the detestable part which, as *procureur de la commune*, he played in August and September, was only a fanatic in the cause of freedom, incapable of being bribed, and did everything in his power in 1793 to save the king. We cannot more clearly show what were the opinions of Danton and his adherents than by quoting the words which at that time he addressed to Royer-Collard, to draw him over to his party. Royer-Collard states, that Danton gave him the following advice: "Jeune homme, venez brailler avec nous; quand vous aurez fait votre fortune, vous pourrez alors suivre plus à votre aise le parti, qui vous conviendra le mieux."

fayette, and the executive was thoroughly monarchical in all the departments, and usually consisted of distinguished nobles. Bertrand and his adherents felt as much dissatisfaction at the presence of count Narbonne, the friend of the constitutional Lafayette and madame de Staël, in the office of minister of war, as the jacobins themselves, and they did him the greatest service by removing him entirely at this decisive moment, and conferring his situation on De Graves. By this means all the parties favourable to change became united against the government in the year 1793, notwithstanding the difference and variety of views which they entertained. Brissot had drawn up his report in a violent and criminary strain, supported it in a long speech full of reproaches and condemnation, and concluded with a motion which was ruinous to Delessart. Brissot had brought forward ten points of accusation against the minister, and concluded by submitting a decree enjoining a charge of high treason, to be preferred against Delessart before the high court of justice established at Orleans, by virtue of the ordinance of the constituent assembly of the 17th of January 1792. This decree was really passed on the 10th of March*, and the king reduced to the greatest perplexity, because his ministry was dissolved without his consent. Narbonne had been dismissed shortly before, and Bertrand de Moleville was soon obliged to follow. When Delessart was subjected to accusation, Cahier de Gerville and De Graves alone remained, and the king was advised to fill up his ministry from the ranks of the opposition. In theory the advice was sound, but under the then existing circumstances completely ruinous. The king placed no confidence in his new ministers, and more and more relied on foreign powers and kept up his connexion with them; the ministers soon observed that they were objects of distrust and repugnance

* The constitutional members of the assembly, and among them Becquet, Jaucourt, Dumas and Britsch, attempted in vain to have the matter once more referred to the committee of diplomatic affairs; but Vergniaud spoke with such effect against them, that the resolution was passed in the following terms, drawn up by a jacobin (Lacroix): “L’assemblée nationale, sur la dénonciation motivée d’un de ses membres, décrète qu’il y a lieu à accusation contre le sieur Delessart, ministre des affaires étrangères, charge le pouvoir exécutif de donner les ordres nécessaires pour le faire mettre en état d’arrestation et faire apposer les scellés sur tous les papiers qui lui sont personnels et qui pourront se trouver dans sa maison d’habitation. Le présent décret sera porté sur le champ au pouvoir exécutif, qui rendra compte des mesures qu’il aura prises pour son exécution.” The decree is remarkable, because the king is therein regarded and treated with the greatest contempt.

to the king, and openly declared war against him, because he conspired against them in secret.

The new ministers, who entered office on the 17th of March, were honourable men, with some exception perhaps in the case of Dumourier; but according to the account given of them by their best friend, madame Roland, men of a very ordinary stamp, and by no means fitted to steer the vessel of state through the storm which was then raging, and surrounded as she was by hidden rocks and breakers. Roland de la Platière, previously inspector of manufactures, was appointed minister of the interior, and by means of his wife played the chief part in the ministry. He brought together all his colleagues in his saloons, where his simple and admirable wife, who was inspired with an ardent love for the republics of antiquity, which she modelled after her own fashion, exercised a quiet, modest, but nevertheless a very powerful influence. Roland was above sixty years of age, whilst his wife was young, beautiful, well-born and simple, and as she herself informs us, had read many serious works, and not merely novels and poetry. She had been captivated by the rhetorical and oratorical representations of the history of antiquity, as it is conceived by the Latins and French and delineated in charming phrases. From such books she had drawn and formed her *ideal* of heroes and states, such as is always to be found in books but never met with in the world, but which women and imaginative men meet with in every street. Madame Roland was usually present at the ministerial conferences, and inspired the aged ministers with the idea which was so living and real in her own mind; and no one who has ever read her memoirs, or conversed with her when she was condemned for execution, or heard of the serenity with which she met her fate, can refuse her the tribute of their respect and admiration. She is the more worthy of this tribute, as she still remained so completely a woman, the less she sought after any display of talents, and the more unlike she was to madame de Staël, to a Dudevant, a madame de Girardin, and similar ladies of the Parisian saloons, who by their pens have exercised dominion over men.

Roland was associated with Duranthon, a jurist, such as all jurists are, as minister of justice; Lacoste, a man of business of moderate talents and acquirements, but by no means revolutionary, was minister of marine; Clavières, the Genevese, minister of finance, and major-general Servan, minister of war. The only

one among them who possessed distinguished capacities and great experience was the new minister of foreign affairs. This was general Dumourier, one of those of whose services Louis XVI. availed himself in the negotiations and schemes which he carried on without the knowledge and often against the plans of his ministers; he now played the same game with the republicans and for the same reasons by which he was actuated in continuing an intriguer till the end of his life, which he had hitherto played in favour of those who could aid him in his pursuit of honours and distinction. He at first attached himself to the Gironde, but afterwards split with his friends and joined their opponents, the reckless jacobins, and was thus brought into close and intimate connexion with Danton and Robespierre, the one of whom was the leader of the jacobins and the other of the cordeliers. Dumourier as well as Danton was also acquainted with the duke of Orleans, who afterwards entrusted him with the instruction of his son Louis Philippe, to use him for the promotion of his treasonable plans, whilst he offered his services to the weak king as a support against his republican colleagues.

Dumourier was the only one among the ministry who had any experience in diplomatic or military affairs. At the time of the first partition of Poland he had managed the intrigues of Louis XV. as his secret plenipotentiary, and had seen some service in the field, but was afterwards thrown into the Bastille by the minister, because Louis XV. had sent him to Sweden without the knowledge of the government; on the death of the king he was set at liberty and found means of recommending himself to the favour of St. Germain, who, as is well known, wished to introduce the Prussian system of drill into France, and with that view sent Dumourier as a colonel to Lille. He afterwards contrived to get the superintendence of the great works which were executed at Cherbourg, with the design of improving the harbour; the revolution found him in this position, and seemed to him to open up a new path to honour and fortune. When the honourable men of the Gironde received him amongst them, like all the designing rascals of that time, he saw farther than his fellows who were unacquainted with high life, for even madame Roland ascribes to him all those qualities which she denies to his colleagues. She indeed gives it to be understood, that he also, like Mirabeau, Talleyrand, Pitt, and Thiers, stood upon

that high diplomatic eminence, viewed from which our common social ideas of fidelity, truth, simplicity and honour seem small and ridiculous*.

According to Brissot's wishes, the new ministry ought immediately to have declared war, but the most violent party of the jacobins, of which Robespierre had already become the chief, was at first opposed to this step. From his first appearance on the stage of public life in 1789, Robespierre ruled among the masses by means of a broad, coarse and vulgar style of Old Bailey eloquence, such as was calculated to rouse and cherish the envy and evil passions of the mob, and which in order to be intelligible must be copious in words. He had already become the life and soul of the jacobin club, at the time when all the saloons were filled with admiration at the carefully polished speeches of the friends of Brissot. His dry and matter-of-fact mind only saw realities, and was so wholly destitute of ideality and imagination, as to have scornfully asked, according to madame Roland's report, at the time of the king's flight, what sort of thing the virtuous republic of madame Roland was? and when the girondist, in elegant and polished language, called for war, he continued in the jacobin club to make violent speeches in favour of the maintenance of peace†. The very tone which Dumourier threw into his diplomatic notes and negotiations, in order to meet the demands of the times and to amuse the repub-

* Madame Roland in her memoirs speaks of him as follows: "Dumourier avoit plus que tous ses collègues ce qu'on appelle de l'esprit et moins qu'aucun de moralité. Diligent et brave, bon général, habile courtisan, écrivant bien, s'énonçant avec facilité, capable de grandes entreprises, il ne lui a manqué que plus de caractère pour son esprit ou une tête plus froide pour suivre le plan qu'il avoit conçu. Plaisant avec ses amis, et prêt à les tromper tous; galant auprès des femmes, mais nullement propre à réussir auprès de celles, qu'un commerce tendre pourroit séduire; il étoit fait pour les intrigues ministérielles d'une cour corrompue. Ses qualités brillantes et l'intérêt de sa gloire ont persuadé qu'il pouvoit être utilement employé dans les armées de la république, et peut-être eût-il marché droit, si la convention eût été sage; car il est trop habile pour ne pas agir comme un homme de bien, lorsque sa réputation et son intérêt l'y engagent."

† And it may be added, against *the new ministry and their friends*, who were contemptuously called *Brissotists*. Robespierre, in the tribune of the jacobin club, and Camille Desmoulins, in his pamphlet entitled '*Brissot Demasqué*,' agreed in the accusation; "Qu'avec une armée Française victorieuse au dehors, si la guerre étoit décidée, le parti Brissotin, coalisé avec Lafayette, renverseroit la royauté et établirait une puissance sénatoriale qui satisferoit l'ambition du parti civil." We express our views very shortly concerning the jacobins and cordeliers, because we can say nothing more to the point or better than Thiers has already said in the second part of his '*Histoire de la Révolution*.'

licans, would of itself necessarily have called forth a war, even had not the death of the emperor Leopold, at the beginning of March 1792, brought a young and inexperienced prince to the throne of Austria, who was wholly dependent on his wife and courtiers.

§ II.

RELATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS TILL THE DECLARATION OF WAR ON THE PART OF FRANCE AGAINST THE EMPEROR.

In our account of the measures adopted by feudal Europe against the French who had been delivered from the hierarchy and feudal burthens of the middle ages, and of the intrigues woven by cabinets and their diplomatists, we commence with England. Pitt, together with the aristocracy and plutocracy, at whose head he was placed in 1784, because they understood their own position and interests much better than the emperor and the king of Prussia did theirs, never once thought of interfering directly in the internal affairs of France; their object was to avail themselves of this opportunity to annihilate the naval power of France and the trade of all those who are not Britons. They had nothing to fear from the infection of free speeches, for John Bull is as completely blind, by reason of his prejudices and insolent pride, as those who reverence the holy garment and are under the guidance of the jesuits are by papism. As soon however as the absolute governments of the continent showed a disposition to fight in the cause of the old French and English aristocracy and hierarchy for money, Pitt prevailed upon the English people to take the princes and ministers into their pay, because whatever the issue of the war upon the continent might be, in every case England would succeed in extending her dominion on sea, and the English people would be thereby more closely and firmly bound to its oligarchy, and be intoxicated with the glory of naval victories.

In 1784 Pitt secured his power by the second India bill; he afterwards continued to gain ground upon a people which idolizes itself and everything ancient by the careful maintenance of all abuses and the support of the aristocracy upon what is called historical right, by the payment of the pretended debts of the king and the avaricious queen, by a wise administration, a cun-

ningly dissembled system of reform, and by improvements announced with great pomp and circumstance. The internal administration of England does not lie within the scope of our object in this work, and we shall therefore allude to only a few points, and those incidentally. Among these we must especially mention the relation in which the oppressed Irish had come to stand towards their oppressors since the time of the North American war. With this view we must cast a glance on the new relation of the Irish to England, because it will hereafter appear, that at the time in which the English in 1795 conveyed an army of emigrants to the bay of Quiberon, the French hoped to find allies in the catholic Irish and devised a grand plan of invasion. By restoring to the Irish the arms of which they had been deprived in the North American war, and by some favourable changes in their mode of legislation, they were now able to use these means as a bulwark against English usurpations. Shortly before Pitt's entrance into the ministry, the two houses of parliament, assembled in October 1783, passed a resolution that the parliament should be regularly assembled once every year. As early as this period also, views began to be entertained of a total reform of the whole representative system. This idea was met with violent opposition in the parliament itself, and gave rise to violent commotions throughout the whole country, which were as unfruitful in their results as the labours of those who, in our own times, are exerting themselves to obtain a repeal of the union and the consequent restoration of the Irish parliament. Pitt was placed in a very peculiar position, because the king and queen made large demands upon the purse of the English nation, and the prince of Wales put forward his claims for the doubling of his income. The prince gambled, betted, and kept a stud, which cost him annually 30,000*l.*, whilst his whole income only amounted to 50,000*l.* The parliament was ready to accede to the prince's desire, but the king refused his consent. The debts of the luxurious and extravagant prince were stated by himself to amount to 570,000*l.* in the year 1792, as we find it stated by Harris (lord Malmesbury) in his memoirs recently published. Fox and Sheridan, whose course of life was similar to that of the prince, were therefore much more in his favour than Pitt, who refused to grant the money. By this step Pitt secured the favour of the king, whilst the prince threw his weight into the scale of the opposition. In proportion however as the minister was close

towards the prince, he was lavish towards the king, or rather the avaricious queen, who on that account continued till her death to use all her interest and influence in support of the tories and their principles and privileges. At her urgent desire and under pretence of being encumbered by debts, and having a large family, the king from time to time made heavy demands upon the nation, although it had been found necessary even then to set some limits to its benevolence toward the poor, because the number of poor had increased to an enormous extent as well as that of the immensely rich. This frequently reduced the minister to great perplexity. We have already previously remarked that Pitt, immediately after his entrance upon office, had for the fourth time made an addition of 60,000*l.* to the civil list, which already amounted to 900,000*l.*, and proffered as his excuse the pretended debts of the king. Two years afterwards (1786) the English people were again obliged to pay large sums of money from the public treasury, which was replenished by heavy taxes imposed upon the prime necessities of life.

In order to deceive Europe and the good people of Old England by the exhibition of a judicial accusation against one of the bloodsuckers of India, and to increase the impression of equal justice to all, which theoretically exists, but is a practical nonentity, the newspaper public were afterwards occupied for months with the state trials. On this occasion many long, polished and rhetorical speeches were delivered, and a grand spectacle was presented to the public, in which the chief objects of attraction were the upper house as judges, and the much-lauded liberal members of the commons, among whom the copious Burke was conspicuous, as the accuser; the whole shearing however produced but little wool. Impey, formerly chief-justice in Bengal, and the governor-general Warren Hastings were the accused; the prosecution cost them immense sums of money, which they were enabled to pay out of the spoils of the oppressed natives of India; neither the people of India however, nor right and justice, gained the smallest advantage by the cause, but the whole of Europe expressed their astonishment and wonder, as that is usually done, at the magnificence of the spectacle!

In the same way as Pitt thus won the favour of the king and the privileged classes of whom the parliament was composed, and whole crowds of whom he took care to have returned from the rotten boroughs; in the same way as he deceived the well-

disposed but narrow-minded John Bull by his comedy of equal laws and justice, he also most skilfully availed himself in 1787 of all the arts of diplomacy in order to employ Prussia as the mere tool of English policy. By this means, without the expenditure of large sums of money, or having recourse to arms, he obtained an influence both in Holland and Belgium, which was so considerable that it might be called dominion. The Prussians, protected by England against the threats of France, reinstated the stadtholder in Holland, thus wrested the country from the hands of France and made it wholly dependent on England, which possessed an immense naval force, and not upon Prussia, which had none. Joseph II. was first prevented from carrying out his plans in favour of the trade and navigation of the Belgians, which appeared as much an object of suspicion to the English merchants as to the Dutch, by the cabals of Prussia, supported by the English and by the princess of Orange. In order to meet the wishes of both parties, the emperor Leopold's hands were completely tied up by the treaty of Reichenbach. In 1788, precisely at the time in which Necker was labouring in France to shake the system of absolute monarchy, there appeared to be the probability in England of a change in the dominion of the nobility and men of wealth, which had been renewed and increased under Pitt. The bodily organization of George III. was of that description in which physical diseases easily affect the mind and produce mental delusion. Such attacks were at first of short continuance, but repeated returns at length so far shook and disorganized the powers of his mind, that towards the close of life he fell into a state of absolute insanity. The first symptoms of this evil presented themselves in the summer of 1788.

Attempts were made to relieve the king's indisposition by a temporary removal to Cheltenham, where the real state of the king's case might be concealed from the public, at all events for some weeks; this however soon proved to be impossible for any length of time, and finally it was found necessary to bring the question of a regency before parliament. According to law and custom in England, the office of regent devolved upon the prince of Wales, if, as was then the case, he had arrived at years of maturity. The political party to which Pitt belonged were however as much dismayed at the consequence of the prince of Wales becoming regent, and for the same reasons, as the French

princes were alarmed at the same time by the assembly of the states-general which had been announced by Necker. The affair was brought before parliament in December 1788, which was anxious to find some means of escape from the difficulty, because the prince's mode of life as well as his associates excited general disapprobation, and Pitt's conservative system appeared to be seriously threatened by the prince's intimacy with Fox, Sheridan and other members of parliament not indisposed to innovations. The means to which Pitt and the tories had recourse were singular enough, considering their conservative principles. On this occasion Fox defended the monarchical and legitimate principle, that the successor to the throne has a *natural and hereditary right* to the regency, whilst Pitt based his argument against this principle upon a revolutionary foundation, quite in accordance with the French ideas of the sovereignty of the people, and characterized the opposite doctrine as treason against the constitution. He maintained that the people alone, by virtue of the constitution and through the two houses of parliament, had the same right and power to decide upon the question of regency during the life-time of the king as they had to determine any other.

The prince of Wales having previously caused a declaration to be made through his brother the duke of York, that he laid no claim to a *hereditary right* to the regency, Pitt's views prevailed. In consequence of this, only a part of the sovereign rights were entrusted to the prince, and these under considerable limitations. The contest which had commenced in December was prolonged through the month of January 1789, till it was at length resolved, that "the care of the king's person and the disposition of the royal household should be committed to the queen," who would by this means be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, among which were the great offices of lord steward, lord chamberlain and master of the horse; and that "the power of the prince should not extend to the granting any office, reversion or pension, for any other term than the king's pleasure, nor to the conferring any peerage." The measures proposed by Pitt, as here stated and submitted for acceptance to the prince, were embodied in five resolutions and approved of by a great majority of both houses of parliament, although a protest was signed by fifty-seven peers, at the head of whom were the dukes of York and Cumberland.

The English parliament, Pitt and the tories, were on this occasion reduced to great perplexity by a step taken by the parliament of Ireland, which was at that time still an independent body. Had not the king happily recovered the full use of his mind as early as February 1789, the step taken by the Irish parliament on this occasion would have destroyed the unity of administration between the two kingdoms. Both houses of the Irish parliament resolved, without a division, though after a stormy debate, that an address should be presented to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take on himself the government of that kingdom during his majesty's incapacity. The duke of Buckingham (better known under his earlier title of earl Temple), who was then lord lieutenant, was guilty of the imprudence of refusing to transmit the address, and thereby of giving to the whole affair a great degree of notoriety. The result was the appointment of a deputation from both houses for the purpose of presenting the address. On this occasion the prince returned the deputation and those whom they represented his warmest acknowledgements, but informed them at the same time of the king's restoration to health and resumption of the royal functions.

In March 1789, when Pitt again began to govern in the name of George III., Prussia and England had formed a close alliance, because both powers were determined to try to frustrate the treaties concluded between Catharine II. and Joseph II., in reference to Polish, Turkish and Swedish affairs. During the summer months of this year the progress of the French revolution became unexpectedly rapid, which excited much greater anxiety in aristocratic England than in monarchical Prussia, because at that time the contest between the whigs and tories had a very different character from that which it has at present. Ever since the time of the revolution of 1688, there had existed a society in England for the commemoration and maintenance of the principles which that revolution involved and consecrated; and the members of this society regarded the French revolution as an immense step in social progress according to their views. This society was called "*the Revolution Society*," and the object of its members was to defend those views of national rights formerly maintained by the opponents of the house of Stuart, and they kept up their own connexion and gave permanence to their opinions by holding a yearly meeting on the anniversary of the

revolution of 1688. The meeting of this society which was held on the 5th of November 1789, boded imminent danger to that class to whom the English are indebted for the corn laws. The aged and venerable Dr. Price, who in the North American war had taken up the cause of the democratic republic and defended it against the deafening clamour for *church and king* raised by the ecclesiastical dignitaries, pensioners and sinecurists, now also came publicly forward in favour of the French revolution. On this occasion, this venerable minister, then in his 66th year, delivered a most remarkable discourse before the assembly in praise of the French revolution, in which he applied the words of the aged Simeon with great warmth and earnestness to himself, and the overthrow of feudality and hierarchy: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

On the motion of Dr. Price, the meeting afterwards resolved to transmit an address of congratulation to the French national assembly through the earl of Stanhope, who was the president. Stanhope accordingly forwarded the address to his friend the duke de Laroche-foucault, who was a man of similar views, and he presented it to the national assembly. The duke, in his answer to Stanhope, as well as the archbishop of Aix, the president of the national assembly, in his letter of thanks to the "Revolution Society," threw out incidental allusions to the middle ages. The former eulogized Dr. Price in glowing terms, on account of his services to the North Americans and his writings in their cause. In consequence of these scenes, which occurred in November, and the public attention which was excited by Dr. Price's sermon, and the letters of the innovators in France and opponents of obsolete usages in England, which were printed together, it was thought necessary to organize another society to oppose, and, if possible, to put down this radical clamour both in England and Ireland; Pitt however guarded himself with the greatest care from appearing as the leader of an outcry against the revolution. On this occasion he conducted himself with as great diplomatic tact as on that of the threats and outcry of the emigrants and continental powers. By means of subordinates, whom he could at any time disavow, he stirred up the people, was lavish of secret and verbal promises, but publicly avoided the exhibition of any violence, and withdrew himself from all official responsibility. As to the

radical clamour in England and Ireland, he found in Burke, during the parliament which was opened in January 1790, a stentor for Old England, who, in thundering strains and relying on historical rights, exerted himself to cry down the cold-blooded defenders of natural rights.

Pitt easily furnished him with an opportunity for pouring out the torrents of his eloquence and abuse against France, by introducing a passage into the king's speech which referred to the revolution, the abuse and condemnation of which was to be left in the hands of those members of parliament who were not immediately connected with the government, which was still to preserve the appearance of friendship.

In the king's speech, the allusion to which we have referred was as follows:—"The internal situation of the different parts of Europe have been productive of events which have engaged his majesty's most serious attention;" and a hope was entertained that the watchmen of the English Zion in church and state would on this occasion blow their trumpets with vigour and zeal. The conservative leaders did not fail to answer the expectations of the government. Those who felt and enjoyed the benefits of things as they were, declared their hatred towards France in the usual language of such partisans, and in tones of rejoicing and insolence, their admiration of all those institutions and measures which are as much objects of convenience and rejoicing to the minority as they are oppressive to the majority. Lord Valletort, without in the least troubling himself with the recollection of the fact, that when an old state building falls, many are necessarily injured or killed by the ruins, expressly declared, that a real Englishman fixed his attention always on the present and upon himself, and never could be such a fool as to purchase the well-being of future generations by the misfortune of his own*. Burke, who was then in the full of his reputation and the pinnacle of his fame, like all the rest, adopted this course. What indeed he at that time brought forward against the French and the favourers of their cause, was but a mere prelude to that which was afterwards to come. He had just then for the first time given in his adherence to the conservative party; and in January 1790 he first presented himself

* Or, as he expresses it, the revolution was "an event the most disastrous, and productive of consequences the most fatal, which had ever taken place since the foundation of the monarchy."

without reserve under Pitt's colours, and his mad zeal and unbounded violence exhibited all the characteristics of a proselyte. His career resembled that of those Frenchmen who distinguished themselves in the convention, afterwards became great men under Napoleon, and either maintained their position or even bettered it in the time of the restoration and under Louis Philippe.

Under Rockingham's standard Burke had fought for the cause of North America and democracy, and vehemently declaimed in favour of English reforms. As soon as he afterwards received an appointment in the ministry, his mountain, which was pregnant with real reform, only brought forth a ridiculous mouse. This man, who was full of such violent zeal in the cause of right, truth and freedom, no sooner lost his situation, than, as it was said, from "necessity the tyrant's plea," he showed himself ready, like Fox, lord North and their respective friends, to enter into an unprincipled coalition against the fundamental principles of that constitution which he had eulogized as the most glorious. Immediately afterwards he again became the dreaded persecutor of the scandalous abuses of the plutocracy and of the shameless and cruel tyrants whom the English constitution, which he afterwards so zealously defended, called into existence, or at least secured against all human tribunals. This constitution is indeed admirable in itself, but has often proved destructive in its application. The speeches which he delivered as the representative of the lower house and public accuser of some of the most distinguished officers and judges of the government and the East India company, unveil and exaggerate the sins of an aristocratical and plutocratical state, which he afterwards alleged to be incapable of improvement. On the debates concerning the regency also, Burke, who was then closely connected with Fox, suffered himself to fall into a republican violence against Pitt and the queen, who warmly supported him, which is the less to be pardoned in a man afterwards so ostentatiously loyal, as his vehement speeches were all carefully studied and committed to memory, and not the sudden and irrepressible outpouring of excited feelings. We might quote passages from these speeches in which his violence borders on raving,—passages at which the whole parliament was disgusted, so that Pitt expressed his compassion for his fierceness as if it had been insanity. This was all changed, when, in 1790, he suddenly poured out the full measure of his indignation and wrath in a long speech against the French revolution. This

long, insulting and calumnious speech, written in a carefully elaborate style, contains the most violent outbursts of indignation against everything which had happened in France since May 1789. The ruin of France, and all the evils and sins which his imagination could suggest, were deduced from the new institutions of the country. Whoever therefore wishes to satisfy himself by documents, that this celebrated orator was no judge whatever of political events, that he was no philosopher, and a very short-sighted statesman, has only to read and study this speech.

Pitt allowed Burke and the obstinate adherents of ancient usages, which were no longer suitable to the circumstances of the times, to rail and to rave. The cold diplomatist secretly rejoiced in having found a stentor who had previously declaimed against abuses, but who now exerted all his vigour and zeal for their maintenance; for he not only secured a considerable number of new adherents to the minister, but contrived to excite a lively hatred in the minds of the blind masses of imitators against all those who even mentioned reform. For this reason Fox and Sheridan could not be silent on the apostasy of their former friend, and in the very beginning of the year 1790, a schism took place among the opposition. Fox spared Burke as much as possible, and satisfied himself with defending the authors of the new French constitution against his attacks; Sheridan dealt more severely with him, and yet no formal breach was announced by either of them. Pitt, it is true, highly commended Burke's zeal and his powerful defence of Old England, but he was always careful never to approve of his bitter enmity against the French.

On the death of the emperor Joseph II., Leopold his successor united with the king of Prussia, in order to throw the shield of their protection over feudality and hierarchy, the emigrants and princes. Burke materially served Pitt's policy by preparing the English people for an alliance between their aristocracy and the absolute monarchs. In the autumn of 1790, he came before the public as a writer in favour of the existing state of things, that is, of everything which was handed down from the middle ages, or at a later period was usurped by the nobility and clergy. He wrote a work, which from that time forward became the gospel of all those in Europe to whom innovations of every description were inconvenient and all progress with the age hateful. This was his welcome libel on the French nation,

entitled 'Reflections on the French Revolution.' In this work he employs all the weapons of reason, ingenuity and eloquence, combined with abuse, raillery, insult and calumny, against all those who differ from him, and in favour of ancient and traditional usages and principles, precisely in the same manner as Marat, Camille Desmoulins and Fréron in their journals wrote in favour of innovation and change, with this exception, that Burke's turgidity and bombast were intended for the higher classes, whilst the dreadfully bitter and energetic language of the Frenchmen was adapted to the lower. Marat and those who wrote in his spirit and style filled the people with a fanatical zeal for the new order of things, and Pitt was therefore delighted at having found a man who was able to inspire the same fanaticism and by the same means against every description of change. Whole classes of the English people, and by far the greatest portion of the middle ranks, had long been weary of abuses, sinecures and pensions, of the exclusion of all those who were not members of the church of England from certain offices and advantages, as well as of other things of the same kind, and were anxious for change and reform; Burke compelled them to silence by rousing the passions of John Bull, and exposing every liberal, as if he were an impious man and a rebel, to the hatred and abhorrence of those to whom his words were an oracle. In Burke's work, the magnificent spectacle of the whole nation rising up in its might and indignation, and demanding the restoration of its privileges and of that share in the public administration of which the nation had for centuries been deprived, is uniformly represented as something deserving the condemnation, abhorrence, and execration of all men; and the mischiefs of the mob, the excesses of those lawless bands, which were for a time emancipated from the restraints of order, because the old edifice had been dashed to ruins and a new one had not been raised, are maliciously ascribed to honourable men, who sacrificed the well-being of one generation in order to be able to lay a sure foundation for that of all future ones. The appendix to Burke's diatribe is completely similar to the journals of Marat and Fréron, for Burke exhorts and encourages the princes to have recourse to the very same means for the maintenance of feudality, hierarchy and privileges, which, according to Marat, the people ought to adopt in order to overthrow and destroy them. Marat and Camille Desmoulins exhorted the people to

offer up bloody sacrifices in the cause of freedom, Danton, and Robespierre; Burke recommended the same means for the cause of kings, nobles, priests, princes and emigrants.

These 'Reflections' had no doubt a very considerable political influence; they prepared the way for measures which the emigrants, and above all king George III., would willingly have seen carried into effect before, and which were begun by Prussia, Austria and the emigrants in 1792. It can therefore excite no surprise that all the reigning houses of Europe, the nobles and admirers of historical privileges and rights, all those who thought themselves born and privileged to reign, should have classed Burke with D'Ivernois, Mallet du Pan, and still later with Genz, regarded him as their teacher and prophet, used all the means in their power to make good his principles and realize his oracles, as well as persecute all those who neither would nor could concur in their views. Burke calls upon all the princes of Europe to gird themselves as for a holy war, and to make common cause with Louis XVI. as a legitimate monarch robbed of his throne by rebels and traitors. And it must be remembered, that this was at the very time in which Louis appeared at the grand assembly of federation in the *Champ de Mars*. According to Burke's recommendation, the deluded French people were not on this occasion to be enlightened and undeceived, but to be subdued. This holy war in favour of feudal rights was not to be carried on according to the usual principles of warfare, but in all cases, even where there was no battle, military execution was to be employed, in order that everywhere there might be vengeance and blood. Burke pours out the bitterest torrents of his wrath against all his countrymen who were not heart and soul of his own school, and badly conceals his sorrow at being unable to bring the aged, pious and generally-esteemed Dr. Price to the gallows. He first abuses the society of friends of the English revolution in general, and uses the most violent expressions, and then accuses Dr. Price of having *fulminated* doctrines in the sermon already referred to which might *almost* be designated as rebellious and treasonable.

These invectives and declamations might indeed have been left unanswered, but Burke, like D'Ivernois, Mallet du Pan and Genz, was a man of distinguished ability, comprehension, learning and scientific education, and who therefore, in clear, able and logical language, advanced another scheme of government and politics directly opposed to that which was propagated and main-

tained in France. We have as little desire to examine the principles set forth by Burke as those of the French, because we take no heed of merely theoretical politics; it cannot however be denied that he has spoken much more practically respecting monarchy, constitutions, and the right of the majority to prescribe laws to the minority, than the French theorists; that is, than Bailly, Lafayette and Grégoire. The whigs therefore felt themselves called upon to refute Burke, who had then avowedly entered into the secret service of the king, Pitt, and the Tories of his cabinet. Long before the appearance of the 'Reflections' (April 1790), George III. and Pitt had strengthened the king of France in his disinclination to the constitution which he had sworn to maintain, and did not disapprove of the dangerous game which he was playing*: what might they not venture, when Burke proved to them in clever and splendid phraseology, that their insolence and prejudices were firmness and wisdom?

Fox felt himself obliged to bring forward and maintain another theory in opposition to Burke's; but he neither would nor could enter the arena with that eccentric violence by which such attacks must be repelled, in order to raise up one fanatical party against another. In politics, as in religion, blind prejudices in favour of historical rights can only be successfully opposed by demagoguery, superstition, and especially by audacious unbelief. What Fox therefore could not do, was done by a bold and unscrupulous democrat. Thomas Paine, celebrated as a democratical writer in the cause of North America, wrote against Burke, not after the fashion of the constitutional writers of France, but in the style of Marat and Camille Desmoulins. He opposed the English prejudices and ecclesiastical cant of the advocates of the English episcopacy and of historical rights by bold scepticism, bitter scorn, and the rights of nature. Paine had previously written a book in favour of the democrats of North America, in which he set up the wild and revolutionary principles of what he called '*Common Sense*,' in opposition to those principles which had been handed down and sanctioned by history and fact. This work had had the effect of gaining numerous adherents to

* Bertrand de Moleville states that Calonne had several conferences with Pitt in April 1790, and communicated the results of them to Louis in the following language: "J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer, Sire, une copie de la lettre certifiée de Mr. Pitt. Votre majesté verra ce qu'elle doit attendre d'un monarque pénétré de cette vérité, *que votre cause est la cause de tous les souverains, et qui est profondément indigné des traitemens qu'on vous a fait.*"

the North American cause, and made many proselytes even in England; he now attempted in the same manner to sustain the French revolution, and in a new work entitled '*The Rights of Man*,' he vindicated that part of the French constitution which Burke had most violently assailed.

If Burke's rhetorical declamation and his political redundancy may be compared with the romantic style of certain German and French defenders of popery and autocracy, with the style of the pious enemies of protestantism, whom Burke also resembles in his abuse and ravings, Paine may be said to have written in the sharp and powerful manner, and to have used the logical acumen, bitterness and vehemence characteristic of Junius's Letters and Marat's '*Ami du Peuple*.' In fact, Paine's work made as great and as lasting an impression on certain classes in England, as Burke's did upon the great majority of the higher and middle ranks. In the same manner as Burke immoderately and unreasonably praises the English constitution, without any regard to the changes effected by time, and without any reference to the innumerable abuses and privileges of the rich, which do not belong to the theory, but have originated in practice, and does not even acknowledge that this constitution, like all human things, has suffered in the lapse of time, Paine denounces and abuses, without consideration or sparing. Paine not only denounces the practical abuses, the cost of the theoretically possible, but practically ineffectual complaints of the injured and oppressed against the rich and the powerful, the unequal pressure of the burthens of the state and the inequality in the remuneration of the high and the low, the slavery of the labourers and the misery of those classes who under a freer system of importation would at least have bread, and a thousand other consequences of incredible wealth and increased population, but he assails the admirable principles and foundation of the constitution itself, and in violent and offensive language represents them as radically bad and untenable.

Paine starts from the principles of those men with whom he afterwards sat in the national convention, and who went to such a length in their republican dreams as to allege that it was a gross and serious violation of the rights of man to introduce an aristocracy or monarchy into any state, in whatever way it might be established or limited. We shall enter just as little into the examination of Paine's principles as of those to which they are

opposed, and which Burke spent all his force in defending: we have in fact merely mentioned the names of these two individuals in preference to others, because they were leaders of the hosts who came forward as champions of the old and of the new times, and because their works became the arsenals of all those warriors who fought under their respective standards. Fox was placed in a very painful situation by Burke's vehemence, and did all in his power to prevent him at least from employing terms of gross abuse and the violent expressions of fanatical rage against the French constitution and its defenders, because by this means his own friends in France and the unhappy king himself were necessarily exposed to greater danger. Burke was incapable of any moderation; he thought of nothing but aiding the king and the aristocrats, and of proving to the jacobins and girondists, by his speeches in parliament, that in fact the priests, the king, court and nobility of their country were combined with the English aristocratic government in weaving toils for entangling the French people. Soon after an accidental circumstance furnished Burke with an opportunity of openly joining the defenders of feudalism, and of formally and earnestly renouncing every liberal idea; or in other words, of solemnly raising the standard of the campaign which he had proclaimed against the French and their principles.

Hitherto the English had governed Canada, which was ceded to them by France, as a conquered country; it was now in contemplation to give the Canadians a constitution, and the English aristocrats on this occasion were eagerly desirous of introducing something in the form of a house of peers. During the discussion of this question, some remarks fell from Fox depreciating a hereditary and feudal nobility, of which Burke availed himself (on the 6th of May 1791) to expose the principles which Fox espoused and vindicated to the hatred of all Europe, by his poisonous attacks upon the constitution, then drawing near its close, and upon the French government. He gave utterance to such unmeasured abuse and raved in a strain of such wild enthusiasm, that he was repeatedly called to order, and at length obliged to sit down and be silent. We have already referred to the sentimental scene to which this gave rise among English statesmen in a parliament full of jurists and egotists, whose sensibility we do not rate very highly; we must however at least mention the subject in this place, because in all works of English history it is

brought as prominently forward as similar scenes in the life of Buonaparte by the French historians.

In answer to some very reasonable remarks made by Fox upon the nature of the constitution projected for Canada by the tories, Burke replied in a style, which, to avoid characterizing too harshly, we prefer illustrating by quoting the words of the speaker himself. The question turned upon the introduction of a *created* aristocracy in Canada; Fox expressed his doubts with regard to the right of the English government to impose a constitution on the people without their consent or consulting their wishes. Burke broke loose in the following strain: "A body of rights, commonly called the *rights of man*, has been lately imported from a neighbouring kingdom. The principle of this new code is, that all men are by nature free and equal in respect of their rights. If this code therefore were admitted, the power of the house could extend no further than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to choose a constitution for themselves. The practical effects of this system may be seen in St. Domingo and the other French islands; they were flourishing and happy till they heard of the *rights of man*. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the country." From this it will be seen, that it was impossible for Fox to remain silent. He answered however with the greatest caution and mildness; stated that with regard to the rights of man, he entertained a very different opinion from that of his friend; that these original rights formed the basis of the English constitution, and that therefore he could not possibly disapprove of the measures which had been adopted by the French national assembly, in order to assist the French people in the recovery of these rights; that Burke himself had taught him, that a whole people never rise up against their rulers except when there are good reasons and they have been long provoked. He also therefore rejoiced in a revolution which had been caused by the same reasons as called forth the English revolution of 1688.

This was the signal for an outbreak on the part of Burke: he declared that he certainly had been often of a different opinion from Fox, but there had been no loss of friendship between them; that it was the accursed French revolution which had poisoned everything. Fox interrupted him and said, that their *friendship*

still remained; but Burke had now once for all gone over to the tories and the aristocracy of Europe, and wished to carry along with him into their camp his admirers and imitators in a splendid procession. He therefore cried out, that *it was not so; he had done his duty, and their friendship was at an end*. Fox rose to reply, but was so deeply affected that tears ran in streams down his cheeks, and he was unable to find utterance for his words. The house continued to observe a perfect silence for a considerable time, until Fox recovered himself and attempted to soothe and appease the fanatical Irishman by mild and friendly expressions: Burke however had determined his course, had already assumed the character of a defender of prejudices and abuses, and from this moment forward he became the organ of the plans of the enemies of improvement, and the French always first learned through him what they had to expect from the English government.

When Burke thus publicly declared war against every free thought, or which was not genuine English, and against his friends, who were favourable to improvement, his manifesto had already produced powerful effects in the cause of the nobility, hierarchy and emigrants. The emigrants were raising and concentrating an armed force in the territory of the bishop of Worms, on the left bank of the Rhine, and in that of the bishop of Strasburg on the right; they were negotiating with Prussia, England and the emperor, to engage in a military crusade against the new constitution of France. The grand-duke Leopold had succeeded his brother Joseph in March 1790, and both in his hereditary dominions and in Germany showed himself as favourable to everything old and antiquated as he had been well-disposed to the better views of the new age in Tuscany. The king of Prussia, from his love of sensuality and mysticism, had long become the mere tool of diplomatic knaves. The duke of Brunswick, prince Henry and Herzberg, however different their opinions and modes of thinking on various subjects were, still retained a high degree of public esteem in the first year after the death of Frederick II.; all of them were somewhat disposed towards French views, and the party who wished to drive them from court and influence, in order to rule alone, were obliged to have recourse to every possible means to embitter the mind of Frederick William II. against the French and their ideas. In Prussia and Austria all the friends of liberty and knowledge were contempo-

ranuously dismissed from office. It was probably in the fear of such a result that the emperor Joseph before his death expressed such an earnest desire to see his brother, with whom during the last years of his life he had been on bad terms. Leopold however, in order to avoid responsibilities and obligations, refused the invitation of his dying brother, but in the kindest terms; on the other hand, through baron Spielmann, he formed connections with those persons who bound and mystified the king of Prussia by gratifying his love of pleasure and by cant.

Leopold's first anxiety on his accession to the throne was to avoid a war with Prussia and again to obtain possession of Belgium, and the congress of Reichenbach was to be used as the means to this end. Spielmann, who was openly negotiating with Herzberg on the subject of the peace, now entered into secret communications with Wöllner and Bischoffswerder, in order to deceive Herzberg. Though we should be sorry to use Ségur's 'Life of Frederick William' as an authority, yet what he states (vol. ii. pp. 166—169) concerning the means and reasons which were used to withdraw the king from the advice and influence of Herzberg appears to us highly probable. They succeeded in persuading the king to desire Herzberg to sign a treaty of peace, with the conditions of which he was so little acquainted that they excited his surprise. Herzberg was indeed opposed to every kind of union between Austria and Prussia against constitutional France; Wöllner and Bischoffswerder, on the other hand, were of opinion with Burke, that it was the duty of those in power to mistrust every ray of reason, and to hold those who disseminated or promoted political knowledge in check by every means in their power, or even to strike them dead. On this Spielmann is said to have founded his reasons for monarchical as opposed to democratical principles, and to have brought them to the immediate knowledge of the king.

Spielmann founded his reasons for a closer alliance between Prussia and Austria first of all upon the general condition of European politics, but he appealed more particularly to the danger with which both were threatened by the irreligious and anti-monarchical doctrines and speeches of the spirit of the age, which was poisoned by the French. He called attention to the necessity of the two chief powers of Germany lending their aid and protection to the German princes, who by the new French institutions were injured in their legal rights, possessions and reve-

nues. The whole system to which Spielmann was anxious to give effect, and which Wöllner and Bischoffswerder also recommended to the king of Prussia, in order to drive away Herzberg, he described in the following language: "It was high time," he said, "the princes of Europe should open their eyes and put an end to the political disputes and the intrigues of diplomatists against one another; otherwise they would undoubtedly become the spoil of their *new* enemies. It was highly necessary they should unite to stem the tide of those principles, which raged like a pestilence, and whose extension no man could either foresee or calculate." These remarks, and such as these, exercised a great influence on the king of Prussia; the negotiations were carried on without Herzberg's knowledge, or as it was said, immediately with the king, and Herzberg received the most unexpected command to which we have referred; on the 27th of July 1790 he subscribed the convention of Reichenbach, which he by no means approved. From this moment forth, the tracking out of jacobinism became a business in Prussia as well as Austria; the whole system of police was organized to obscure and persecute; it was however left to the king of Sweden alone to play the Emicho of a crusade, of which Burke had become the Cucupeter.

Gustavus III. of Sweden, by the help of the three other estates, which were violently embittered against the nobility, had at length obtained a completely unlimited dominion. As has been already stated, he set the conspiracy of Anjala at defiance, and not only caused a severe punishment to be inflicted upon the originators of and participators in this association, but, with the consent of the estates, he also augmented his own royal privileges. By what was called the act of safety, those limitations were removed from the royal power, which Gustavus himself had suffered to remain in 1772, and it also deprived the nobility of the country of their last privileges. By this act, the state-council, whose approbation had previously been necessary to legalize the king's decisions, had disappeared; the king was now able to confer all dignities or offices at his good pleasure; he could dismiss from their office all those who occupied the higher situations (the judges excepted) without finding it necessary to institute an investigation; and finally, without consulting the council, he could make peace or declare war. As an autocrat and friend of the French princes, he was desirous of being able to take the part of the king of France, in the same manner as Gustavus Adolphus had taken

that of the protestant princes, and Catharine, as well as the French princes, assailed him on his weak side. It is generally stated, that as early as the time of the peace of Werelä, the Russians spoke of landing some thousands of men, with a view to assist Gustavus to undertake an expedition to Paris for rescuing the royal family; certain it is, that at the time of Louis XVI.'s flight the marquis of Bouillé reckoned on the aid of Gustavus, and that Gustavus materially injured the cause of the king by corresponding with Bouillé and Fersen, with the emigrants and Russians, like a knight of the times of the *cours d'amour*, concerning a crusade in favour of queen Marie Antoinette. The absurd and noisy way in which the whole affair was conducted gave a complete victory to Marat and his associates over everything monarchical.

As early as February 1791 arrangements were made for the king of Sweden's journey to Aix la Chapelle, which was connected with Louis's flight; it was really commenced as early as March, although no one could be deceived at that season of the year by a pretended visit to the baths, and the king first actually came to Aix la Chapelle in May. The conferences which in the meantime he held with the emigrants were known to every one, and profited by in Paris, in order to make everything which proceeded from Louis an object of suspicion, and monarchy itself detestable. Gustavus first entered into correspondence with the German princes, whose nobility used the peasants on their estates like bond-slaves, and what was still more surprising, he invited the plenipotentiary of the head of the hierarchy of the middle ages to join in these consultations. Gustavus invited Caprara, the papal nuntio, to be present at the conferences on French affairs which he held with the duke of Mecklenburg in Ludwigslust. From Ludwigslust Gustavus proceeded to Brunswick, where he conversed with the duke, who was trained as completely in the French school and as well acquainted with distinguished and renowned Frenchmen as Gustavus himself; but he was at that time still surrounded with the halo of the glory of a great general, a part of which was dissipated in the following year by his expedition to Champagne; and finally he went to Aix la Chapelle.

It almost appeared as if the friends of the French king and his brothers wished to put arms into the hands of the jacobins against their own *protégé*, by making these conspiracies against the new constitution matters of such notoriety, and thus rousing

to desperation the whole French nation, whose affair the constitution was, and not that of the small party which at that time was dreaming of a republic. The king of Sweden remained in Aix la Chapelle during the whole of the time in which the flight of Louis XVI. was agitated among his friends, and put off from one day to another; and during the whole period, that is, the months of May and June, he kept up an active correspondence with his ambassador in Paris, and through him with the court. In this interval he not only made arrangements with the marquis de Bouillé, who was in command of the French troops in Lorraine, and was to cover Louis's flight, but he gathered emigrants around him from all ends and corners of Europe, and every friend of the old order of things who had not yet left France now departed. Gustavus not only imagined that he was called, but also that, at the head of the Swedish regiment in the French service (*Royal Suédois*), he was able to conduct the king of France back to Paris, together with all the armed emigrants who were to join his standard.

Gustavus was obliged indeed to relinquish his first undertaking, which had already been adventurous enough, when the king was arrested in Varennes (22nd of June), but gave ear to a new and ridiculous proposal, and we are almost constrained to believe that the Russians only seemed to countenance and support the mad adventure of the king, in order to expose him to ridicule and contempt on account of his Quixotic projects. It was said, he was to take the command of a small army of Russians, which was to be conveyed in English transports to the mouth of the Seine, and from thence, under Gustavus's personal leading, to march upon Paris. In Paris, so said the emigrants and so believed the princes, all the respectable citizens, who were now cried down and oppressed by the mob and by their restless and avaricious leaders, were anxiously waiting for their approach and ready to join their cause. The Swedish nobility contemplated these follies of their king with double displeasure, partly because great sums of money were spent on this journey, and in these absurd and useless diplomatic, political and military projects, and the embarrassed state of the finances was continually increasing, and partly because the king thus placed himself completely in the hands of the Russians, and sacrificed both the Turks and Poles to a power which had bereft Sweden of one portion of its territory after another. This led to a great cool-

ness towards the king among the other three estates, and a formal conspiracy was formed against him among the nobles. Gustavus III. thought of being able to secure himself against the machinations and ill-will of his own subjects by Russian protection, as he then continually cherished the mad project of avenging the cause of the king of the French by arms on the noblest men of the nation, and forcing upon them such men as Artois, Calonne, Breteuil, Bertrand de Moleville, and their associates. In October 1791 he therefore concluded a close alliance with Russia, by virtue of which Catharine and Gustavus mutually bound and pledged themselves to maintain each other's *rights* and possessions, or in other words, by virtue of which the king of Sweden would be in a condition to threaten his estates with Russian bayonets and cosack sabres, if they did not supply him with abundance of money. The whole alliance was so arranged as to allure the vain king into a trap, by furnishing him some relief in his pecuniary embarrassments, and by promising him armed assistance to strengthen him in his follies. Properly speaking, Russia formally took the king of Sweden for eight years into her pay; this was concealed under the words, that during the eight years, which was the time fixed for the treaty, Russia was to furnish subsidies to Sweden. Besides this, it was stipulated, that in case of any attack upon Russia, Sweden was to furnish an auxiliary army of 8000 men, and in case of a war against Sweden, Russia was to send 12,000 troops to her aid. The French spies wished to interpret the last clause so as to signify that Russia destined these 12,000 men as a force to be at the service of the king in his still projected campaign for the deliverance of the queen of France.

By these negotiations, the empress, by working on his vanity, manifestly designed to lead the king into a labyrinth from which there was no escape. In order therefore to please him, she allowed the negotiations to be carried on in his own capital, and according to his desire entrusted the conduct of them to counts Stackelberg and Pahlen, and professed her readiness to advance him 12,000,000 of roubles for the purpose of his mad French project, if the estates of Sweden would guarantee its repayment. The whole of this plan on the part of the empress was very cunningly devised, for Gustavus found the public feeling in Sweden to be of such a kind, that when he really wished to summon an assembly of the estates, he durst not call them together in Stock-

holm. He was however in need of money, and therefore called a meeting of the estates in the small town of Gefle, where, as he believed, they would be more in his power. He knew indeed beforehand, that he could not reckon upon the eighth part of the votes of the nobles.

The diet of Gefle was opened on the 23rd of January 1792, and Gustavus delivered one of those addresses which had always previously made a great impression upon the three estates, who were favourable to his cause; but on this occasion they too were of opinion that by far too much was required from the poverty of the country. Since the last war with Russia, sterling money was rarely to be seen in Sweden, the national stocks had recently fallen to 60, and yet the king called upon the estates to impose three new and heavy burthens upon the kingdom. They were called upon to discharge the costs of the last war, to contract debts to the amount of 34,000,000 of dollars, and to place the king in a situation to enter upon and carry out his crusade against France. The last object was to be effected by consenting to become guarantee for the repayment of the loan of the 12,000,000 of roubles offered by Russia. That this loan was destined for a mere adventure may be seen from the words under which the object was concealed: "*It shall serve to make the execution of certain plans possible.*" This last proposal however was from the first so hateful even to the two lowest estates, that the king soon found it advisable to withdraw the proposition. The other affairs of the diet were kept in obscurity because there was nothing but resistance.

The king and the crown prince, then thirteen years of age, were constantly present at all the consultations of the secret committee of the estates, where all the questions to be submitted to the assembly were previously discussed and digested, and in which the debates were led by the king in person. It is by no means necessary to the object of our general history to follow out all the movements and discussions which took place in the committee, nor to attempt to bring to light what was designedly involved in darkness; we refer to the whole affair merely on account of the result and its immediate consequences, both of which may be clearly pointed out without any closer examination of the authorities. As to the result, it was found necessary, after four weeks' trial, to dissolve the diet, without even having brought any of the chief demands of the king before the *plenum* or full assembly of the estates. With regard

to the consequences, a report was generally circulated immediately after the 24th of February 1792, the day on which the diet had been dissolved, that the king had it in contemplation to change the ancient constitution of the kingdom according to four estates. All the Swedes whom we have consulted on this subject, of whom two were Finlanders belonging to that part of the province now incorporated with Russia, and one a distinguished and well-informed member of the high nobility, blessed the memory of Gustavus for this idea alone, because they had a strong conviction, that this cumbersome constitution was the root of all the evils of the country. We must however leave it undetermined, whether Gustavus, who was about to take the field as the sworn champion of the middle ages, really thought of thus destroying one of its fundamental principles. However this may be, the effect of the report was precisely the same as if the design had been carried into effect; the nobility became daily strengthened in the opinion that their privileges and rights could only be preserved by getting rid of the king.

The nobility of Sweden were now precisely in the same condition and reduced to the same dilemma as the democrats in Paris; the person of the king was the obstacle in the way of both; neither could attain their object as long as the king was alive, nor could the obstacle be removed in a legal way. A murder, such as was thought of in Sweden, or the excitement of a rebellion and the erection of a tumultuary tribunal like that of the convention in Paris, could never have been confided to any considerable number of persons, because both are revolting to humanity. For this reason only a very small number of democrats in Paris, and only certain members of the nobility in Sweden were initiated into the secret of the designs against their respective kings, although all looked on quietly and occasionally promoted what they called the *good cause*. It is however indisputable that a much greater number of the Swedish nobility were aware of and participators in the design of assassinating the king, than of democrats in Paris, or even members of the convention, who at the time in which Louis XVI. was to be judicially murdered, were acquainted with the proper views and intentions of the ringleaders. This is obvious from the events of the day on which the votes were delivered in the convention concerning the fate of the unfortunate king.

According to the best authorities with which we are acquainted,

seven-eighths of the Swedish nobility were delighted at the murder of the king, but only a very small number of them were cognizant of the plan projected by Ankarström for the execution of the deed. The names of the most distinguished of those who were associated with Ankarström in this regicidal plan are given below in the note on the authority of Arndt*. The other conspirators were aristocrats of that stamp which are called *Carlists* in Spain and France, people who are so blinded by their prejudices as to the nature of crime as to be entitled to some excuse; Ankarström on the other hand cherished a petty, but for that very reason an irreconcilable private hatred against the king. As a disbanded captain, he had been once placed under arrest, and afterwards it is true set at liberty, but he could never pardon the king for not having suffered him to be brought before a court that he might be judicially acquitted.

Counts Ribbing and Clas Horn together with Ankarström had bound themselves by a solemn oath to despatch the king, and had already made vain attempts to realize their object at Gefle; they proved more successful in Stockholm. They selected the night between the 16th and 17th of March 1792, in which there was a grand masquerade at court, to shoot the king, and resolved, if the shot missed, to stab him. The three chief conspirators drew lots to determine the man who was to do the deed; the lot fell upon Ankarström, who executed the plan with gloomy resolution and a determined spirit of revenge; the wound was mortal. The pistol was loaded with three balls, which struck the king in the back, but he survived fourteen days (till the 29th of March) and established a regency, which prevented all thoughts of a revolution.

The assassin boasted of the deed; and he continued to do the same when he was afterwards publicly exposed on the pillory as a regicide, scourged and executed. The nobility derived little

* As we can only refer to this Swedish history in as far as it is absolutely necessary in consequence of its connexion with the general history of Europe, we refer our readers with perfect confidence to Arndt's 'History of Sweden under Gustavus III. and Gustavus IV.' He states: "General count Pechlin, then in the seventy-second year of his age, was the soul of the conspiracy for the murder of the king. Associated with him, and probably as the cold-blooded planner of the scheme, left to the execution of younger men, was Freiherr Thule Bielke, who poisoned himself before the investigation, Jakob Engeström, councillor of the chancery, and his brother, and finally many officers, of whom Posselt as well as Arndt expressly names three. These were Von Liliehorn, lieutenant-colonel of the guards, major von Hartmannsdorf, and adjutant von Ehrenswärd."

if any advantage from the murder, for the citizens of Stockholm were enraged to madness, the three other estates embittered, and the duke of Sudermannland, how equivocal soever his conduct in the last Russian war may have been, when placed by the king at the head of affairs, was supported by counts Wachtmeister and Oxenstierna, and generals von Taube and Armfelt. The king's murderer was discovered by a dagger of a particular description which he had dropped in the room, and which the cutler who made it proved to be the same which he had made upon Ankarström's order. Because Charles of Sudermannland was now for a time at the head of affairs, a much milder course was pursued towards these noble and distinguished regicides, than was usual with respect to plebeian criminals who had been guilty of much smaller offences. Ankarström alone was executed; Horn, Ribbing, Liliehorn and Ehrenswärd were banished, and Pechlin and Engeström were sent to a fortress.

§ III.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

At the time in which the news of the murder of the king of Sweden reached Paris, the French were already aware that the part which Gustavus would have gladly played was to be entrusted to the duke of Brunswick. In the same month in which this event happened, Francis II. succeeded his brother Leopold in the government, and was easily prevailed upon to carry out what Leopold had promised, threatened and agreed upon, without having been really serious in his intentions. Leopold on his return from Italy and accession to the throne had taken the same pains to announce a reaction against Joseph II.'s liberal views of government, as Frederick William II. did in Prussia to make it universally known on his accession, that both in religious and political questions he was determined to leave the way which Frederick II. had trod. In religious affairs especially, he appeared from the very first resolved to return to the times of Frederick William I. Leopold's first steps infused such general joy into the whole of the Bohemian nobles, that his coronation was solemnized in Prague with unlimited magnificence, and many families, to do honour to the event, involved themselves

in overwhelming debts. The papists also, and especially the ex-jesuits, had made Leopold happy. He restored to cardinal Migazzi all that he had been refused or deprived of by Joseph, in order that he might again employ his influence in the suppression of knowledge and cause an edict to be published respecting the censorship of the press, which was precisely of the same character as Frederick William II.'s notorious edict on the subject of religion. The edict was equivocal, and in that respect strictly resembled the character of Leopold himself, and the whole of his conduct both in home and foreign affairs. On the one hand, it is true, it did not revoke or abolish the liberty of writing and reading books of every description, which Joseph had conferred, but it so limited the privilege as to render it completely useless. All public criticism upon the decrees of the government, all examination or discussion of ecclesiastical and theological questions were strictly forbidden, if they disapproved of what was established in church or state. This shadow of freedom was left in existence under the reign of Leopold, but it wholly disappeared under Francis.

Leopold had brought with him from Tuscany a very perfect system of secret police; his means of espionage had been there so complete, that he was immediately made acquainted with the most secret remarks which fell from the lips. Count Sauer, who was at the head of this institution, afterwards brought spies and informers into honour, and professors and journalists were employed as bloodhounds and calumniators. Among these, the first place in distinction must undoubtedly be assigned to the ex-jesuit Leopold Aloys Hoffmann; and unhappily it must be admitted, that Von Gemmingen, who was chargé d'affaires in the Palatinate, and whose name has been mentioned among the number of good German writers, had a very great share in those journals whose business it was to calumniate the friends of truth and freedom. Hoffmann was aided in this dishonourable occupation by professor Wallerot, who was looking for Sonnenfel's situation, and afterwards by Lorenz Leopold Haschka and Carl Hofstätter. These people had their own reasons for terrifying Leopold with the scarecrow of the Propaganda of the French jacobins, as Bischoffswerder and his clique had theirs for investing the king of Prussia more and more with the mist of their delusions and phantasmagoria. By such means Leopold and Frederick William, as early as the time of the convention of

Reichenbach, had become united for a struggle against the new ideas of the age, as far as these were disseminated from France. Both had resolved to attack those ideas, if necessary with arms, and to stop up the source from which they sprung. The promise which Leopold had been obliged to make on his coronation, to support the cause of the German princes with all his power, furnished them with the excuse for armed preparations against France, which had deprived those princes of their privileges and properties on the French soil, all of which had been secured to them by express treaties.

The cause of the injured princes was brought before the diet of the empire in May 1791; Prussia and Austria were not deficient in the use of strong language, but neither Frederick William nor Leopold had any inclination to commence a war. The affairs required to be all previously arranged in secret negotiations between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and afterwards between these courts and the camarilla of Bertrand de Moleville and the queen. King George and his cabinet only took an indirect and concealed participation in these intrigues, whilst in parliament all hostile feelings towards France were strongly repudiated and denied. In Prussia, Herzberg stood particularly in the way of the obscurists and enemies of France; he was still presiding over the department of foreign affairs, notwithstanding the unequivocal intimation of the king that he would be well pleased with his retirement from office, and the various means adopted by the king and Bischoffswerder to make his situation uncomfortable. When at length it was seriously resolved to aid the king of France, and to enable him to throw off the obligations which had been imposed upon him, it was necessary that Herzberg should be absolutely dismissed. He was offended in every possible way; his plans were frustrated; the knowledge of what was going forward in Vienna was carefully kept from him: still he remained firm in his office. At length he submitted to the indignity of having count von Schulenberg-Kehnert and baron von Alvensleben forced upon him on the 2nd of May 1791, as colleagues in his department; and in order to compel him to retire, they proceeded still further. Under the pretence of relieving him from a portion of his labours, he was forbidden to open the despatches from Vienna. This induced him to take his leave. He would however have been earlier removed from office had not king Frederick William been in some doubt during the early months

of the year 1791, whether he might not be able to set some bounds to the rapidly increasing power of Russia by following Herzberg's policy and forming a closer union with the French constitutionalists. The representations of the French emigrants, and the plenipotentiaries of the unfortunate king and his wife, turned the scale, and he decided against the more reasonable policy. The account of the labours and anxieties of the king, queen, and princes to secure foreign aid is as follows:—

At the close of the year 1790, the king of France sent major-general Heymann to Berlin, who was favourably received by the king of Prussia; at the same time he wrote to the council of the emperor Leopold (December 1790), to the empress of Russia and the king of Prussia that notorious letter, in which he fully expressed his dissatisfaction with the constitution which he had sworn to defend and maintain, and stated his wish for a general congress. In his letter to the king of Prussia, in which he introduces the baron de Breteuil as his plenipotentiary, he observes, That he had written to the emperor of Germany, the empress of Russia, and the kings of Spain and Sweden, and proposed that the great powers of Europe, having first set on foot a great armed force, should meet in solemn congress to discuss and settle the affairs of France. It is added, that this scheme appeared to him the most likely for success, because by such means alone the *rebels* could be restrained from going still further. These rebels now appeared to be desirous of annihilating the small remains of royal distinction and prerogatives, and this measure was to serve to restore the general and much-wished-for order, and prevent what in this letter is called *our plague* from spreading to the rest of Europe. Strict orders were at the same time given to keep this step absolutely secret. The king of Prussia entertained the proposal and wrote to the emperor, who indeed affected great zeal, but, because he was not so courageous as the king, suffered himself to be guided more by cold and calculating policy, than by the warm zeal of fanaticism. After his Italian fashion, he put off the affair by expressing a desire to draw the circles of the empire, Spain and Naples, into the plan.

Although Herzberg was still at that time nominally at the head of the cabinet, yet major-general Bischoffswerder, the confidential friend of the king, his mistresses and creatures, was exclusively entrusted with all such secret affairs as these; Bischoffswerder now came upon a new idea. The king was not to

form an alliance with Leopold, but with Russia, and to assist the king of France with an army; this plan however was neither acceptable to Montmorin nor king Louis, and therefore the previous scheme was again adopted as early as March 1791. The course of these secret negotiations served to expose the miserable nature of all governments and administrations which conduct public affairs in obscurity and secrecy and allow themselves to be influenced by personal views. The favourites and plenipotentiaries of the royal family of France, by whom they carried on these cabals in foreign countries, were actuated by the most different views and interests; all were afraid that one might have more influence than another, and they hated each other cordially. Calonne negotiated in the name of the count d'Artois; Stephen count de Dürfort represented the queen; and baron de Breteuil king Louis. The last-mentioned had been sent to Berlin, from whence he used all his endeavours to counteract the views of the other two.

The emperor Leopold had no serious intentions of commencing the war of the revolution, nor had the empress of Russia, and for this reason both willingly allowed the knightly king of Sweden to assume a prominent lead. Since December 1790, the emperor in the name of the diet had made numerous representations to the French relating to the injuries inflicted on the German princes, and the violation of stipulations and treaties which it involved. The French government replied, that the German princes in question were French vassals, and whatever was inflicted on them in that character did not concern the German diet. The emperor, having communicated this reply to the diet, not only called upon the empire to take up the cause of the princes, but also laid claim to the assistance of the king of Sweden, in his character of one of the guarantees for the peace of Westphalia. The king received the communication from the diet, reminding him of his obligations in consequence of the peace of Westphalia, just as he was about to set out on his journey to Aix la Chapelle, and to wait for king Louis on the frontiers of France, in order to conduct him back to Paris at the head of the emigrants and other troops. At the same time, Leopold and his notorious sister queen Caroline of Naples were travelling together in Italy, whither Calonne and the count d'Artois went also, with whom was associated count Stephen de Dürfort as the representative of queen Marie Antoinette. Dür-

fort had at first gone to Brussels with letters of introduction from the queen to her aunt the arch-duchess Christina, and went to Italy apparently with nothing more than powers from the arch-duchess. The king of Prussia had also despatched thither his mystical friend and adviser major-general Bischoffswerder; but the whole result of these consultations was nothing more than empty threats, which were very injurious and could profit nothing. On the 18th of May, the emperor made a declaration in Pavia, that he and his allies would use their best endeavours to oppose French politics, their consequences and effects.

Before Leopold issued this provoking declaration, which was very disadvantageous to Louis XVI., without having adopted any measures whatever to give it effect, lord Elgin had been invited to the conferences, and declared that Pitt and king George approved of all that the others resolved, although they could take no official part in the resolution. Lord Elgin was afterwards also present at the congress which the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries held with the emperor in Mantua. In that city Calonne submitted to the parties then present a plan of active military operations, which was corrected by the emperor himself, although he entertained no serious idea of engaging in such a war. Grenville afterwards boldly affirmed in his place in parliament, that no such project as far as England was concerned had ever existed. In order that he might be able to do this without fear of being convicted of falsehood, precautions had been used in Mantua to employ the king's name merely as elector of Hanover. The result of the congress was, that on the 20th of May 1791 the emperor wrote a circular, which was afterwards regarded as a document calculated to prove the accusations made against Louis, for it was used by persons who wished to bring him to an account for his flight. This circular, as well as the threatening declaration issued from Padua on the 6th of July, was proposed by the same emigrants who in the following year drew up the miserable manifesto of the duke of Brunswick. That no treaty was concluded either in Mantua or elsewhere to give effect to these threats appears to us certain from many other circumstances, but especially from the eventually threatening declaration of the third act of the intrigue, the imperial circular issued from Padua on the 6th of July*.

* “ Les principales puissances sont invitées à s'unir à S.M.I. pour déclarer à la France, que les souverains regardent tous la cause du roi très-chrétien

An inquiry into all the negotiations which were at that time carried on with Leopold does not belong to the succeeding history; we have only to do with the facts and with what came to light; and so far as we know, from the time of Herzberg's removal, the king of Prussia, and the mystical and licentious people of both sexes by whom he was surrounded, were much more zealous in the cause of fanaticism and darkness than the emperor. This was the particular care of the mystical and juggling major-general to whom the king left the regulation of everything, and who had previously been guilty of the meanness of delivering up to the emperor the whole of the correspondence which the malcontents in Hungary in the reign of Joseph, when excited and encouraged by Prussia, had carried on with the king of Prussia. Leopold was too cold and too deeply imbued with Italian caution to give way to passion. No one was called to account for these letters, except count George von Festeticz, and he was kept in arrest only a very short time. Bischoffswerder had scarcely returned from Italy when he was sent to Vienna, where he entered upon negotiations with Kaunitz, who was vastly his superior, and had very different notions of priestcraft from his. The treaty of alliance between Austria and Prussia, which was concluded by them on the 25th of July, has never been published*.

It is obvious that in this treaty the cunning Austrian cabinet profited by the desire of the king of Prussia to play the same character in France which the duke of Brunswick had played in the Dutch revolution, in order to induce Russia to conclude a peace with the Turks; it is declared that the congress concerning the affairs of France should be postponed "*till Russia had*

comme la leur propre, qu'ils demandent que ce prince et sa famille soient mis sur le champ en pleine liberté, qu'ils se réuniraient pour venger avec le plus grand éclat tous les attentats ultérieurs quelconques.....qu'enfin ils ne reconnaîtraient comme lois constitutionnelles légitimement établies en France, que celles qui seront munies du consentement volontaire du roi jouissant d'une liberté parfaite; mais qu'au contraire, ils emploieront tous les moyens qui sont en leur puissance pour faire cesser le scandale d'une usurpation des pouvoirs qui porteroit le caractère d'une révolte ouverte, et dont il importeroit à tous les gouvernemens d'Europe de réprimer le funeste exemple."

* Bertrand de Moleville gives a minute account, but he can only be used with great caution. Whoever is disposed to inquire into the subject of the conferences and agreements in Padua and Mantua, will do well to consult the 'Pièces Justificatives' appended to Ségur's 'Vie de Fréd. Guill. II.,' or 'Tableau Politique de l'Europe,' &c. The passage referring to this subject will be found in vol. ii. pp. 325—331.

made peace with the Turks." As soon as this event took place, then a defensive alliance was to be concluded among the chief powers of Europe. Just at this moment, however, an understanding was come to respecting Poland. Russia was prepared to conclude a peace with the Turks; Leopold therefore made concessions with regard to the time of holding the congress, and the meeting was accordingly fixed for the 25th of August. The elector of Saxony, who neither agreed with the two powers in respect to Poland nor France, was invited to join the congress, and was very unwillingly obliged to grant the use of his castle of Pilnitz for the place of meeting. Before the emperor went to meet the king of Prussia at Pilnitz, he caused an address to be issued through the diet on the 17th of August, in which the circles of the empire were exhorted to make preparations for arming. The electors Maximilian Joseph of Cologne and Clement Wenzeslaus of Treves opened their states to the emigrants, who collected and organized an army in and around Worms and along the banks of the Rhine, but at the same time they contrived to expose themselves and their associates to the contempt and dislike of the whole world in Schönbornslust near Coblenz, and in this city itself by their licentious conduct and dissipated habits brought with them from Versailles.

The king of Prussia also invited Carl Joseph of Erthal, elector of Mayence, to come to Pilnitz, and to bring with him a plan of operations; Frederick William followed his licentious course of life in Pilnitz as he was accustomed to do in Berlin, and entrusted the whole direction of the intrigues and cabals to Bischoffswerder. The two monarchs were also accompanied by their successors, and the emperor was besides attended by baron von Spielmann, a diplomatist who had been brought up under Kaunitz, and who therefore well understood how to make an admirable use of the mystical blindness of the king. He pretended that he and the emperor were as blind enemies of every innovation, and as full of hatred against heterodoxy and democracy, as the king and the major-general really were; but all this meant in reality nothing more than the adoption of the best means by the emperor and Spielmann to realize the plans of Austria respecting Poland and the Turks. It would appear indeed after the celebrated resolutions of the congress of Pilnitz, in which threatenings were launched forth against France, as if it really had been the intention of the sovereigns immediately to

commence the crusade which had been threatened by Burke, and to hasten to the assistance of the feudal nobility and the priests; but there is a degree of hesitation lurking behind the threats which dispels the illusion. Besides the *thens* and *in case thats*, there still remains the limitation, that under no circumstances shall a campaign be undertaken against France till Austria and Prussia have come to a clear understanding with each other respecting Poland and the Turks.

They had not reckoned upon the presence of the count d'Artois; for although Frederick William might have found the count's mode of life and the cabals of Calonne not irreconcilable with what was carried on by himself and around him in Berlin, Leopold had at an earlier period absolutely forbidden either the one or the other to show himself in Vienna, and used some such expressions with regard to Calonne as Frederick William I. respecting count Görz, the minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, when he commanded him to leave Berlin in twelve hours, "*because he was likely to make a Brouillamini among his ministers.*" The count however relied upon Prussia, and arrived uninvited immediately after the first conference of the two monarchs in Pilnitz. The suite of the French prince consisted of Calonne, the marquis de Bouillé, general Flachsland, the duke de Polignae and the prince of Nassau-Siegen. Spielmann and Bischoffswerder were entrusted by the two monarchs with the composition of a declaration, to be issued in their joint names, whilst they themselves made a visit to Dresden. The count d'Artois contrived to have Calonne associated with the ministers of Prussia and Austria in the execution of this commission; but all his exertions proved vain to introduce some sentences and expressions in his style into the manifesto, which was dictated by the emperor and reduced into form by Spielmann. On the return of the monarchs from Dresden, however, the cabals of those were attended with success who in 1789 and 1830 destroyed themselves and the Bourbons by their blind and reckless hatred against all enlightenment and public liberty. The threatening and untrue phraseology introduced at the conclusion of the manifesto was Calonne's invention, recommended by the French to the Prussians, and forced by the latter on the adoption of the emperor. It is as follows: "Their majesties have resolved, with one accord, to render every assistance in their power for the restoration of monarchical power in France, by the employment

of the necessary military means, and will therefore immediately put their troops in motion in order to be in a condition to use them." The prudent elector of Saxony refused to attach his name to a manifesto thus concluded by phrases from the manufactory of a Frenchman notorious for his falsehood and deceit.

The whole conference in Pilnitz was a mere mystification of the European public; but it was attended with the most dreadful and ruinous consequences to the nations. The emperor immediately afterwards completely repudiated the articles which were there said to have been agreed upon, and the English ministers declared loudly and solemnly in parliament, that they knew nothing of the congress of Pilnitz. The author of the 'Contributions to the History of the Lives of Joseph II., Leopold II. and Francis II.,' which appeared in 1800 (year 8 of the French republic), whose accounts authenticate themselves, says however, that Leopold himself, after having obtained the consent of Russia, Spain, and the Italian powers, told him, that the points which Martens gives as such were really articles in the treaty of Pilnitz*. England also declared that she fully approved of all that had been agreed upon, with the exception of the resort to force of arms. She would have nothing to do with a war for principles, with which they threatened France; and if there were no questions of *meum* and *tuum*, she would remain neutral, in the spirit of all those practical souls whom Dante excludes both from heaven and hell because they are concerned about themselves alone.

The empty, equivocal and indefinite declaration of Austria and Prussia proved irremediably ruinous to the king of France and the monarchy itself, in consequence of the increased insolence of his brothers, who were then residing and carrying on their debauchery and revels in Schönbornslust near Coblenz. At the very moment in which Louis accepted and swore to maintain the constitution, his brothers publicly declared that he had

* Marten's 'Recueil,' vol. v. p. 36.—1. The powers were to use all their influence to abolish the new and injurious constitution, and to re-establish the old one. 2. The originators and promoters of the revolution were to be visited with a signal punishment as a terror to Europe. 3. Austria and Prussia were to be indemnified for the costs of the execution by portions of the French territory. 4. Prussia and Austria mutually bound themselves to render each to the other all necessary aid in case of disturbances in their respective countries.

sworn falsely. They asserted that the king, so far from approving of the constitution, would heartily support the armaments which were being set on foot by the enemies of France against the kingdom, as soon as he was out of the influence of the estates and his people. Immediately after the declaration of the two great powers, there appeared the well-known manifesto of the two princes issued from Schönbornslust in the form of a letter, and to which we have often referred*; and the emigrants continued to urge on their military preparations against their country. Under a commission from the princes, Bouillé travelled to Sweden and Russia, because Leopold was by no means willing to take the field in their cause. He hastened to Petersburg, where he soon perceived, that although promises were abundant, no reliance could be placed on any very active measures; in Sweden, on the contrary, he found the king eager and zealous for the adventure, if he had only the money to meet the expenses. This led to the negotiations with Prussia to which we have previously referred, and which hastened the assassination of Gustavus.

Bouillé in his *Memoirs* frankly expresses his regret, that the beautiful plan which he and the king of Sweden had at that time carved out for reducing the rebels, that is, the great majority of the French people, to subjection, had been so unseasonably prevented by Ankarström's deed of violence. According to this chimera, Russia was to land from 30,000 to 40,000 men near Dunkirk, which were to be placed under the command of king Gustavus and the marquis de Bouillé; Spain was to contribute to the expenses of the expedition, and all those Frenchmen who were dissatisfied with the new order of things were to unite with this force. Whilst the Swedes, Russians and emigrants were to advance from the north direct upon Paris, the Piedmontese, Spaniards, Germans and Prussians were to cross the frontiers of their respective territories and overrun the whole country. In fact battalions of the army of the French absolutists were at that time recruited and organized with foreign or borrowed money at Ettenheim, Worms, and in the territories of the electors of Cologne and Treves. Sweden and Russia were

* Although the "Déclaration du Roi de Prusse et de l'Empereur du 27 Août 1791" appears in all works on the revolution, we may observe, that it is also to be found among the 'Pièces Justificatives' in part ii. of Ségur's 'Tableau Politique de l'Europe.' There also may be seen the 'Lettre des Princes Frères du Roi,' which fills twelve closely-printed pages, pp. 340—352.

the only countries which would not receive or acknowledge even the notification of the constitution approved by king Louis.

The fanatical democrats in Paris availed themselves of the folly of the emigrants, the illusions of the princes of Europe and the weakness of the king, who had openly approved and sworn to maintain a constitution against which he secretly protested, in order to raise suspicions against the whole monarchical system, and particularly against the men who had founded this system anew by means of the constitution. This was the more easily accomplished, as the constitutional members of the national assembly or the whig nobility among the French laid themselves open to exposure at a great many points. These public men, Lafayette and a few others excepted, as early as October 1791, began to lament the loss of the quiet enjoyment of their rank and their property, the pleasures of the court, the conversation and literature of their saloons, and the meetings of men of learning, virtuosi, academicians and parasites in their castles; that is, they began to be filled with dread when they looked at the wild chaos from which the new social world was to be formed. These distinguished friends of freedom now first began to feel, what they had forgotten in the tumult of the sittings of 1789 and 1790, and during the enchantment of the incense which filled Necker's saloons, that the emigrants in every respect stood in a much clearer relation to them than the great mass of the people did. This fact by no means escaped the attention of the organs of the new age, and they preached up the total uprooting of the whole of this old, lordly and distinguished generation, because otherwise the new and common generation could never spring up.

At the time in which the purer republicans had the power in their hands, this conviction guided the course of action of such men as Pétion, Barbaroux, Condorcet, Lanjuinais and Grégoire, and such women as the wives of Roland and Condorcet, and at a later period Charlotte Corday; for of such women as the countess Genlis and her young pupil Louis Philippe of Orleans, we shall not speak, although the latter even then visited the clubs, and in his journal destined for Genlis and now printed, he praises those men who at that time were desirous of putting off for a while the interests of right, justice and morality, in order to carry through the regeneration of the nation. The weakness of the originators of the constitution, who at this time

were betrayed by the king, hated by their own friends and relations, who had fled from the country and were threatened with death by both the republican factions, may be best learned from the rhetorical loquacity of the good old Lacretelle respecting himself and his situation during the revolution*. At the time of which we are now speaking, Lacretelle was private secretary to the duke de Rochefoucault; he informs us of the kind of society which assembled around the duke on his estates, and reports the conversations which were there held at a time when resolute decision was absolutely necessary, and boasts of the folly of the constitutional nobles in collecting around the king at the Tuileries, with a foolish enthusiasm almost equal to that of those who were really friends of the old *régime*. Half-measures, absurd sentimentality, courtliness and dress swords,—what miserable weapons against the rage of the people and the storm of giants! What the emigrants and princes effected by their threats and warlike preparations, and the constitutionalists by their anxieties and servile and courtly importunities, that is, by their affected fidelity, will be seen from a hasty glance at the state of affairs in Paris.

As soon as it became evident in 1792, that the new order of things could only be maintained and a return to the old effectually prevented by a complete subversion of things, by the excitement to action of the usually indolent masses, the expulsion of all the higher classes of society, and the introduction of the lower into their places, principles of justice and morality were necessarily suspended; men alone were capable of effecting this change who were dead to all feelings of shame and possessed of a degree of clever audacity which set the opinions of the wise and good at defiance. The constitutionalists attached themselves to the emigrants or to the king, who was allied with foreign powers against his own people, and was ready to employ their armies for the subjection of France; the republicans of a milder caste, and therefore the majority, were obliged to resign the conduct of affairs to those who were able to rouse and inflame the minds of the savage and ferocious mobs. The jacobins, properly speaking, were as little able to do this as the girondists; Robespierre could only do it through Marat, who, although capable of

* See Lacretelle's 'Dix Années d'Épreuves pendant la Révolution,' (Paris and Leipzig, 1842,) chap. iii. pp. 55—72.

using language suitable to the end, was not a man of deeds and violence; this fell wholly to the lot of the Parisians who thundered in the Palais Royal and the wine-shops, or who, like Camille Desmoulins and Danton, set on fire the passions of the *Cordeliers*. The most enlightened, and partly at least morally incorrupt men, such as Manuel, Pétion, Condorcet, Buzot, Grégoire and very many others, among whom may be even ranked Barrère, who only became desperate when he wished to remain at the helm, favoured murder and crime only as a means and not as an end. They believed that by such means they could again bring to a state of repose the fearful engine which they themselves had set in motion. In this they made a grand mistake; the stream whose dam they had broken swept them to destruction. It was only cold, thoughtful, envious and vulgar men, such as Barras, Fouché, Merlin, Cambacères and Sièyes, that is, diplomatists, who reaped the harvest of the revolution, as diplomatists usually do, and enjoyed the fruits of what their courageous colleagues had gained by their strength or had sown by the shedding of blood. The crowds of the people, the masses of criminals who collected in Paris, were obliged to be used as instruments to destroy and uproot everything old, in order that the soil might be left open for the free growth of the new; and these people could only be roused to action by speeches which make the blood run cold. This was well known to Camille, Danton, Marat, Féron, Hébert and others, and they alone were listened to in 1792.

Blind superstition and wild infidelity, ridiculous and extravagant feelings of penitence, feticism and mechanical devotion always lie slumbering beside one another, with a total forgetfulness of God and the most audacious crimes in the minds of the masses,—a fact established by the history of the Eastern nations of all ages, as well as by the history of our own times, and by everything which took place and is now taking place in Cologne, Treves and Bavaria, and therefore the masses are alternately ruled by jesuits and cordeliers. The former are now gathering thousands to their standard by low, degrading and demoralizing superstitions; the others, in the period of whose history we are now treating, tore up the very seeds of religious poetry from the hearts of the people by means of absurd, wicked and blasphemous spectacles. We mention this matter in this place, once

for all, incidentally, as we shall only hereafter very briefly notice these revolting scenes, which are to be found described in so many other works, and merely in as far as they may be necessary for the object we have in view. The numerous idealists among those who excited all this republican clamour, not only among the girondists, but even among the men of terror, Robespierre, and St. Just himself not excepted, properly speaking, only wished to root out the old civilization to make room for a new. They perceived too late that this was impossible, and they had followed a delusion. The savage and wicked men, the criminals, whom they were obliged to employ, because they shared the coarse enjoyments of the masses, frequented their haunts and orgies, and were masters of their language and modes of thought, were merely regarded as machines. The most of the republicans were therefore able to serve Buonaparte afterwards with a good conscience, as converts, without being subject to the imputation of being either renegades or venal. Marat and Robespierre were indeed never converted; even Camille Desmoulins however shrunk back when he perceived into the hands of what sort of people he had thrown the power of the government by the advocacy of his kind of freedom, and Danton himself became weary; otherwise he would have been able to maintain his ground. We cannot altogether overlook everything which has been reported of Danton and his end; for careful and scrupulous examination has taught us, that in Paris the anecdotes, speeches and sentimentality of the republic and the empire have been pointed and trimmed in circulation and believed like the legends of the holy garment. They bear the same relation to history as the anecdotes of Plutarch. But although Danton's last words may have been invented for him, they still have a foundation in truth. The man who had been guilty of corruption, murder, spoliation and treachery, is made to announce with prophetic and patriotic inspiration, at the moment of his execution, that his name would become immortal for having, by the perpetration of great crimes, rooted out the old abuses, when this could be effected by no other means.

§ IV.

HISTORY OF GERMANY AND FRANCE TILL THE INSTITUTION
OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The dissolution of the old order of things in France was followed with considerable rapidity by the introduction of the new ; but the establishment of the relation of the several authorities, and the interference of the one with the other, required time, and was also intentionally delayed, because there was a desire to prevent the success of the constitution. In the meantime arms had been placed in the hands of the whole people ; the poorer class, who were merely armed with pikes, by the reception of the citizens into the national guard, were converted into a kind of ochlocratic army. By the union of the jacobin clubs in every city, town and village with the parent club in Paris, the last was raised to a dreadful central authority of the ochlocracy, and even a species of tumultuary justice and police was exercised by the presidents of the clubs, sections and communes. Although the course of demagogy in Paris and the relation of the different democratical parties has been already explained in the first division of this volume (§ I.) till the month of March 1792, we must however return to the subject, in order to place in a just light the connexion of the new ministry forced upon the king by the European monarchs.

As early as September 1791, Prussia and Austria were ready to repudiate all that they were said to have resolved upon and threatened at Pilnitz, and the emperor even went so far as to cause a new circular to be issued, in which he in some measure recalled everything which he had previously declared, because the king of France at that time had formally and solemnly recognized the new constitution*.

* The emperor declares : “ His majesty desires to inform all the courts to whom his first circular from Padua of the 6th of July was sent, and together with them Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Portugal, that the relations of the king of France which gave rise to that circular are now changed, and he therefore feels himself compelled to communicate his views to the above-mentioned powers. His majesty believes it may now be properly assumed, that the king of France is free, and that consequently his acceptance of the new constitution and everything else which he has done must be regarded as valid. He trusts that this acceptance will tend to restore better order in France, and will contribute to the promotion of moderation, according to the wishes of his most christian majesty,” &c. The threat however still remains at the conclusion :

Notwithstanding this, the emigrants, king Gustavus III., Catharine II. and the marquis de Bouillé still continued busy. On the 19th of October the treaty concerning the army which was to be sent to the aid of the emigrants was concluded in Dronningholm, and Gustavus appointed count Oxenstierna, and Catharine, Romanzow, who was afterwards chancellor, and the son of the field-marshal of the same name, to be their respective plenipotentiaries to the princes at Coblenz. This hastened the steps of those men in Paris who were engaged in embittering the magistracy, the inferior authorities and the legislature against the king and against the aristocracy of the departmental administrations. The imprudence of the king of Sweden, and the pretended zeal of the empress of Russia in the cause of the emigrants, who continued to threaten an invasion, lightened the difficulty of introducing and carrying into effect the measures against the nobility and nonjuring priests, which have been already mentioned (§ I.).

The legislative assembly placed their decree of the 1st of January 1792, which has been already referred to, and in which the punishment of death was pronounced against every Frenchman who did not immediately leave the armed assemblies of the emigrants, in direct opposition to those promises which the empress Catharine had made to marshal Broglio, and of which the marshal's companions were in the habit of boasting. The violent members of the legislative assembly further grounded their complaints against Delessart and his colleagues, particularly on the fact of their being fully cognisant of all that was going on in Sweden, Prussia, Vienna, and among the emigrants, and that they for that reason protracted the negotiations with the emperor and the German empire. The diplomatic committee of the legislative assembly, it was said, from the desire of gratifying the minister, delayed their report on their relations to the emperor and the empire, and the preparation of the report, which had been at first entrusted by the committee to Koch, was finally put into the hands of Brissot.

This occurred just at the time when the emperor Leopold,

"His majesty believes that the powers to whom he has applied will not recede from their threatening measures, but watch the progress of events, and declare, through their respective ministers in Paris, that *their alliance still continues*, and that they are prepared, on every needful occasion, to maintain the rights of the king and the French monarchy."

the king of Prussia, and finally, the estates of the empire forbade the formation of an emigrant corps on the territory of the empire, and the emperor punished some emigrants in Brussels who had insulted the French national colours.

The emperor wished by all means to avoid the appearance of desiring to make war on France on account of the emigrants, and therefore he merely insisted upon the restoration of their ancient feudal rights to the German princes, counts and barons ; this however was impossible. The French at that time still continued to offer pecuniary compensation ; duke Charles of Deux Ponts, his brother and successor Maximilian Joseph, the duke of Wirtemberg and the prince of Löwenstein Wertheim were however the only claimants who entertained the proposal ; the others relied upon the emperor, who had indeed shortly before granted assistance to the elector of Treves. The French government had threatened the elector with hostilities, in case he did not remove the troops assembled by the emigrants from his territories before the 15th of January 1792. On this the emperor replied to the French, that in this case, field-marshal Bender, commander-in-chief in the Netherlands, had orders to assist the elector, but he also at the same time required him to remove the emigrants from the frontiers.

The king of Prussia, although he did not declare his opinion with greater decision than the emperor, nevertheless showed much more clearly by his conduct how strongly he was attached to absolutism and the abuses of the olden times, and therefore determined to extend military assistance to the king of France, the princes and emigrants, against the whole body of the nation. In his own mind he had already fixed upon the duke of Brunswick as commander of the army destined to operate against France ; he retained major-general Heymann, who had been sent as ambassador to Berlin from king Louis and his brothers, in his own suite, afterwards took him into his immediate service, and openly distinguished him above the ambassadors who had been sent to him from the constitutional French ministry. The French ministers at first sent monsieur de Ségur, a man of the highest rank, who had passed through all the various schools of human life, and for several years enchanted the empress Catherine with his conversation. On his return from Petersburg M. de Ségur had put on the constitutional dress, but, like most of his companions of the same class, did not on that account make

the smallest change either in his life, modes of thinking or manners; when however he was sent to Berlin, he was badly received by the king. If we may place any reliance on the marquis de Custine, who has recently published a book upon Russia, this almost brought him to the determination of cutting his own throat, as it is stated in the work just mentioned, which however cannot be regarded as historically trustworthy; he was however by no means politely received* by the king at his first audience on the 12th of January, whilst Heymann at the same time received the most friendly attentions from his majesty. In fact his proposals met with no favourable reception either from the king or his ministers, Finkenstein and Schulenberg. This did not occur, as the insipid marquis alleges, and seeks, by an authentic anecdote, which however has no foundation in truth†, to prove, that the nature of the reception arose from a particular and personal dislike to Ségur, in which case we would not allude to the matter, but it was in reality an intentional political demonstration against the constitution. Who could have been better calculated for an ambassador to the court of Frederick William than Ségur, a man who had proved so suitable to Catharine and her successive personal favourites? *Personally*, Ségur afterwards found himself comfortable enough in Berlin, and even suffered himself to be deceived by the attentions which he received.

Towards the close of January he saw clearly that he had been deceived, for it was expressly stated to him in Berlin, that Prussia must absolutely decline such a union as that which he proposed with new France, and was determined to co-operate cordially with the emperor. This induced Ségur to apply for his

* "Do not attack Austria, and leave Germany in peace, and I will not make war upon you."

† We shall here refer to a passage of the '*Russie en 1839 par le Marquis de Custine*,' Paris, 1843, in which he relates this unknown anecdote concerning this subject, but to which we can give no credit, for the single reason, that the marquis alleges that Ségur immediately took his departure, and that his father had replaced him. This young man (Custine) came to Berlin on a special mission, nor can Ségur have lost the favour of Frederick William by a note which he sent in from Catharine; for he remained till the end of January, and brought the grand commander von Maisonueuve in consequence into dis-favour with the king, by employing him to write a letter to his majesty dissuading him from the war, but afterwards found a support in the chevalier de Boutlers, so that he remained agreeably in Berlin, till he perceived that attempts were made to deceive him by pretended favour.

recal. Before Ségur's departure from Berlin, the constitutionalists who then ruled public affairs, Talleyrand, De Staël, Rochefoucault and others, who had also made Narbonne minister of war, had sent another young and liberal marquis to Germany. The marquis de Custine, who was then scarcely twenty years old, (father of the author of the work on Russia, and son of the hussar who marched against Mayence,) had been directed to proceed to the duke of Brunswick, in order to turn his inclination towards the French and his personal vanity to some political account. He was commissioned to offer to the duke, with the full acquiescence of the oppressed king of France, the supreme command of the French army, with the same unlimited power which had been formerly exercised by marshal de Saxe. The duke, it is true, was far too prudent to accept the offer, and answered somewhat contemptuously, that he was sorry he could not entertain their proposal, because he had already accepted the chief command of the Prussian army. Before Dumourier declared war against the emperor, he made another attempt by sending young Custine again to Berlin, because he knew how strongly the duke and prince Henry were attached to the French, their loose literature and its masters, such as Marmontel, Diderot, &c. The second mission was a failure as well as the first; we see however, on this occasion, why the men of the people in Paris wished to know nothing of the liberality of the nobility, and why they were disposed to place as little confidence in the young and liberal courtiers as they had previously done in the old and illiberal ones.

Young Custine on his arrival in Berlin found madame de Sabran, his mother-in-law, already there, in the character of an emigrant, violently embittered against the government of which he was the representative, and who importuned him to remain with her in Prussia. Instead therefore of fulfilling the object of his mission and prevailing upon prince Henry to promote the views of Dumourier, count Kalkreuth, the confidential friend of the princes, strenuously urged him to separate himself from the cause of the plebeians and to join the patricians and princes. Custine indeed returned to Paris, but he and his compeers were as little able as Noailles to gain the confidence of a people who were striving after an ideal perfection, and at that time full of zeal, because, as Dumourier very justly observes, the plebeians soon saw

that these gentlemen of good tone looked upon them with contempt*.

Dumourier immediately perceived that he had still need of the co-operation of the deputies and magistrates who were like-minded with himself, that their time however was over, and that he must secure the most powerful among the jacobins, because his own friends and their colleagues the girondists could never be induced, like Robespierre and Danton, to prefer policy to morality. Dumourier at first appeared on the stage of politics as a constitutional royalist, who had approximated to his colleagues the girondists because they were the mildest and most moderate amongst the numerous republicans; he even suffered himself to be recommended to the king by the unconditional royalist Laporte, who managed the bribery department of the civil list; Laporte however saw through his plans and gave warning of the danger of employing him†.

On Delessart's fall, Dumourier very skilfully contrived to push himself into the diplomatic department, although, properly speaking, he had been only called to Paris to undertake a command in the army, because at that time all the older and more experienced officers were among the emigrants. He came to Paris as a lieutenant-general, because, in the beginning of the year 1792, three armies had been assembled on the frontiers of the kingdom. The first, on the northern frontier, was placed under the command of Rochambeau, the second under Lafayette on the Moselle and Meuse, and the third under Luckner in Alsace and Lorraine. Dumourier was destined for a command under Luckner in Metz, but he contrived to recommend himself to Genoué the girondist, who promoted his views as a diplomatist. It was found impossible to choose a friend of De Staël, Talley-

* Dumourier, on whom we rarely place confidence, in reference to this point, says very justly:—"L'assemblée législative était couverte de ridicule par les anciens constitutionnels, chefs du club des Feuillans, qui croyaient, en la perdant, se faire rappeler et (that was the thing) *établir le système des deux chambres à l'instar de l'Angleterre*." (La Vie et les Mémoires du Général Dumourier, vol. ii. p. 149.)

† This *Intendant de la liste civile*, whose accounts of the immense sums employed for anti-revolutionary purposes were found in an iron safe and printed, and whom Dumourier, who was his friend, brought into the ministry in 1792, in a letter to the king of the date of March 1791, writes as follows: "Avec cela, Sire, Dumourier est révolutionnaire;" and at the conclusion of the letter: "Quant à Dumourier il a de l'esprit, beaucoup de caractère, des talens, je crois le pendre à V. M. en lui disant, qu'un homme de cette trempe peut être ou fort utile ou fort dangereux."

rand and Lafayette; the distrust of the republicans towards such men as Lameth, Beaumetz, Duport, Noailles, Narbonne, Ségur and others, was very strong, and there remained therefore very small room for choice for a situation which required some practice and a knowledge of the great world. When Dumourier received the ministry of foreign affairs, the tone towards the emperor is said to have been changed, and limits had been set to the subterfuges of a cabinet headed by Kaunitz by decision on the part of the French. The chief complaint made against Delessart was, that he remained a quiet observer of the conferences of the foreign powers respecting French affairs, and that he did not dare to make known the warning and exhortatory notes which he had received from Kaunitz from Vienna, whilst Austria and Prussia were concluding treaties to overrun France with a military force.

The king of Prussia had sent Bischoffswerder to Vienna, who there concluded a treaty on the 7th of February 1792, the articles of which moved the indignation not only of Brissot and his party, but of Lafayette and his friends! They were indignant with their own ministry, because they found no *casus belli* in these articles. It was determined by the first, fourth and fifth articles of that treaty, that Austria should raise an army of 180,000 and Prussia of 60,000 men, with a view to aid the king of France in the recovery of his monarchical privileges and rights. In another article it was declared, that the same powers which had thus beforehand condemned the new French constitution should hold a congress to which all the bitterest enemies of innovation should be invited, in order to determine what rights and what constitution the French people were to be allowed hereafter to enjoy. This treaty was not blamed as anti-revolutionary, as was afterwards done by Dumourier; Delessart and his colleagues paid so little attention to it, that France proved just able to maintain herself in her new relation by audacious boldness, and even quietly submitted to an offensive political sermon which Austria addressed to her.

The French minister had at length made complaints respecting the proceedings of the two allied courts, the answer to which had been long delayed; on the 17th of February, however, Kaunitz caused a somewhat threatening and, at all events, an offensive declaration to be published, which was said to have been dictated by Leopold himself to his chancellor, but of which it

has been very generally believed that a copy was really sent from Paris to Vienna. It was said that the king had consulted many of the monarchical members of the constituent assembly, among whom were Barnave and Duport, and that they, in order to terrify the republicans by the name of the emperor, had reduced their monarchical views into the form of an essay, which was sent by the queen to Brussels and from thence to Vienna, and that it was then delivered by Kaunitz to the French ambassador as the production of the emperor. We cannot decide the question, whether this note was really the production of the camarilla of liberal royalists in Paris or not; the paper itself however more resembles a sermon than a diplomatic note, and is itself a proof that it could neither have proceeded from the emperor nor Kaunitz. Delessart ought by no means to have remained silent on the receipt of a note in which prince Kaunitz took upon himself to prescribe to the French nation what they ought to do, and what leave undone. Dumourier informs us, in a manner indeed peculiar to himself, of the way in which he contrived to force himself into an acquaintance with this diplomatic correspondence, and availed himself of his knowledge to obtain possession of Delessart's office by means of the republicans. This report of Dumourier's, even in the form in which he himself presents it, is so remarkable in connexion with the history of the event in which he was the chief actor, that we must notice it at greater length.

Dumourier was acquainted with Delessart, Duport and other royalists, and therefore states that when the debates in the legislative assembly respecting Delessart and his constitutional colleagues had begun to become stormy and threatening, he regarded it as his duty to force himself into the confidence of Delessart (*il force la confiance de Delessart*). He further alleges, that on this occasion the minister showed the notes of the Austrian chancellor of state and the answer which Noailles had returned: that he then inquired whether the whole affair had been made known to the committee for diplomatic affairs appointed by the legislative assembly; to which he replied, "Yes!" "If this be really the case," said Dumourier, "you are lost if you do not immediately demand the restoration of the papers, lay before the committee an energetic answer to the insolent declarations of prince Kaunitz, and promise them henceforth to employ a very different tone towards the emperor." That is, in other words, Dumourier charged the mine which was laid against

the ministry of his friend Gensonné, and which was afterwards sprung by Brissot.

He even states, that he was the first to predict the overthrow and annihilation of the monarchical friends of freedom ; but that he afterwards also soon perceived, that in such stormy times he should not be able for any length of time to maintain the mild, just and honourable republicans, who had at that time received him into their ranks. He admits too, that he was the only one in the ministry of which he became a part who had at all approximated the most violent section of the jacobins. Degraeve, Lacoste and Duranton had never belonged to the dreadful club in which Marat reigned and Robespierre become renowned as an orator ; Roland and Clavières had been members of the club, but never visited it as ministers ; whereas Dumourier, on the very day on which he was appointed to office, appeared in the club and mounted the tribune adorned with the dreadful red cap which was chosen as an emblem, being that worn by the galley slaves. Dumourier had no sooner gained admission into the ranks of the ministry than he assumed a warlike attitude, and the French ambassador in Vienna was directed immediately to assume a harsh tone, although Dumourier assures us that he had no intention whatever of provoking a war by the new instructions which he sent to the ambassador. He rather hoped, as he alleges, to have been able to preserve peace, because the agent whom count Metternich (the father of the present ruler of Austria) had sent to Paris negotiated in a very different tone from that which was adopted by the cabinet of Vienna. Prince Kaunitz at once characterized the new French ministers as *jacobins*, because they refused to enter into a previous understanding with him as to the subject-matter of their notes, as their predecessors had done, refused to hold any further immediate intercourse with them, and directed all future communications to be made through the vice-chancellor of the empire, count Johann Philipp Cobenzl. The vice-chancellor Johann Philipp at that time played a no less important part in Austria than his half or whole old French cousin Louis Philippe afterwards did, who in our century concluded the peace of Luneville. Menneval gives us a full description of the latter, which is almost equally characteristic of the former : he was sprung from the same old French school and had the same principles, or rather want of all principle ; both were trusted with the most important

affairs of Austria during the war of the revolution ; and when we are made acquainted with the character of these cousins, we shall no longer be surprised at the mischances which befell the Germans, with whose interests these half-Frenchmen were entrusted : for this reason we subjoin Menneval's words in a note*.

Dumourier states, that the republican ministry required Noailles to enter no further into the discussion of Cobenzl's subterfuges, but to assume an uncompromising tone, and that on his declaration that he could not adopt such a course, he resigned his office. Noailles, according to Dumourier, demanded permission to retire, either because he was dishonest in his views, or was too timid for the duties which devolved on him, which was regarded as so offensive by the legislative assembly, that he was threatened with prosecution. Before however Noailles received any notice of the decree passed by the national assembly, or M. de Maulde, who had been named as his successor, had left Paris, he retreated from his first bold step, and not only resumed the business which he had renounced, because he was dissatisfied with the commands of the new ministry, but actually took the decisive step which he had been commanded to take. He had now no further immediate intercourse with Kaunitz, the vice-chancellor, in his character of director of the domestic and public archives, had undertaken the management of foreign affairs, and to him Noailles delivered the decisive demand prescribed to him by Dumourier.

From the beginning of March, the reins of government had been assumed by Francis II., and many proofs given to the Prussian major-general, who remained in Vienna till the 5th of April, that, as was the case with his father, he did not merely

* Menneval, in his '*Napoléon et Marie Louise*,' Brussels edit. vol. i. p. 34, writes as follows : " M. de Talleyrand connaissait déjà M. de Cobenzl, ayant étudié le droit avec lui et avec M. de Choiseul Gouffier à Strasbourg, sous le professeur Koch ; " and p. 44 : " M. de Cobenzl savait par cœur nos poètes, et principalement nos auteurs dramatiques ; il répétait des scènes comiques avec une verve, qui approchait de la bouffonnerie ; il organisait de petits jeux, des charades ou des tableaux en action, où il avoit toujours un rôle, et dont les secrets du premier consul (he is speaking of the peace of Luneville) étaient les premiers personnages. M. de Cobenzl parlait le français sans accent ; *il n'avait d'Allemand que le nom*. Quoique louché, gros, gras et court, ses manières étoient agréables et gracieuses. Sa conversation était en général superficielle et abondant en saillies, son esprit était plus ingénieux que profond. Il affectait une vivacité et une égalité d'humeur que trahissait souvent une préoccupation soudaine."

pretend to wish to undertake the monarchical crusade, but that he was really in earnest on the subject. Notwithstanding this, so few measures of preparation had been taken, and the proverbial delays and indecision of the Austrians were carried to such a length, that the new ruler still continued to declare, that his army would only take the field in case of any hostile aggression on the part of France. The good Francis, immediately after his accession to the government, showed what was to be expected from the new government, by entrusting the administration of affairs to persons who had given him that description of education, knowledge and taste which we shall describe. In the same manner as the emperor Leopold on his accession had immediately dismissed Joseph's privy council, Francis immediately appointed the men who had been his advisers when archduke to fill the offices of his father's councillors. This select cabinet, which was henceforward to guide the vessel of the state through the greatest political storms which Europe had ever experienced, under circumstances the most difficult possible, and although her sails were torn and her hull worm-eaten, was composed chiefly of count Colloredo and baron von Schloisnig.

Colloredo was the dynast, who in the character of high steward had superintended the emperor's education. He was now appointed a cabinet-minister, and baron von Schloisnig, whose services he had previously employed in what he called education, as his cabinet-councillor. An account of the education which Colloredo gave to the good emperor Francis, and of the pleasures in which he and his second wife, the princess Maria Theresa of Naples, spent their time, will not be at all calculated to give any very favourable impression either of the penetration of the new emperor, or of his talents and taste. It is said that Colloredo entrusted the archduke to the care of baron von Schloisnig and the ex-jesuit Diesbach, and they, in order to amuse, interest, and spare the weak mind of their good-natured, but purely practical pupil, had wholly occupied his time and attention with the construction of beautiful bird-cages, the preparation of various descriptions of varnish, and the application of those various productions of art to ornamenting the furniture. These laborious studies were interspersed with various amusements for the relief of both pupil and teachers, in which they exercised themselves in leaping over the tables and chairs, and in the intellectual game of blindman's-buff, till Joseph II., whose apart-

ments were immediately below those occupied by the archduke and his teachers, was obliged to forbid the noise. After such an education as the emperor's, and that of the Neapolitan, which was still worse, for her father was a mere rude sportsman, and therefore the *ideal* and idol of the lazzaroni, the anecdotes which were circulated concerning the amusements and pleasures of the imperial pair not only found believers, but were admitted into the public journals. In their family concerts, the emperor is said to have played the wooden fiddle, which in Vienna was called "*das hölzerne Gelächter*," and his wife the bass. They acted among themselves "the Begging Student" (*Bettelstudent*), and the empress is reported to have said, that this pleased her much better than the tedious and tiresome "Emilia Galotti." We have merely mentioned one or two of a thousand such anecdotes which were in circulation, but we introduce them solely because they are evidence of what was then, and has always since been thought and said of the emperor. With all this, his heart was good, his natural sense and tact in later life sound, and his disposition admirable.

In this way, on the commencement of the new reign, the whole management of public affairs fell into the hands of Colloredo and Schloisnig, who were at that time called in Vienna *the two emperors*, and who, for the regulation of their dreadful police, availed themselves of the services of count Franz von Saurau. Colloredo, who was himself a member of the old Austrian aristocracy, soon discovered that it was a thing contrary to all the traditionary usages of the house of Hapsburg, that Schloisnig, who did not belong to the high aristocracy, should be co-regent; he therefore contrived to overthrow his power by means of the empress, and from that time forward that party possessed unlimited dominion, both in cabinet and councils, of whom Colloredo was the narrow-minded instrument. At first the empress too, who was a daughter of the wicked and imperious Caroline of Naples, had a seat in the council; but the influence and character of her mother soon furnished a pretence for excluding her from its deliberations. When this Neapolitan princess (in 1793) afterwards brought baron von Thugut (although he did not belong to the dynasts who domineered in Austria) into the place of Kaunitz, things became very bad; everything was venal, and the emperor a mere cipher. Under such an administration as

that of which Thugut was the head, no one can wonder that everything went amiss in Austria, and even shame disappeared.

This new cabinet of lovers of darkness and superstition, who were intimately connected with the emigrants by the ties of blood and similar views and interests, caused a circular to be addressed to all the allies of Austria and to the estates of Germany, concerning the respective pecuniary contributions and contingents of troops which they should be expected to furnish in case of a war; and Bischoffswerder, who had just then come from Vienna, entered into an arrangement with prince Hohenlohe, in Prague, to hold a conference with the duke of Brunswick in Leipzig, and there to concert a plan of operations. Whilst war-like preparations were carried on in Berlin with great zeal, the cabinet of Vienna, which entertained the most contemptuous and hostile feelings towards the plebeians then ruling in France, sent an answer to Dumourier's demands on the 18th of March, in a note, whose extraordinary contents may be learned from the passage of Dumourier's 'Mémoires' subjoined in the note. Cobenzl indeed did all he could, by every description of diplomatic subterfuge, to cover the hostile contents, which might lead to an immediate declaration of war, because he well knew how much time must yet elapse before Austria could seriously think of actual hostilities; Dumourier however played him a trick: on the 27th of March, the French minister received instructions from Paris to ask the vice-chancellor *whether the Austrian cabinet continued to adhere to the declaration of the 18th?* Cobenzl replied with offensive brevity, war was therefore unavoidable, and Dumourier, as early as the 20th of April, proposed to the legislative assembly to issue a declaration of war*. This proposal was received with loud rejoicings, and on the very same day, at eleven o'clock in the evening, the resolution was

* "Cette réponse étoit une note de M. de Cobenzl. Elle étoit sèche, courte, dure; elle imposait des conditions à la nation Française. Ainsi en cas que cette nation ne pût ou ne voulût pas accepter ces conditions, cette note étoit une vraie déclaration de guerre; et c'est en quoi le ministère de Vienne est inexcusable, si cette cour, comme elle l'a dit depuis, voulait conserver la paix et maintenir son alliance. Ces conditions étoient: le rétablissement de la monarchie sur les bases de la séance royale du 23 Juin 1789, par conséquent le rétablissement de la noblesse et du clergé *comme ordre*. La restitution des biens du clergé, celles des terres de l'Alsace aux princes Allemands, avec tous leurs droits de souveraineté et de féodalité, et la restitution au pape d'Avignon et du comtat Venaissin."

passed that the king should declare war. The decree was immediately drawn up, brought to the king, and confirmed by him on the following day*.

Whilst Austria, Prussia, and particularly the tedious and unwieldy empire continued to treat, write, and discuss among themselves, and to send their emissaries and diplomatists on journeys in all directions, at great cost, to settle matters which might have been arranged in two words, and to make preparations for a war, of whose issue they entertained no doubt, the French democrats immediately set the whole of their lively and warlike nation in a state of movement. Their object was, in the midst of the coming storm, to rid themselves of king and monarchy, of all the adherents to the old order of things, and with them of all half-measures, and for the moment to direct the whole power of the masses, neither separated by rank, condition nor property, against all the enemies of the revolution, both foreign and domestic. The foreign enemies gave time enough to prepare and digest their measures to those energetic men, who in the midst of this frightful anarchy wished to create a new system, and out of confusion to bring a kind of order. As soon as France came to a rupture with Austria, Prussia it is true immediately declared that she was ready to act in concurrence with the emperor, and would send an army of 50,000 men to the Rhine; this army however was long delayed, and advanced by very slow marches. As early as the 4th of May, the empire was also summoned by the newly-elected emperor Francis, and at the same time by the king of Prussia, to send the contingents of the respective states to join an army which was destined to defend the injured rights of the German princes and nobles against the French; as yet however no imperial war was declared, and a long time elapsed before it was actually declared, and even then the electors of Saxony and Hanover insisted on remaining neutral.

The supreme command of the allied Austrian and Prussian army destined against Paris was to be conferred on the duke of Brunswick, but as the king wished to take part in the campaign and to take with him the thoughtless Louis Ferdinand, it was seen beforehand, that such a perfect courtier as the duke would

* All the documents referring to this point, among which are Dumourier's analysis of Kaunitz's note, and Condorcet's explanation of the grounds on which the war was declared, will be found in the '*Pièces Officielles*,' which are appended to the latest edition of Dumourier's *Life and Memoirs as éclaircissemens historiques*. See vol. ii. Lettre F. p. 127, &c.

soon be reduced to the greatest state of perplexity. The army should have made a rapid advance in order to take advantage of the disorders in France, the relaxation of military discipline and disbanding of the regular army, the emigration of the old commanders and the inexperience of the new; instead of which, the helpless king and the good-natured newly-chosen emperor continued to delay and to hold secret councils and long conferences, the one in Berlin and the other in Vienna. The consultations in Vienna led to the determination to send the divisions of the army serving in Hungary and Croatia, and amounting to 45,000 men, to the Rhine; but no means of expedition were either devised or put into execution. In the secret state-council in Berlin, it was agreed upon between the duke of Brunswick, prince Hohenlohe, major-general von Bichoffswerder, and Von Schulenberg, minister of state, that the Prussian army also should appear on the Rhine towards the middle of May.

Prussia has always been remarkable for a superabundance of theoretical wisdom, and for that reason proved too often deficient in sound, practical understanding, and in tact, to profit by the events of the moment. Such was the case on this occasion; the duke of Brunswick was so thoroughly imbued with the principles of the seven years' war, that he approved of nothing which was not perfectly methodical; and it was not till after long discussions that any agreement could be arrived at, as to the point towards which the main army should be directed. Numerous journeys were undertaken and consultations held on this plan and on that, but no result effected.

The king himself drew up one plan of attack, the duke of Brunswick a second, and the marquis de Bouillé, as representative of the princes and emigrants, suggested a third. All of them however proceeded on the principle, that the Prussian mercenaries and noble officers who had become gray in a service distinguished for its love of spatterdashes and drill had only to show themselves in order to put the whole French nation to flight, as they and the duke of Brunswick had four years before scattered the Dutch cheesemongers, who called themselves patriots*. The king and the duke of Brunswick renewed their

* Bischoffswerder said to the officers of the general staff in Magdeburg, "Do not buy too many horses, the affair will not last long. The steam of freedom will soon cool down in Paris, the army of lawyers will be half destroyed in Belgium, and towards autumn we shall return home." The duke of Brunswick also said to the assembled officers, "Gentlemen, not too much baggage or expense; the whole affair is only a military promenade."

consultations in Magdeburg, without having come to any result even when the army was assembled and ready to march, and the king sent for the marquis de Bouillé because they could not agree. The marquis maintained that Paris was most accessible through Champagne, and that the march must be directed through Longwy upon Sedan and Verdun because these fortresses were both in a bad condition, and then the road from Verdun to Paris through Rhetel was quite open. The king approved of this plan, whereas the duke thought it directly opposed to all the principles of methodical strategy; but, like a true courtier, he acquiesced in the opinion of the king without giving up his strategical experience. The duke therefore followed one part of the plan, but he could never bring himself to resolve to give way to unsystematic rapidity. He always returned to the slow regularity of the seven years' war, and in the end neither followed the old nor the new system.

The emigrants received money for military preparations; the more powerful princes of the empire, particularly those of Hanover, Saxony, Holstein, and Swedish Pomerania, declared that war had only been declared by Austria, and that that did not concern the empire; it was found necessary therefore, as usual, to win over one circle after another to the common cause, and then each imperial prince, count, baron, abbot, and city, did as little as possible. William IX. of Hesse-Cassel stood in too near a relation to Prussia to enable him to withdraw from taking a share in the war, notwithstanding his remarkable avarice, but he exercised great hard-heartedness towards the emigrants, and in the following year admirably availed himself of the circumstances, according to the good old custom, to farm out his people to the English. The circle of the Rhine afterwards took the lead, and gave a good example to the others, and the circle of Bavaria followed; for Charles Theodore and his nobility were immediately inspired with zeal, when it was proposed to take the field in the cause of priests and nobles, and they had also a distant view to English subsidies. Mannheim was placed in a state of defence: it cost the Austrian minister, Von Lehrbach, very great trouble to stimulate the other circles to action and induce them to arm their contingents. The circle of Swabia in particular, which was full of imperial barons, small abbots, imperial cities, princes and counts, was very difficult to win over to the cause. No steps were moreover taken in the first instance but those of

preparation ; for the empire was anxious to confine its operations to a purely defensive system, and even that was not carried into effect. There was indeed no lack of consultations, for before the Prussians and Austrians marched to the Rhine, the coronation of the emperor was to be solemnized on the 5th of June, and new conferences to be holden, and then the king of Prussia and the emperor were to meet in person at Mayence. The commencement of the war therefore was delayed from the beginning of May till the middle of July*.

Whilst the powers were engaged in consultations respecting the intended campaign, and Germany for the last time was occupied with the ridiculous comedy of an imperial coronation, half descended from the usages of the middle ages and half composed of modern ostentation and ceremonies, in which princes, bishops, and imperial nobles played the chief parts, the French people felt the electric shock of patriotism throughout its whole system, and was excited to frantic passion against everything old, by means of popular assemblies, clubs, corporations, newspapers, and pamphlets of all descriptions. The second assembly of the estates, which was so hostile to the king, nobility and priests, made laws of a merely republican nature ; and however stormy, and sometimes ridiculous, the full meetings of this assembly were, like those of the constituent assembly by which it was preceded, and of the convention by which it was followed, yet it contained a great number of very intelligent and practical men in its committees. The journals of Marat and Fréron, and Camille Desmoulins' pamphlets, daily contributed to the destruction of the enemies of the people. Those who were not ready to make sacrifices to the popular frenzy, were at least obliged to concur in the most violent propositions made in the public sittings of the assembly, even against their own convictions ; and the ancient nobility and the priests were harassed and persecuted by intolerant and cruel laws.

As early as the 30th of March, two deputies (Quinette and Bazire), who afterwards played such conspicuous parts during the reign of terror, moved and carried a resolution, that all the estates of the emigrants, which had been confiscated since the 7th of February, together with the whole amount of their incomes, should be applied to the necessities of the state ; and

* On the 10th of July the king took his departure for Berlin, and on the 11th the emperor made his solemn coronation entrance into Frankfort.

two days afterwards, before this decree was confirmed by the king, all the secular and ecclesiastical *congrégations* were abolished, and every description of religious costume strictly forbidden. The paper named assignats, was ordered to be received as legal payment in the purchase of estates, and fixed at its nominal value; and although as early as the 24th of April it had fallen to one-third, the legislative assembly passed a decree on the 30th of April, sanctioning the further issue of 19,000,000 of livres in assignats, in order to secure the interest and co-operation of the innumerable speculators in public securities and property in this dangerous crisis of affairs. At the same time as the attempt was in progress to bring the possessions of the ancient holders of the state domains and ecclesiastical estates into the hands of another class by means of assignats, the old forms of law, administration of justice and morality were all for a time suspended. It is impossible to explain on any other supposition the laxity of the legislative assembly in failing to bring to just and condign punishment the perpetrators of the inhuman murders which had taken place in Avignon, where one party wished to maintain, and the other to root out, the old religion and government. The majority of the deputies were not indeed initiated into the mysteries of that secret policy by which the leaders of the movement were influenced, and by which France has received a new form, which renders all hope of the possible restoration of the old impossible: this majority therefore became terrified. This appeared when the odious and frantic Marat so excited the assembly in the beginning of May by his incessant and virulent attacks upon every friend of peace and order, that they impeached him as a criminal. He however found means of preventing the prosecution, by the instrumentality of persons of distinction and influence, who proved his friends on this occasion. By the principles of legislation on which men acted, all traditionary ideas of virtue and social honour were completely changed, because mere brute force and the perpetration of crime were employed as the instruments for founding a new order of things. It was announced in all the numerous journals, assemblies of the people, of clubs and magistrates, that in the time of a revolution, and in respect to the destiny of future generations, crimes and transgressions, as well as honours and merit, virtue and shame, will and must exist.

With a view of spreading terror, therefore, and of replacing the

ecclesiastical, royal and other exhibitions by processions of a different class, which would prove more acceptable to the rude sense of that portion of the people to which sovereignty was promised, and for a time apparently given, the absurd and offensive scenes enacted by Cloots and Marat and such men were temporarily endured. For this reason, the clamorers of the faubourgs were allowed to appear before the bar of the assembly, to fill the hall with the very refuse of the Parisian mob, assigned the honours of a sitting in the assembly, saluted with the kiss of brotherhood, and the red cap, worn by the most degraded class of convicts, adopted as the honourable distinction of the jacobin alliance for the promotion of liberty and democracy. The names of the deputies who were the proposers and influential advisers of the most violent measures adopted by the legislative assembly, furnish of themselves conclusive proofs, that all that which was so madly and criminally resolved and perpetrated in the year 1792 was no result of accident, but of the concerted measures of those energetic men, who in the following year raised a new edifice from the ruins of the dilapidated state, and upon the dead bodies of its friends and admirers. Bazire was the proposer and advocate of the law against the priests; Marat escaped the hands of justice through Danton's influence; and Collot d'Herbois not only threw his shield over the murderers of Avignon, but he proclaimed impunity for their crimes to all those who should assail the monarchy, when he caused the Swiss of the regiment Châteaueux, who had been condemned to the galleys, to be led about in triumph. Collot succeeded on political grounds in obtaining the liberation of eighty-seven men, who on the command of Jourdan *Coupe-tête* had committed the horrible massacre of Avignon, and overthrew the sentence which had been pronounced upon the Swiss by their own national tribunals. In the case of the Swiss soldiers, who in the previous year had robbed the military chest of their regiment in Lorraine, and committed murder and other crimes, they were not satisfied with procuring the reversal of the judgement, and threatening the judges with vengeance, but the weak king and the Swiss who had pronounced the sentence were accused as participators in the offence. This in fact amounted to a declaration, that the red cap of these condemned criminals was now to be regarded as the symbol of the new age, and that every crime committed against the old order of things was justifiable and right. On Collot's proposal, the assembly first passed

an act of amnesty, and then not only compelled the king to give his assent, but the very Swiss, who had pronounced the sentence of condemnation, to acknowledge the amnesty. At a later period these notorious criminals were conducted through France in triumph, and treated in Paris as martyrs in the cause of freedom*.

The enthusiasm for freedom operated at that time, as it appears, in the same manner as the enthusiasm for superstition and fanatical zeal worked in the time of the crusades and again works in our own days, or like the devotedness and sacrifices which were shown and made in the seventh century in the cause of the prophet of Mecca. The conduct of Grégoire, the constitutional bishop of Blois, whom the writer of this history so intimately knew and closely observed, that he can entertain no doubt of his piety, simplicity of purpose and integrity, must also be explained from the influence of this intoxication and the force of public opinion. This peaceful and kindly bishop at that time delivered an address at the grave of the murdered Simoneau, mayor of Etampes, from which we subjoin a passage in a note, in order to

* These no doubt were the views of Marie Joseph Chénier, who in company with the notorious Théroigne de Mericourt, David and Hion, addressed the magistrates, and proposed that a crown of honour should be placed on the heads of the convicts instead of a galley-slave's cap. His brother André Chénier on the contrary expressed himself very warmly in the 'Journal de Paris' against this disgraceful and scandalous affair. Danton, Pétion and Manuel, the last two undoubtedly men of education, were certainly of the same opinion. The workmen of the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau were only tools in this affair. The signal was given by the jacobin club in Brest, whither these galley-slaves had been sent. They were first led about that city in triumph as martyrs for freedom; then a deputation from the clubs in Paris appeared in order to accompany them on their journey to the capital. They were received with marks of public honour in all the cities on their way from Brest to Paris, and on the petition of the men and women, who have been regarded as the people of the faubourgs, the corporation of Paris consented to give these convicts a solemn public reception in the capital. The grand council, which was then aiming at the destruction of the king and the constitution, by a renewal of scenes of tumult and violence, first wished to be present *in corpore* at the public entry of the galley-slaves into the city. Pétion, the mayor, Manuel, *procureur de la commune*, and his deputy, Danton, and Paris and Sergent, the two jacobins then in the administration of the police, could not however carry out this plan, because the respectable part of the citizens were ashamed of the proceeding. The administration of the department tried in vain to prevent the whole ceremony. On the 9th of April the *Sans* appeared, adorned with crowns of honour, before the national assembly, were invited to the honours of a sitting, and on the next day conducted in triumph through Paris. The jacobin club surrounded the triumphal car, which was drawn by magnificent horses, and took its station on the *Place de la Bastille*; Collot d'Herbois sat in the midst of the triumphing convicts, and their red cap, the badge of slavery, became the symbol of honour among the all-powerful clubs of Paris.

prove that even lambs, when filled with inspiring hopes of golden times, were changed into tigers, and that a truly pious ecclesiastic could be brought to rave like Marat*.

From the wild and impetuous rage against nobility, monarchy, courts, and papistical priestcraft which then prevailed, must also be drawn an explanation of the fact, that men like Manuel, Pétion, Brissot and Condorcet went hand in hand for some time with Danton and his companions, and projected the plan of destroying the king, the monarchy, and all the adherents of the monarchical constitution, who were not to be reached in other and more legal ways, by a tumultuary rising of the people. This plan was to be first brought into operation on the festive triumphal procession in honour of the Swiss of Châteaueux, and the people were then clamorously to demand that the busts of the authors of the monarchical constitution, of Lafayette and Bailly, should be removed from the council-chamber of the Hotel de Ville. This was to be the signal for a general storm against king and monarchy, and therefore Collot d'Herbois used all his arts to whet and stimulate the passions of the blind multitude, whom he had headed in the procession in honour of the convicts; he urged them repeatedly to press their demands upon the municipal council, and persuaded them to have recourse to threats if their demand was not complied with and the busts removed. The friends of the constitution however were still too powerful for the republicans, both in the great and the small council, as well as in the national guard; and the enemies of public order perceived that the influence of the distinguished citizens of Paris upon the lower classes was far too great to suffer them to employ the people unconditionally as their tools. They therefore resolved to bring the very offscourings of the south of France and the Levant from Marseilles and the sea-port towns to Paris. This was effected by means of the immense power which the jacobin club had now obtained in the south, and facilitated by the cannibal rage with which the opposite and fanatical adherents of superstition and infidelity rushed to the strife.

* "Autrefois on faisait l'éloge d'un fainéant titré, d'un brigand couronné, aujourd'hui c'est la guerre de la liberté, de l'égalité contre les privilégiés, et c'est avec raison qu'on a crié, 'La guerre aux tyrans, la paix aux nations: il s'agit de broyer ces monstres, il faut que le sceptre des despotes soit brisé sur leur tête. Oh! avec quelle joie je porterais ma tête sur le billot, si à côté devait tomber celle du dernier tyran.'"

For some time the Swiss regiment, *Ernst*, had shown a favourable disposition towards the royalists and the adherents of the old forms, but it had at length been obliged to leave the country. This was followed by a long and obstinate contest between the favourers of the old and the friends of the new system, till at length the latter gained a complete triumph. Central and filial clubs were formed in all directions by the victorious party; and all the public authorities were obliged to succumb to the opinion of the club-leaders. Marseilles, Aix, Toulouse and Arles became the theatres of daily violations of law and order, and long before the constituted authorities had lost their legitimate influence in other departments, the sovereign people reigned supreme in these cities. The rabble, led by a number of more powerful demagogues, had obtained complete dominion in the cities which have been named, were in the habit of publicly abusing the king, threatened to hurl him from his throne, and despatched message after message to Paris to urge on the abolition of monarchy. The messages were admirably turned to the promotion of their views by the deputies from the south, who being generally rich merchants or celebrated advocates, exercised great influence over their liberal countrymen, and formed a staple article with the dreaded and dreadful journalists, such as Brissot, Gorsas, Carra, and Tallien in his placards (*Journal affiche*).

The rude power of the masses was to be employed for the visionary republic, by virtue of the clever theories of the zealots, precisely as military power had for a century and a half been employed in favour of absolute monarchy. Before however it was possible to overthrow all existing institutions, protected by their splendour, by hereditary prejudices, and a species of holy fear, monarchy and religion must be first trampled in the dust, and that appearance of sanctity which surrounds both completely annihilated. A systematic course was pursued for the accomplishment of this end, and from the system secretly followed by those who guided the current of events, it must be declared, that the most refined, intelligent and best-educated men, who abhorred Hebert and Marat, nevertheless cherished and promoted their plans. At the meetings of their clubs, these men suggested and called into life all the dreadful scenes which were enacted in the capital, the palace and the national assembly,—scenes revolting to every good and honourable feeling. We

look upon all this therefore merely as means for a momentary object, and pass over the details.

The first storm raised by those who wished to break down the supports of the monarchy piece by piece fell upon the clergy and the king's guards. As to the clergy, it had been early proposed that the administrators of a department should be at liberty summarily to eject any of the clergy from the department who might be accused by several citizens of originating disturbances, without summoning them before any court. The king had refused his sanction to this decree; but now at the end of May, when the monarchy itself was to be overthrown and the king forced to subjection, the enemies of king and priest returned to the charge. The same decree could not be laid before the king a second time; the proposal therefore was couched in a new form and was still more severe than before, because the king was to be constrained to action. Now it ran, that any twenty citizens of a department shall be entitled to require the administrators of the same to effect the banishment of any clergyman; and when these have sanctioned their demand, then such clergyman shall be expelled the kingdom; and if he does not leave the country, be liable to ten years' imprisonment. This measure at first appeared too cruel and severe to many republican members of the national assembly,—to all those who were not admitted into the secret aim of these proceedings; Henry Larivière therefore refuted them by a maxim drawn from the democratic oracle of that time. With Rousseau's *contrat social* in his hand, he proved that the author laid it down as a principle, that the catholic church, the foundation of which is intolerance, can never sanction religious freedom; and that therefore nothing remained except to deport the refractory priests. It was easy to be foreseen, that the king would be still further from approving of this decree than the former; and the men of the movement only wished for an opportunity of working upon the mass of the people, who had become as fanatical against priests and worship as they are now fanatical in their favour, and of turning the violence upon the king. The same was precisely the case with the clamour against the royal guard.

We have already stated that the courtiers, who universally injured the king by their servile officiousness, when they pretended to do him service, drove out all the sons of the respectable citizens who might be relied on from the ranks of the guards,

and instead of the legal number of 1200 men recruited some 4500, or, as Dumourier maintains, 6000 swords for the same service. We learn from the aged Lacretelle how imprudently the royalists acted in the organization of this guard and the selection of its officers, when he informs us, in his garrulous commendations of the duke de la Rochefoucault, how he and the other monarchical liberals thought they were acting when they collected as many nobles and men of the old school as possible around the king. It is only necessary to read the names recorded by the good old man to be persuaded, that the very presence of these people was quite enough to stimulate the fanatical populace to continually-renewed storms against the royal palace. This in fact really occurred, and with precisely the greater violence and frequency, as the guard, together with the Swiss, appeared superior to many thousands of an undisciplined mob. The guard therefore to which, by the constitution, the king was entitled, were contemptuously designated as a band of refractory priests or emigrants sent from Coblenz; and unhappily, according to Lacretelle, the description was not altogether unfounded*.

The persons who were the agitators and leaders in all these things were eagerly desirous of exciting disturbances within the palace itself, and the orators of the clubs did all in their power to sow dissensions between the royal and the national guards; when this failed of success, means were taken to provoke individual members of the corps. They no sooner appeared in the gardens of the Tuileries than they were scoffed and jeered at, and some were even compelled to draw their swords in self-defence, which was then charged upon them as a crime in all the newspapers of the day. It was said they longed to murder the people, and that these bands of anti-revolutionary cut-throats must be scattered if the cause of freedom was to be maintained. In order to hasten the execution of their plans, Pétion the mayor was obliged to put in circulation the report of a new flight meditated by the king, and two of the men who founded the reign of

* The passage here alluded to will be found in the 'Dix Années d'Epreuves pendant la Révolution,' par M. Ch. Lacretelle. Paris et Leipsic. Jules Renouard, p. 79. "La garde que la constitution avait accordé assez mesquinement au roi comptait non seulement des sujets fidèles, mais des héros dans son sein, puisque les Lescure, les Larochejaquelin, les d'Elbée, et beaucoup d'autres illustres guerriers de la Vendée en faisaient partie, et que le loyal et valeureux Brissac en étoit le chef."

blood in the following year, by the same means of terror which they subsequently pursued, constrained the legislative assembly to adopt a tumultuary resolution.

Chabot and Bazire played the leading characters in the committee of public safety, to which the national assembly had entrusted the administration of what was called the high police; these men, in order to be able to point to a conspiracy, induced two of the guards to make some communications respecting pretended attempts at corruption on the part of the royalists or constitutionalists; but having no success in this plan, they suddenly came forth with the news of a great conspiracy. The king, they announced with horror, intended to make use of the guards to facilitate his flight; the danger was imminent; and there was no other means of safety than in the appointment of two additional committees, who should unite with the committee of general safety, consult what was best to be done in this emergency, and finally report to a plenary sitting of the assembly, that the country was in danger. This produced the effect. On the 28th of May, Chabot and Bazire made their report in the three committees, and on the 29th all Paris was in motion; the friends of the existing constitution became objects of public suspicion and were closely watched by the people's police. On this occasion the first attempt was made to shake the foundations of the constitution by a general republican impulse, which was given by the national assembly. On the motion of Carnot, the sittings of the assembly were declared permanent; and also all the executive magistrates of the country, the councillors of the departments, districts and communes, were to remain constantly assembled, under pretence of being ready at any moment to adopt the necessary measures, but in reality to keep the people in a state of terror and to provoke a rebellion. This resolution was no sooner adopted than Bazire proposed to disband the royal guard and to re-organize it on a different footing. This was also decreed, because they wished to conceal the desire of depriving the king of his constitutional protection; but no one ever thought of executing the decree and restoring the guard.

At this time the whole of the ministry, with the exception of Dumourier, favoured the revolutionary measures which were adopted against the king and monarchy, and were anxious to call an army, or rather a promiscuous mob, from the south of

France to Paris. The marquis de Grave had now become minister of war, when Narbonne was no longer able to retain the office; he was rather a young man, and had been as frequent as Narbonne in his visits to the saloons of madame de Staël, where the *doctrinaire* politics of the originators of the untenable constitution were habitually discussed. He was in the confidence of Dumourier and acceptable to the king, but by no means equal to the difficult and responsible duties which devolved on him. After the lapse of two months he therefore resigned his office, and recommended to the king as his successor colonel Servan, who had been his chief assistant during the period of his administration of the war department. Servan was a man of noble family from Dauphiné, to whom Dumourier had no liking*, although he was intimately connected with madame Roland. This political intimacy furnished Dumourier with an opportunity of calumniating both, in a manner quite worthy of himself, his character and habits (*il jouait auprès d'elle le rôle d'un amant*). Roland was connected with Servan on political grounds alone, and in consequence of her fiery zeal in favour of republican theories and institutions. Servan, being a native of Dauphiné, had a very large circle of acquaintances, not only in his native province but throughout the whole south of France, and this suggested to him the idea of sending for a large number of violent republicans to Paris, under the pretence of making preparations for the war. Dumourier, who lost no opportunity of maligning Servan, says that the king, who was better acquainted with the man than he was, could not endure him; yet he had had the weakness not to resist his appointment to the war department, which he would never have sanctioned had the king given expression to his feelings.

The rage for freedom was greatest amongst the inhabitants of the south of France, who committed lamentable crimes under the sanction of this sacred name. Servan's idea of calling in the aid of these fanatics was closely connected with the foolish conduct of the count d'Artois, who had fled to Turin, and who, before he went to Coblenz, made various attempts to rouse into action the nobility of Provence and Toulouse. The count and his brother, both the king's brothers, were married to Sardinian

* Dumourier says, " Il avait l'extérieur d'un homme froid, réfléchi et austère; il était cependant doux et flatteur, mais son enveloppe simple et philosophique couvrait beaucoup d'ambition et d'insensibilité."

princesses, and the prince of Piedmont to their sister; the whole Sardinian territory therefore swarmed with emigrants, who, from Piedmont, Savoy and Nice, were industrious in sowing dissensions throughout the south of France. Their conduct was so light-minded and offensive, that even there they excited weariness and disgust; but when the count d'Artois had retired from Italy, Sardinia still remained inimical to the new constitution, and was already engaged in continual disputes with the new government; Dumourier was therefore at last obliged to come to an open rupture. The national assembly was at that time deluged with petitions from Provence and Dauphiné, urging it to action, because the insolent nobility of these provinces found a refuge and protection in Sardinia; the consequence was, that Dumourier assumed as bold a tone of defiance towards Sardinia as he had done towards Austria, and demanded a categorical answer to five decisive questions which he addressed to the Sardinian government.

The cabinet of Turin returned merely a diplomatic, evasive, and reserved answer, and the marquis de Sémonville was appointed to proceed to Turin in order to insist upon a decisive reply. The marquis had hitherto been *chargé d'affaires* in Genoa, and whilst there had kept up an understanding with the very numerous malcontents in the Sardinian states; the king of Sardinia therefore caused him to be detained at Alessandria on his journey. On the 26th of April, Dumourier made a very strong report to the national assembly respecting the course adopted on this occasion by the Sardinian government, without however proposing to make a declaration of war. Out of respect to the feelings of the king, and in consideration of the close family alliances between the two countries, Dumourier satisfied himself with breaking off all political relations with Sardinia, recalling Sémonville from Alessandria, and sending him as ambassador to Constantinople. This condition, which was neither one of peace nor war, continued till the Austrians and Prussians had pushed forward their troops into France, and then for the first time the king of Sardinia declared, on the 25th of July, that he was resolved to join the allied powers against France.

At the time when Servan undertook the conduct of the war department, France was therefore threatened from without and torn by dissensions within; the general opinion was, that the centre of all this treachery was in the Tuileries, that those who

surrounded the monarch were in close and constant correspondence with the army of foreigners and emigrants advancing against Paris, and that the country could only be saved by storming the Tuileries. The people, it was said, must destroy and root out their enemies, not even excepting the king, should he be found amongst their number. In order to render the execution of these views possible, the royal guards had been disbanded, but the national guard was still an object of fear; and in order to deter and overawe them, some thousand fanatics and criminals, on Servan's proposal, were to be brought from the south of France to Paris, under the pretence of taking advantage of the *fête* of the 14th of July for the defence of the nation. The pretence therefore was to bring together in Paris a large corps of volunteers, who might afterwards be sent into the field; the true design however escaped no one's attention. Dumourier states that Servan, because his views were obvious, neither communicated his proposal to the king nor to the cabinet, but arranged the affair among his friends the republicans, and then communicated the matter by letter to the president of the national assembly*. The proposal ran as follows:—"That on the ensuing July *fête*, five men equipped and armed should be sent from each canton of the whole kingdom to Paris, which body should afterwards be formed into an army and sent into the field." Every one was well aware that these five men would be everywhere selected by the clubs, corporations, and leading demagogues,—by the bitterest enemies of the monarchy; and therefore that this body of 20,000 men would constitute a republican army against monarchy, and form a counterbalance to that portion of the national guard who were attached to the constitution.

* The manner in which Servan's proposal was received by the idealists, who were carried away by their enthusiasm, will be best seen from reading Buzot and madame Roland, who were seriously captivated with the principles and theories of Rousseau. The manner in which the thing was represented to the Parisians may be seen in the second part of Barrère's 'Mémoires,' who states the matter as if he himself believed it. And the aged Lacretelle makes us fully acquainted with the views of the constitutionalists and their admired Larochebroucault, who was then at the head of the administration of the department. Dumourier, full of resentment against the Gironde, says,—"*Servan, homme très-noir et très ennemi du roi, imagina, sans consulter ses collègues, sans prévenir ni le conseil ni le roi d'écrire au président de l'assemblée nationale pour lui proposer un décret, afin de rassembler autour de Paris un camp de vingt mille hommes, de prendre pour cela l'époque de la fédération du 14 Juillet et d'en faire une armée centrale permanente, sous le prétexte specieux de maintenir la tranquillité dans Paris et d'assurer les travaux de l'assemblée nationale.*"

That this was really the plan may be clearly proved from documents printed at the time of the restoration, in the ‘Memoirs of Barbaroux,’ who was remarkable for his beauty and his republican fanaticism. This friend of Roland, who inspired Charlotte Corday with enthusiasm and was beloved by her, not only says that he had ordered up his Marseillaise, as they were called, with this view, but what he says was fully confirmed by the manner in which this July army was chosen. The king and the queen were therefore quite right in opposing the assembling of such an army, but the queen should not have been so imprudent as to denounce them as an army of vagabonds, which, according to the last edition of ‘Dumourier’s Memoirs,’ she is said to have done. The object of the proposal by no means escaped the attention of those members of the assembly who were of monarchical principles, and therefore, on the 8th of June, they offered the most vehement opposition to Servan’s proposition, and the republicans in consequence had recourse to perfidy. They waited till the night was far advanced and most of the members had departed, when they put the proposal to a vote, carried the question, and obtained the decree which Servan recommended and desired. The king refused to confirm the decree, and appealed to the general disapprobation with which it had been received; for as early as the 10th the king had been solicited, in a representation subscribed by 8000 citizens, to refuse his assent. In order on this occasion to be able to have some apparently good reasons for decrying the king’s exercise of his constitutional rights, the decree concerning the banishment or imprisonment of refractory priests was submitted to him at the same time, to which it was previously well known he would not assent. He was in fact dilatory, and madame Roland and that portion of the ministers who still held their consultations in her saloons, hit upon the unlucky idea of treating the king like a schoolboy.

Dumourier could not be persuaded to discuss any of the affairs of state in the presence of madame Roland, with whom he had completely broken, in consequence of the reproaches made by some of his colleagues at her suggestion, because, according to the usages of olden times, he wished to pay his mistresses out of the public treasury. Lacoste and Duranton had also withdrawn themselves from the influence of their colleague’s wife, which from that time forward became much more powerful over those

who remained. This clever woman was completely possessed with the idea that the king was conspiring against the constitution, and, filled with indignation at the thought, she wrote a letter, which her husband caused to be sent to the king by his colleagues, and partly couched in the very phrases and expressions which she had employed, in order to induce him to recall his refusal to confirm the two most hateful decrees which had ever been submitted to him for his approval. It is almost incredible how such thoroughly dry and prosaic men as Roland and his colleagues were, could ever think of subscribing and sending such a letter to the king in their own names,—a letter written by a woman who was continually dreaming of Athens and Rome, and Utopian republics. Madame Roland wrote well, but she considered the subject completely like a woman and personally, never taking into account either the rank, education, usages, or situation of the king, or the nature of the circumstances. In this letter she gave the king a severe lecture on his duties towards the people, poured out the flood of her resentment against those whom she rails at as priests and aristocrats, respecting whom the king however must have necessarily entertained opinions very different from hers, as she ought to have known, because his friends, relations and acquaintances were amongst the number. She reproaches him for favouring people who had never scolded him, as she and her republicans did, lays before him the catalogue of his sins, and tells him how often he had already broken his pledged fidelity*.

Three days elapsed without any reply from the king to this improper letter sent to him by his ministers; Roland then read the letter itself, which was merely calculated to work on the passions of the people, in the council and in presence of the king, on which his majesty replied, that “he knew not why he must submit to hear this letter a second time.” The king having continued to refuse his assent to the decrees, or to yield to the insolent demands of his ministers, they sent in their resignations on the evening of the 12th. On the morning of the 13th, they were informed of their acceptance by the king, because Dumourier now hoped to form a ministry exactly of his own views, and for that reason took charge of the war department instead of Servan; for Lacoste and Duranton also had declared against the

* The whole letter has been introduced by Thiers into the text of his ‘*Histoire de la Révolution Française*.’

latter, and against Roland and his friends. Dumourier found three men who were ready to undertake the offices vacated by the resignation of his colleagues, but he wished the king to follow his crooked paths; Louis XVI. however was too honourable for this. The acceptance of the two decrees, according to Dumourier, was absolutely necessary in order to calm the public excitement; but the king was to rely confidently on him and his colleagues, who by the manner of carrying them into execution would take care completely to frustrate the demagogues and their designs.

The king's assent to the decrees had now become indispensable, because the retired ministers had taken a most unpardonable step, and caused this bitter, passionate and exciting letter of madame Roland to be read in the national assembly, and the formal accusation against the king, which it contained, to be thus made public. The assembly manifested its approbation of the contents by unequivocal applause, ordered the letter to be printed and sent into all the departments, and thereby caused a universal commotion amongst the whole of that class which was at that time called the people in France*. The king adhered the more firmly to his resolution, as not only the royalists, who to his and their own misfortune always filled his antechambers, under the pretext of defending the king, but also the authors of the constitution, Lafayette for example, urged him at least to refuse his assent to the decree against the priests. This event led Lafayette to take upon himself to address a letter from his camp at Maubeuge, on the 16th of June 1792, to the legislative assembly of his nation, not less presumptuous in its tone than that which the girondists had previously written to the king in an opposite sense. This letter had the effect of destroying the whole of the general's influence for the time with the excited people, without being of the slightest advantage to the king†.

The king perseveringly refused his assent to the law against the priests, and his ministers therefore resigned on the 15th; Duranton and Lacoste alone attempted impossibilities for the king's sake. They found three men of constitutional opinions who were willing to unite with them, although it was easy to be

* Dumourier says with great justice concerning the circulation of this insulting epistle, "C'étoit diriger les poignards contre le malheureux prince."

† This letter will also be found in Thiers's History.

foreseen that this new ministry could not stand three days. In the meantime, Dumourier, according to his custom, had taken good care of himself. He had put into the army all the most violent jacobins and cordeliers, who were already become extremely hostile to the gentle and mild girondists and what they called their half-measures, and procured for himself a general command in the army, where he afterwards performed great things as a general and diplomatist.

In the meantime a formal insurrection of the lower classes in Paris was organized against the king and the new ministry. The republican ministry of the Gironde had made arrangements for supplying the insurrectionary committee of the communes, long since appointed, with money from the public treasury for the promotion of their objects, or to use an expression more agreeable to the ears of madame Roland and her virtuous friends, to enliven the patriotism of the people (*pour réchauffer le patriotisme*). This they did, and the secret committee of the jacobin club furnished the ways and means for the execution of the plan. Santerre, the good-natured brewer and friend of the duke of Orleans, set the faubourg St. Antoine in motion by means of his workmen; and because all the public authorities aided instead of obstructing the design, on the 20th of June a ragged and audacious mob was collected under the name of the *people of Paris*, by means of a vain pretext, and to the astonishment and alarm of all respectable persons. The celebration of the anniversary of the tennis-court sitting of the 20th of June 1789 furnished the pretext; this, it was said, should be commemorated by setting up a tree of liberty, and at the same time petitions should be prepared and presented against aristocrats and priests. On the morning of the 20th, about eight o'clock, crowds of women, children and vagabonds, accompanied by throngs of labourers, poured forth from the three faubourgs and directed their course towards the hall of the national assembly. Although the crowd dragged some pieces of cannon with them, and may have amounted to from 8000 to 10,000 men, it could easily have been arrested in its progress, if those in authority had so desired; but no means were taken for this purpose. This is deducible from the fact, that Pétion, the mayor, did not call out the national guard till it was clear that the proper object of the insurrection had failed; and further, that some of the most fanatical jacobins, as Panis, Sergent, Iluc and Patris, were

at the same time at the head of the city police and members of the jacobin insurrectionary committee.

Indecent and scandalous ensigns were borne on poles as banners before the clamorous and insolent throng, because it was intended to accustom the people to see all that had been previously respected and honoured, trodden in the dust with vulgar audacity. The first crowd before whom these savage standards were borne consisted of women, children, the very offscourings of the people, and low vagabonds with pikes in their hands. The second mass was headed by Santerre, and consisted of his national guards intermixed with pikemen; and the succeeding throng was led on by an artisan, whose voice enabled him to play the threatening orator on this and similar occasions. In fact Santerre and his colleague delivered addresses to the assembly according to their manner, when the crowds had forced their way into the hall, and then, to the astonishment of the assembly, led the mob through their chamber and marched directly to the palace to petition the king, as they alleged, to sanction the decrees. Had the city police called out the palace guard and been supported by the national guard, it would have been easy to have defended the closed gates, notwithstanding the crowd dragged along with them a few pieces of cannon, which were attended by men with burning matches; but no measures, either for the preservation or restoration of order, were to be expected from such people as Patris, Hue, and their companions. For this reason the king himself should have assumed a more determined bearing; but from fear of causing bloodshed, he caused the outer gates to be opened, on which the crowds immediately pressed forward into the palace, and without opposition or resistance, spread themselves about through all the chambers, of which they burst open the doors, and whither they absurdly enough dragged along with them the cannon, which had previously terrified the king. There was no energy either in action or word displayed by those who ought to have put down this wild and clamorous tumult.

On the king's command, the royal family were obliged to conceal themselves; he himself allowed the multitude to force their way into his chamber, where he was pressed into the recess of a window. In this situation he was constrained to remain for more than four hours, and to submit to the heat, rudeness, and imminent danger to which he was exposed from the pikemen;

this he did with an astonishing degree of passive courage, instead of which, in order to be able to commend him, it could be wished he had displayed a little more energy and active resolution. He was accompanied by his sister Elizabeth, whose temper, worthy of the early times of christianity, even the rudest honoured, and the aged marshal Mouchy, together with Santerre's antipodes, Acloque the brewer, who was present as chief of a battalion of loyal national guards. These two warded off the various pike-thrusts which first one and then another impudent or audacious fellow aimed at the king. The refusal to pass the decree against the clergy was the reason of this tedious imprisonment; the demand was frequently repeated during the whole of the time, but the king feared the terrors of retribution more than the threats of the mob, and remained firm to his purpose; but, on the other hand, he gratified the malicious joy of the jacobins by suffering the ancient and venerable monarchy of France to be symbolically trodden in the dust in his person. He submitted to wear the red jacobin cap, whose origin and use for galley-slaves he knew, and put it on his head; moreover he drank out of a bottle which an audacious vagabond forced into his hand. During this shameful scene, the national assembly played as contemptible a character as the mayor; for in the morning, when the clamorous multitude marched to the palace, the assembly adjourned its sittings till noon; and it was only when the deputies were re-assembled in the afternoon that they sent a deputation, consisting of twenty-four members, to the Tuileries. Acloque, and a battalion of the national guards of a quarter inhabited chiefly by rich citizens (*des filles de St. Thomas*), stood firm and remained true to the king; the guard protected the queen and her children, as Acloque their chief did the person of the king; and Pétion the mayor, with the rest of the national guard, first showed himself at the conclusion of this melancholy scene.

This day moreover was a day of delusion; for as no definite plan or object had been settled for the undertaking, nothing was really attained, and it even appeared at first as if the originators of the tumult would have effected precisely the opposite of that which they had intended to accomplish. The national assembly felt ashamed of being misused, and that they and the king had been disgraced before the eyes of all Europe. Paris, and all educated Frenchmen in the whole kingdom, felt indignant at

the manner in which freedom and the new constitution had been dishonoured by the very dregs of the people, who had been excited and led on by the profligates and criminals of the wine-shops. Lafayette ought to have taken advantage of the favourable moment, and by a resolute and rapid movement saved both the king and the constitution; but he proved that he was only great in laying plans and constructing phrases, while he was very little in execution and action. Rochambeau having resigned, he was at that time at the head of the army of the north: most of the departmental councils gave utterance to their abhorrence of the scenes enacted on the 20th of June; Rouen, Havre and whole departments publicly denounced the mischief which had been perpetrated; the national guard of Paris even complained of the conduct of the mayor, and declared they had been intentionally prevented from appearing at the proper time. Two petitions, signed by thousands of respectable names, were presented to the national assembly, beseeching them to take means to put an end to *such shameful wickedness*, as it was therein called.

The aged Lacretelle, in his small-talk respecting the revolution in his 'Dix Années,' &c., relates, what is deserving of attention, because he at that time held the office of private secretary to the president of the department of Paris (Larochefoucault). He states, that he will not conceal the fact, that one of the petitions against the scenes of the 20th of June was signed by 8000 and the other by 20,000 citizens, and that the public displeasure was so great as to cause the suspension of Pétion and Manuel for a time from their offices, because they had not fulfilled their duty. When afterwards, on the 28th, the cause of the constitutionalists was ruined by Lafayette's want of skill, the national assembly, which had been previously alarmed for their safety and power, now recovered resolution and drew the prosecution before themselves. On the 13th of July the two girondists were acquitted and restored, and on the following day (the 14th) they triumphed and insulted the king at the *fête* of the confederation. Lafayette grounded his plan of carrying away the king from the city and conducting him to Normandy, where the great majority belonged to the party of the monarchical constitutionalists, which was by far the strongest, on the general dislike against those who availed themselves of the assistance of the mob to promote their views; but he could not resolve to act with boldness and rapidity without first writing

and speaking much on the subject. The letter of the 16th already mentioned, and which was read on the 18th, had already excited a great dislike to his pretensions; his arbitrary departure from the army, his appearance in Paris on the 28th of June, and his speech to the assembly, before which he appeared uncalled, caused universal displeasure. All writers on the subject, and all the eye-witnesses with whom we have conversed, are of the same opinion, which Lacretelle has pronounced in his report of the character which he himself played at that time among the constitutionalists—that Lafayette, if he had immediately turned to the national guard after his arrival in Paris, might have played the same part for the maintenance of the constitution by their favour and assistance, which Buonaparte acted on the 18th Brumaire for his own elevation. He did not however turn to the national guard till he had failed in his speech before the assembly and with the king, and then indeed it was too late.

Lafayette assumed such a tone in the national assembly, that if he was not prepared to give effect to his language by force of arms, he must necessarily lose all his political distinction by his insulting conduct. He reproached them severely on account of the events of the 20th; demanded the suppression of the jacobins, whom he denominated a faction; and a return of the respect due to the constitutional authorities. His address excited a violent storm: proposals were made to arraign him because he had left the army without leave, and it was only with difficulty accomplished that the assembly should contemptuously proceed to the order of the day. Having failed in his attempt in the national assembly, he wished to persuade the king and the queen to put their confidence in him, and to suffer him to convey them from Paris to Rouen. His conversation with the queen convinced him that she felt too great a repugnance towards him fully to confide in his plans, even for her own deliverance. In fact, nothing could be effected in the Tuileries by his instrumentality. Notwithstanding this, it will be seen from the passage* of Lacretelle's recollections, which

* *Dix Années d'Épreuves*, &c. vol. i. p. 89: "L'effet de la délibération de la pétition d'une armée qu'apportoit ou supposoit le général fut froid, c'est à dire, qu'il fut perdu. Il est vrai que l'assemblée ne se courrouça pas d'abord. Elle avoit tremblé quelques jours auparavant devant des piques; elle sembloit hésiter devant l'épée du général. Il put en sortir sans signe caractérisé d'assentiment ni de blâme. Cependant nous les anciens grenadiers ou chasseurs de la garde nationale, nous avons tâché à la hâte de lui former un cortège im-

we subjoin, that Lafayette, even on the evening of the 28th, and therefore after he had been in the national assembly and with the king, could have restored the constitutional authorities at the head of the national guard, had he been quick and decisive in his movements. The most respectable citizens were ready to assist him and to put an end to those lawless institutions by virtue of which the jacobin club had become the first legislative and executive body in the kingdom ; but he could come to no fixed determination in the evening, and the next morning it was too late.

From this moment the parties within and without the national assembly, each under its own leaders, assumed a hostile attitude towards each other, and the contest on which they entered is therefore of the greatest importance for a special history of France and the explanation of her policy ; Thiers however has treated the whole subject at great length, and that portion of the second part of his ‘History of the Revolution,’ in which this subject is discussed, indisputably belongs to the best parts of his work ; we shall therefore refer our readers to his pages. A general notice of the course of those events which preceded and bore upon the dissolution of the monarchy is sufficient for our general history, leaving the details of speeches, scenes in the assembly, and the intriguing activity of the heads of parties to those who make such details a specific study. There could be no want of theatrical exhibitions when persons were met together who were desirous of obtaining notoriety by speeches, gestures, toasts, songs, and similar means ; such scenes therefore were of daily occurrence in the national assembly and clubs, the sections and the Palais Royal. One of these scenes which took place in

posant. Nous avions été prévenus fort tard d’une démarche si hardie, et dont le but n’étoit pas clairement indiqué. La foi aveugle se prescrit mal à un corps de volontaires ; pourtant nous étions assez nombreux, et je crois, plus aventureux dans nos projets que le général lui-même. Nous attendîmes avec anxiété, avec impatience, le résultat d’une longue entrevue qu’il eut avec le roi. Nous remarquions des signes d’une morne inquiétude chez les révolutionnaires. Leurs groupes ne se formoient pas ou se dispersoient à notre vue. *Aux jacobins. Marchons aux jacobins !* Ce cri partoît de la bouche de plusieurs membres de l’assemblée constituante mêlés parmi nous, tels que l’excellent et courageux Dupont de Nemours et Regnault de Saint Jean d’Angely. Lafayette sortit enfin du palais, et nous le vîmes avec consternation prendre le chemin de son hôtel au faubourg St. Germain Après une heure d’attente nous fûmes tristement congédiés. On nous donna des espérances pour le lendemain, et personne n’y crut. Nous comprîmes que nous n’avions pas encore trouvé le grand homme qui devoit clore la révolution. Ah ! qu’il fallut longtemps l’attendre.”

the national assembly, where there was a grand display of emotions, embracings, tears of joy, and other ingredients of French novels, has obtained an historical importance among the events of the revolution. This scene was caused on the 7th of July by Lamourette, the constitutional bishop of Lyons, who addressed the deputies on the evils and misfortunes of their bitter party-spirit in such a pathetic and affecting strain, that all suddenly vowed to forget their mutual animosities, embraced each other and were reconciled, in the midst of the loud rejoicings and applause of the people in the galleries. This transitory reconciliation is called *Lamourette's kiss of peace*.

The reconciliation of the 7th of July might perhaps have borne some fruit, had not the constitutional deputies in the national assembly, and even some of the girondists, insisted on the punishment of the originators of the scenes of the 20th of June. Manuel and Pétion, who were at the head of the municipal administration of Paris, were to be prosecuted, and it would therefore have been easy for them to have delivered and destroyed all the adherents of the monarchy by a new general insurrection. Since the 2nd of July, the national guard had been so organized by law, that the guardsmen from among the lower classes, who were armed with pikes, played a leading part in all its operations, because all respectable persons were filled with disgust. By the law just referred to, the whole general staff of the national guard of Paris, and of all cities containing 50,000 inhabitants, were dismissed, and the grenadiers of the rifle companies disbanded, because such distinctions in names and dress were contrary to equality. As the insurrection prepared in July was to call forth an ideal republic, all the girondists also, particularly Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet and Condorcet, from the middle of the month, adopted the tone and language of Camille Desmoulins and Danton.

The declaration of war made on the part of Austria and Prussia was instrumental in promoting the success of the *coup de force* against the king, the monarchy, and everything in any wise connected with the old order of things. The Austrians, Prussians and emigrants no sooner made a forward movement against France, and the Sardinians began to threaten the south, than advantage was taken of the pretext of the safety of the nation to effect the abolition of all the existing authorities and institutions. A levy of the people *en masse* was pro-

claimed in order to defend the frontiers, and a patriotic movement originated which must necessarily set all law at defiance. It was so much the easier to turn this general movement and national indignation against the king and the monarchy, as every one knew that the court had kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with the enemies, and the queen was in the habit of anxiously calculating the number of days which it would take the allies to reach Paris. Two negotiators on the part of the king had now for a long time been with the Prussians, one of whom, major-general Heymann, belonged to the old school, and the other, Mallet du Pan, a Genevese, like the German political philosophers, regarded the royal English aristocracy as the very ideal of human perfection. These two agents of the same king entertained however completely different views, and worked against each other; and Cobenzl as well as Haugwitz, who had at that time begun to play his part in Prussia, were always unwilling even to recognise Mallet du Pan. On the entrance of the allied army into France, the duke of Brunswick, as commander-in-chief, was necessarily obliged to issue a manifesto, on the tenor of which the agents of Louis XVI. and the princes were consulted. Heymann and Mallet du Pan entirely concurred in the opinion that it ought not to be threatening, and that the powers must not assume the right of entering the country as judges, but in the character of mediators between the king and the nation. This wish, which was expressed in the name of the king, for whose relief the whole expedition was designed, was warmly opposed by the count d'Artois, who seems to have been born to bring calamity and ruin upon the elder branch of the Bourbons, and by the worthless Calonne as representatives of the emigrants, who were thirsting after a bloody revenge.

It was the influence of the emigrants which caused the duke's manifesto to be composed in a tone totally different from the moderate views and language which had been previously employed in the declaration of war. They availed themselves of the shameful scenes of the 20th of June, and of the spirit which from the middle of July had daily become more murderous and threatening, to persuade the Austrians and Prussians that the king's life could only be saved by announcing the most dreadful threats against the authors of those disturbances, although the deeds of the disturbers of the public peace furnished proofs in abundance that they were not to be terrified by threats. Calonne

employed the marquis de Limon, an emigrant, who had been in the service of the duke of Orleans, and prevailed upon him uninvited to force himself upon the notice of the good emperor Francis, who knew nothing either concerning politics or manifestos, and to overreach him. The marquis prepared the draft of a manifesto and proceeded to Frankfort, where the emperor then was on account of his coronation, was recommended to him by Calonne, and obtained his approval of the document. Having succeeded in procuring the emperor's recommendation, he went with his miserable performance to the king of Prussia then in Mayence, to whom also his paper seemed suitable for the occasion and circumstances. The duke of Brunswick, who bore the blame of this manifesto for his whole life, by which he was at once exposed to ridicule and hatred, was wholly dissatisfied both with its substance and tone; but what could a Frenchman and complete courtier, such as he was, do? could he venture to oppose both the illustrious monarchs? That was impossible.

The duke helped himself, as men of the world, diplomatists, and the servile retainers of the great always do; he pursued the middle course, which leads to mediocrity. He conceived that what was thoroughly bad could be changed and modified so as to satisfy all parties, by alterations made by some political sophists or official scribes. With this view, count Philip Cobenzl, baron Spielmann, count Schulenburg, and privy councillor Renfner, the two former Austrians and the two latter Prussians, revised the marquis of Limon's draft and made some alterations. The duke of Brunswick signed the manifesto in its modified form on the 26th of July. It is obvious that Renfner's alterations were very immaterial, for the manifesto was no sooner issued, than it excited the deepest displeasure of all moderate and intelligent men*.

This unlucky manifesto, which was full of ridiculous and cruel threats against all those who had at that time any influence and

* In the appendix to part ii. of Ségur's 'Hist. des princ. Evénemens du Règne de Fréd. Guill. II.,' and among the *Pièces justificatives*, will be found, p. 355, "Motifs du Roi de Prusse pour prendre les armes contre la France;" p. 362, "Déclaration de S. A. S. le duc régnant de Brunsvic et de Lunebourg commandant les armées combinées de S. M. l'empereur et le roi de Prusse adressée aux habitans de France;" and pp. 362-363, the *Déclaration additionnelle* of the 27th of July. The last two documents are contained in Beaulieu, *Essais*, cet. iii. p. 412, &c., and the first also in Thiers.

power in France, reached Paris at the very moment in which Danton's cordeliers, Robespierre's jacobins, and the enthusiastic republicans of the Gironde had come to a complete understanding on the necessity of abolishing monarchy and establishing a republic, in order to rescue the national honour, and on the lawfulness of any means by which these ends might be promoted. The jacobins, who were under the leading of Robespierre, had not from the first approved of the reconciliation of the 7th of July, and the reconciled parties no sooner again disagreed, on account of the judicial investigation of the scenes enacted on the 20th of June, than they promoted anarchy. Barbaroux and his over-sanguine friends called forth an insurrection in the southern departments of France; Servan's decree relating to the army of patriots was placarded on the walls of Paris in another form, in which it did not require the king's sanction, and immediately eight hundred horrible miscreants, who were called Marseillaise, were ordered by Barbaroux to come to Paris. As early as the 9th of July, those ministers who had accepted office on Dumourier's retirement, in order to please the king, were compelled to relinquish their places, and the new ministry which was attempted to be formed by Dejoly, the successor of Duranton, and the only one who retained his office, properly speaking, was never organized. We do not even record the names of the six colleagues whom Dejoly selected, because all their influence completely ceased after the 11th, when it was declared that the *country was in danger*.

By the decree issued on the 11th, in which the declaration was made that the *country was in danger*, the system of legislation changed the whole of France into a great camp*. All the legislative and executive bodies were to hold uninterrupted sittings, that is, were declared permanent; the deputies of the people, the councils of the communes, and the sections in the cities therefore took the government upon themselves, and exercised immediate jurisdiction through their committees without

* The following words contain the substance of the declaration: "Les conseils de département et de district se rassemblent, et sont, ainsi que les conseils des communes, en surveillance permanente; aucun fonctionnaire public ne peut s'éloigner de son poste. Tous les citoyens en état de porter les armes, et ayant déjà fait le service de garde nationale, sont mis en état d'activité permanente. Tous les citoyens sont tenus de déclarer le nombre et la nature des armes et des munitions dont ils sont pourvus. Le corps législatif fixe le nombre des gardes nationales à fournir par chaque département, le rassemblement s'en fait aussitôt."

an application to the ministry or any other intermediate authority, and their bodies received regular instructions as to their course of action from the leaders of the clubs. This artificial and forced condition was characterized by the name of the *crisis*, and this crisis was to be announced throughout the whole of the kingdom by the firing of minute-guns. Measures were forthwith adopted throughout all the cities, towns and villages of France, to enroll thousands of volunteers for the defence of the nation in the lists opened for that purpose. In order to give this enrolment as much solemnity and publicity as possible, amphitheatres were erected in all the squares and public places, where the volunteers were invited to enter and sign their names in the presence of the municipal officers and amidst the continual rolling of drums. By these means it happened, that many who were not friends of a republic, but anxious for peace, order and nationality, thought it better to join the armed force which was destined to fight against the priests, princes and nobles of the old *régime*, than to encounter the imminent dangers with which they were daily threatened at home. In this way also, all peaceful citizens were brought under the *surveillance* of the jacobins and promoters of tumult.

The *fête* of the 14th of July was celebrated this time by very different persons from those who had been present on the two previous years. Those who attended the solemn act of confederation in 1792 were from that time forward called *confederates*, which expression came to signify the same as *terrorists*. Manuel and Pétion, it is true, as well as some other deputies of the Gironde, continued to be associated with the wild and destructive tools of Danton and Marat till September; but the proper heads of the girondist party, or all those republicans who were opposed to a state of lawlessness and anarchy, perceived as early as the 14th of July, the object at which Robespierre, Marat, Danton and Camille Desmoulins, who is not to be confounded with the three former, were aiming; the most moderate of the party therefore endeavoured to free themselves from the fanatics and scoundrels and to draw nearer to the king. The ablest men among the republicans, Brissot, Guadet and Vergniaud, opened a correspondence with the king: their letters were afterwards found during the plundering of the Tuileries, and were used by their enemies against them; they were unable however to come to any understanding, because they only promised to save the

king upon conditions to which the latter thought he could not possibly accede. The above-mentioned deputies demanded that the king should restore the ministry to office which had been dismissed in June and sanction the decree against the priests; on his refusal to accede to these conditions, they left him to his fate. From this moment forward, the most of those who belonged to the party called the Gironde regarded themselves as ill-treated, and left the field open to such men as Camille Desmoulins, Danton, and other hot-headed persons of the party, among whom we may particularly mention the names of Manuel, Barbaroux, Buzot and Pétion, because as early as February 1793 they bitterly repented of, and were compelled to pay a heavy penalty for the share which they took in the insurrection of the 10th of August.

From this time forward the dethronement of the king was demanded on all sides by petitions from the communes, magistrates and sections of Paris; in one of these petitions, which was presented by Pétion as mayor of Paris, the petitioners insisted with great warmth that the national assembly should not delay to pay attention to these repeated demands, which were urgently preferred from all quarters, and the spirit of the petition was supported by many deputies. It soon however became obvious, that it was as little possible in any legal way to proclaim the king's forfeiture of his right to the throne, as to cause a republic to be decreed by an assembly of deputies whose powers were derived from a monarchical constitution, and the very object of whose deliberations was to confirm and establish this constitution by wise laws: it was therefore necessary to have recourse to other means. The means adopted was a recourse to the pretended sovereignty of the mob, called the people, which had been called into action on the 20th of June, without however having any definite plan or following any systematic course; this was now to be done.

In order to facilitate the general rising, which it was resolved to effect, a decree was issued by the national assembly on the 15th of July, by virtue of which three regiments of the line, then in Paris, were to depart for the army. The Swiss also were ordered to join the forces in the field; but in order to take them immediately from the city, they were first to be removed to a distance of fifteen hours from Paris. The removal of the Swiss guard from Paris, who, if they had been together, would have

been able to prevent the accomplishment of the plans devised by the leaders of the mob on the 10th of August, was not acceded to by D'Affry their commander-in-chief, as being contrary to the engagements existing between France and the Swiss cantons; the united body of the Swiss guards was not however together at the decisive moment, because a division of them was stationed in Courbevoie. The insurrection, which was resolved upon for August, was chiefly promoted from the middle of July by two advocates of great talents, who devoted all their powers to the task, and acted under the influence of an ill-regulated enthusiasm. They were undoubtedly men of pure patriotism and good intentions, although they had recourse to criminal means. These men were Camille Desmoulins and Barbaroux, the former of whom was an advocate in Paris and led the people by his speeches, and the latter, who was an advocate in Marseilles, put the whole south of France in motion. The masses of the people who were to be worked upon in the wine-shops and streets, and to be roused to action by money and the payment of their scores, were entrusted to such people as Chabot, Bazire and Danton, who employed for their object the murderous writings of Marat, Fréron, and the innumerable pamphleteers of the time. Pétion, who ought to have preserved order, behaved as if offended; Manuel, his *procureur*, suffered himself to be employed as the tool of Danton; he was obliged to acquiesce even in the payment of the murderers and assassins whom they employed, because the magistrates of his commune, Chaumette, Panis, Sergent and others, also took part in the September massacres; as early as November however he expressed his contrition, declared his abhorrence of a system into which he had been dragged, and wholly withdrew from the criminal portion of the friends of freedom in January 1793, by refusing in the most solemn manner to vote for or be accessory to the death of the king*.

The jacobins, and particularly the adherents of the family of Orleans, relied upon Santerre and his good-natured narrow-

* Manuel did all in his power to save the king, and when unsuccessful in his efforts, he withdrew from the convention, regardless of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself. He took his leave with the following remarkable word:—"Citoyens représentans, qu'avez vous fait? . . . tels que vous êtes (du reste m'échappe), oui tels que vous êtes, vous ne pouvez plus sauver la France; l'homme de bien n'a plus que de s'envelopper dans son manteau."

mindfulness, not only for the systematic and progressive organization of the mob, but they had a committee especially appointed for working their cause amongst the labourers of the faubourgs and for the payment of their wine-scores*. This committee had established its quarters in two of the largest wine-shops (*Le Soleil d'or* and *Le Cadran bleu*) of the faubourg St. Antoine, in order to inspire Santerre's pikemen with fanaticism and rage. The national assembly suffered all this to go on, not certainly because the majority approved of such iniquitous proceedings, but because they dared not maintain the authority of justice and the police by any energetic measures; they even remained quiet on the 25th of July, when informed of the dreadful murders in Provence and the revolting cruelties which had been perpetrated in Arles. Those authorities, which were composed of respectable men, despaired of their influence, and as early as the 23rd of July, eight members of the departmental council of Paris resigned their offices; Rœderer, who retained his office of *procureur*, and subsequently played a conspicuous part as a democrat and Buonapartist, was afterwards accused of having, as a jurist and diplomatist, been guided by the circumstances and not by his conscience, and of having played the part of a Judas on the 10th of August at the seizure and imprisonment of the king. During the concluding days of July, Condorcet laboured industriously in preparing essays, which in reference to style and sophistical republican arguments may be regarded as masterly, and with which he came forward on the 10th and 11th of August, as if they had been the productions of the moment. On the 26th of July, Guadet employed all the powers of his eloquence in order to induce the national assembly to resolve that the king had forfeited his right to the throne.

According to the political creed of the democrats of the time,

* Carra in his 'Annales Patriotiques' gives the following account:—"Ce comité s'assembla dans la salle de correspondance aux jacobins. On tira cinq des quarante-quatre membres, dont il étoit composé, pour en former le directoire d'insurrection; ces cinq étoient, Vaugeois, grand vicaire de l'évêque Grégoire, Debessy de la Drôme, Guillaume, professeur à Caën, Simon, journaliste de Strasbourg, et Galissot de Langres. Je fus adjoint à ces cinq membres, et peu de jours après on y invita Fournier l'Américain, Klenlin de Strasbourg, Santerre, Alexandre, commandant du faubourg St. Marceau, Lazouski, capitaine des canonnières du faubourg St. Marceau, Antoine de Metz, ex-constituant, Langrey et Garin, électeurs de 1789, et dans la suite Gorsas et Camille Desmoulins. La première séance de ce directoire pour la journée du 10 Août se tint dans le cabaret du Soleil d'or, rue St. Antoine, près de la fameuse Bastille, dans la nuit du 25 au 26 Juillet," &c.

the sovereign people alone could determine and execute what those who put themselves forward as their organs eagerly desired ; the national assembly therefore adopted measures to justify them by supposing that the sovereign people was always assembled. It published a decree, in which the forty-eight assemblies of the sections of Paris were declared to be legally permanent, and it was therefore only necessary to wait each evening till all the prosperous, quiet and peaceable inhabitants had retired to their homes, or become weary of the strife, disputation and blustering, and there existed in the midst of Paris these forty-eight smoking volcanos. These desperate men, who had been assembled in the southern provinces of France by the friends of Barbaroux, and called Marseillaise, were to be employed for the execution of their design ; these men obtained their name from having been collected in Marseilles, from the refuse of the sea-ports of Africa and the Levant. Barbaroux has himself informed us in his Memoirs of the zeal by which he was animated in urging the forwarding of the Marseillaise to Paris, but is very careful to conceal the fact that they consisted of bandits, vagabonds, pardoned convicts, and other scum of the sea-port towns. Santerre was appointed to welcome this delivering army, and to proceed to meet them, accompanied by the whole national guard of his faubourg ; this however could not be done quite as had been wished ; notwithstanding this, they met with a splendid reception on their entrance into Paris on the 30th of July. The most general hospitality was shown, and they were intentionally invited to entertainments with the national guards of the better class*. They were first quartered in a barrack, but as the time approached in which they were to be employed as instruments for the realization of the plans of their leaders, they were removed into a section (*des Cordeliers*) where they would be near the central point of the storm, in which they were to be chief agents.

When at length the 9th of August arrived, and all was ready for storming the royal palace, the good-natured Santerre hesitated long before he could bring himself to consent to become the leader of a band of murderers ; moreover he was not a man who

* Pétion, as mayor, caused arms, powder and ball to be distributed amongst these dangerous people. In this way quarrels arose, which led to absolute contests between the entertainers and the guests, the national guards of the sections *des filles de St. Thomas* and *des petits pères* and the Marseillaise. Many sons of respectable citizens were dangerously wounded in the fray, and followed from the Champs Elysées into the interior of the Tuileries.

had seen military service ; but he was provided with one of those sergeants who in former times, and as is still the case in England, were the supports of the noble cadets, performed the real service and became the generals of the revolution. Westermann, who subsequently served with distinction as an officer, and was afterwards with general Rossignol, the journeyman coppersmith, in La Vendée, was obliged, as it is said, to compel Santerre by force to obey Danton's hints. The same services which Westermann performed in the faubourg St. Antoine were rendered in the faubourg St. Marceau by Fournier, whose appearance in the streets of Paris was in the following years regarded as an indication of some new explosion of violence. Fournier had been a West India planter, and having lost his property during the first disturbances in the colonies, he afterwards played one of the most dreadful parts on every occasion in Paris under the by-name of 'The American.' On the 9th and 10th of August he marched at the head of the Marseillaise.

On the evening of the 9th of August 1792, the same course was pursued as had become usual ; the rabble, denominated the sovereign people, gathered together in the sectional assemblies to pass their resolutions, waited till the peaceful citizens were either scattered about on the various military posts or had retired to rest, before they commenced their deliberations in the forty-eight sections of Paris, on the propriety of suspending the functions of all the existing authorities. A decree was issued, by virtue of which the sovereign people resumed all the powers which it had at any time conferred, and undertook the immediate rights of legislation and government, or entrusted their execution to a committee of the sections, which was immediately chosen (only during the insurrection) and met in the saloon of the archbishop's palace (*evêché*), where also the constituent assembly on their arrival in Paris had long held their meetings. At midnight the signal was given by the firing of artillery ; the alarm-bells were rung during the whole of the night, and those who had been provisionally chosen to fill the places of the old magistrates under the new order of things were called into action. The immense mass of men of violence and blood began their march. Westermann, in connexion with Santerre, led the people of the faubourg St. Antoine ; Alexander, Santerre's brother-in-law, headed those of St. Marceau ; Barbaroux the Marseillaise ; and Panis the section of the arsenal. If however the depart-

mental or the municipal magistrates had fulfilled their duty, the whole uproar would have been easily nipped in the bud.

The whole tumultuous undertaking was so horrible, that the real national guard was ready to espouse the cause of the king and the monarchy, and the mayor and council of the city were ashamed of the appearance of having taken any part in this disgraceful affair. Till seven o'clock in the morning of the 10th all possible measures were adopted, and Pétion even gave orders to repel force by force. He afterwards endeavoured to get possession of the orders which he had issued, and the murder of the officer who bore them was attributed, not directly to Pétion, but at least to persons who wished to save his popularity. The unwise and hated royalists of the old school, who by their patrician pride had deprived the king of a faithful guard, also damped the zeal of the national guard in this decisive moment by their silly and sentimental courtly officiousness. They filled the antichambers as if they had been about to pay their court to his majesty, and kept the king apart from the citizens, who alone could have protected him; these distinguished courtiers however were by much too weak to have made any serious defence, whilst they were really ruinous as councillors.

As early as two o'clock in the morning the Tuileries was threatened with an assault, but the palace was protected by 900 Swiss, under Bachmann and Maillardoz. From excess of prudence, they had not ventured hastily to summon the second division of the Swiss, who were at Courbevoie, to Paris, although it lay only an hour and a half's distance from the capital. The national guard of citizens belonging to the quarters on which reliance could be placed were doubled, as it is usually said, but they were in reality tripled, for they amounted to 1800 men, under an able and faithful leader. This commandant was Mandat, formerly an officer in the French guards, and the same who at seven o'clock in the morning had extorted orders from Pétion's shame to repel force by force, and was determined to act accordingly. The concealed leaders and directors of the insurrection, who held all the threads of this apparently wild anarchy in their hands, took therefore all possible pains to remove him at the very moment in which he was about to make use of the mayor's orders. Before seven o'clock in the morning, persons appeared, accompanied by a clamorous mob, who called themselves plenipotentiaries of the sovereign people, and the substitutes for those

magistrates whom the people had suspended from their functions. It will be obvious that the whole affair was previously arranged, because Pétion and Manuel retained their situations, although the former caused himself to be confined to his own house under arrest, in order that he might not be compelled, as mayor, to appear at the Tuileries. Together with the two men just mentioned, the sixteen administrators were also retained, and properly speaking therefore, there was merely a number of jacobins admitted into the Hotel de Ville to arrange these horrible scenes of murder. The chief care of this council of malcontents was to repress and obstruct the activity of the national guard, wherefore they also called Mandat to account, and took immediate care to recall Pétion's directions for action. Mandat was summoned to the Hotel de Ville: when he appeared, he was examined respecting his measures and arrested. A pretext was made of sending him to prison, but he was murdered either by Rossignol or by an intimation from him. The written orders of the mayor were taken from his pocket, and the chief command of the national guards conferred upon Santerre, who enjoyed no respect among the loyal portion of them. On this decisive occasion the king exhibited neither prudence, firmness nor energy.

From two o'clock in the morning till six, he adopted no measures whatever; his chambers all the time were filled with ridiculously officious courtiers of the old school, and along with them appeared the constitutional royalists, who for the most part, like the excellent Laroche-foucault, were very good men, but neither valorous nor beloved. The mounted *gens d'armes*, as well as those on foot, who were stationed outside the palace, were composed of the former *gardes françaises*, who had already proved disloyal in 1789, and who failed on this occasion to do their duty; the national guard began to hesitate; the crowds who were advancing against the palace brought cannon along with them, whilst its defenders were unable to disengage or employ theirs, because the Tuileries then contained a number of enclosed courts and buildings, of which there is now no trace remaining. When the king at last resolved at six o'clock to go down and join his defenders, his appearance, suite, and want of military bearing inspired neither courage nor respect, and the 400 persons of the old *régime*, who made a show of their devotedness in the Tuileries, discouraged and provoked the citizens without terrifying the assailants. The masses of the people therefore forced their

way into the gardens of the Tuileries, filled the Place du Caroussel, swaggered and made a noise, and also pointed their cannon against the palace, but made no violent assault upon the interior, which was guarded by the Swiss, as long as the royal family was present; bitter reproaches were therefore afterwards heaped upon Rœderer for having caused their removal.

About half-past seven Rœderer caused a proclamation to be issued in the name of the department against the insurrection, which was publicly read on the Place du Caroussel, and Dupont de Nemours, as a deputy of the national assembly, collected signatures to a petition to the assembly, praying that body to issue a decree for the immediate removal of the Marseillaise. Rœderer and the departmental council were at that time with the king; they observed his irresolution, despondency and womanly anxiety for his family to become continually greater, as the noise and clamour increased, which it continued to do till nine o'clock; this led Rœderer to offer a piece of ruinous advice, but which perhaps was well intended. This advice was afterwards characterized as scandalous treachery, which Rœderer committed by thus delivering the king into the hands of those who certainly would not have ventured to seize upon him and his family by open force. Rœderer perceived that the national guards no longer paid attention to him or his followers, but began to disperse, and he therefore advised the king to seek for protection in the midst of his bitterest enemies, in the bosom of the national assembly. The enemies from whom he fled, the mob, had threatened, but not attacked; not a hair of his head or of those of any member of his family was hurt, and one of the most clamorous even carried him in his arms into the assembly; but the defenders to whom the king, upon Rœderer's advice, had appealed, pronounced his deposition. That it would have been quite possible for a resolute man at the head of the Swiss to have dispersed the mob, the Swiss afterwards proved, when they were compelled in their own defence to attack the Marseillaise. They drove the mob out of all the courts of the palace, across the Place du Caroussel, and even cleared some of the neighbouring streets, till the king issued his commands to cease firing, and thereby gave them up an easy prey to the blood-thirsty populace. Rœderer conducted the royal family through the Swiss, who formed a line on each side, under the protection of the loyal national guards, through the garden, and by the terrace of the Feuillants into the national assembly. Arrived there,

a place was assigned to the royal family which was in fact a very small box, fitted up for a short-hand-writer, but which had not been further used. The box was protected by a lattice, and on a level with the floor; the royal family completely filled the whole space, and the lattice was torn away. The mob which surrounded the palace did not venture to make a regular attack upon the interior, defended by the Swiss, till after ten o'clock, and the pikemen of the faubourgs, drawn up in military order, under colonel Lasuski* and captain Westermann, commenced the assault. For this purpose they had made themselves master of some pieces of cannon. The Marseillaise burst open the royal entrance, cut down the few Swiss who were stationed on the stairs, but made a hasty retreat as soon as the whole body of Swiss began to fire, and in the rapidity of their retirement left the cannon behind them. The courts were cleared of the assailants, a brisk fire from the windows was kept up against those who lingered behind, and many of the mob having been slain, the Place du Carroussel was left free; the Swiss then advanced into the Place du Carroussel and proceeded further. At this moment also the Swiss who were at Courbevoie set out to assist their countrymen in Paris, and many battalions of loyal national guards were ready to lend their aid. The timidity of the king ruined all.

The national assembly was struck with terror when the firing approached the place of their meeting, and there was every reason to suppose that they were likely to be deprived of all the advantages they had gained by having the king in their power. Several members of the assembly approached the box in which the king and the royal family were, and complained of the firing of the troops upon the people; Merlin even expressed himself as if he

* Three pairs of brothers, who were hostile to one another, took part in the revolutionary affairs and made themselves conspicuous by their zeal. Count Mirabeau was the originator of the revolution; his brother the Viscount raised the army of the emigrants. André Chénier, by means of his *Journal de Paris*, was one of the mainstays of the constitutional monarchists, and on terms of intimate friendship with the duke de Laroche-foucault and Lacretelle; Marie Joseph Chénier displayed his zeal for the republicans in the columns of the 'Moniteur,' and composed admirable poems and wild dithyrambs in favour of their cause. The brothers Lasuski stood in the same sort of relation to one another. Their father had come to Lorraine in the suite of king Stanislaus; they were therefore not Poles, but Frenchmen; they were patronized by the duke de Laroche-foucault, who obtained for one of them a captain's commission in the artillery, and had entrusted the other with the education of his sons. The latter was almost a more zealous royalist than the duke himself; the former a fanatical jacobin.

did not know whether he ought to strike down the king or not. The weak and irresolute monarch at length began to be afraid, and therefore immediately despatched brigadier-general d'Hervilly to convey his commands to the Swiss to cease firing, and to seek for protection in the assembly, as he himself had done. Of some hundreds who obeyed the command scarcely one-third reached the guard-house of the Feuillants, and were there disarmed by the king's command. The Marseillaise and faubourgers now rushed back in crowds to the palace, when not only the Swiss, but also a great number of persons of every rank, who were expressly pointed out to the rabble, were heartlessly murdered. Those who had remained in the palace sold their lives dear, for several hundreds of the brutal assailants fell. The Swiss had no sooner fallen, than all the chambers of the palace were plundered, the furniture destroyed, and the rooms rendered uninhabitable. All this also was systematically done, however wild and uncontrollable it appeared. The number of those who fell on this day has been however greatly exaggerated when it has been stated to amount to 5000; of the 900 Swiss indeed, 750 paid the penalty of their fidelity with their lives.

From this time forward the whole city became a terrific scene of robbery, murder and confusion, and the royal family were obliged to remain for sixteen hours shut up in the small chamber into which they had been huddled, where they were almost overpowered by the heat and blinded by the whitened walls. During this period they had an opportunity of hearing the manner in which the republican deputies, pretendedly under the orders of the sovereign people, brought forward those decrees which had been all secretly prepared for the occasion at the end of July. Immediately after the arrival of the king, the legislative assembly nominated an extraordinary committee, consisting of twenty-one members, of whom the majority were republicans. The object of this committee was to deliberate on and bring forward such measures as should seem to them calculated to meet the emergency. Before the termination of the cannonade directed by the people of the faubourgs against the Tuileries, Vergniaud appeared at the head of the committee and presented their preliminary report. The result of their deliberations was, that the king should first of all be suspended from his functions for the time being, the national assembly dissolved, and a new body summoned, which should bear the title of 'the National Convention,'

whose members, on their election by the people, were to be fully empowered to establish a new constitution, founded on the principles of freedom and equality. The leading principles of this new constitution were discussed and settled partly on the 10th and partly on the 11th, 12th and 13th, on which days the royal family was again brought to the assembly, where all this was done regardless of their presence. The material points are given below in a note*. These measures moreover were adopted in the absence of two-thirds of the members, for of the 745 of whom the assembly was composed, only 280 were present.

The suspension of the king was no sooner resolved on, and a republican constitution decreed, than a resolution was passed respecting a provisional government. Six ministers, to whom Grouvelle was secretary, under the superintendence of a governing committee of the assembly, were appointed to exercise the functions of sovereignty, and the committee was to report and be responsible to the assembly. Roland was again created minister of the interior; Servan was assigned the war department; Clavière undertook the finances, and Monge the marine, whilst Lebrun was appointed minister of foreign affairs; all these were members of the Gironde, but notwithstanding this, the whole power of the government fell into the hands of the terrorists, by means of Danton. He was not only minister of justice, but was also the leader of the communes of Paris, which had originated the scenes of the 10th of August, and thenceforward governed France; he had besides the great seal in his possession, and was therefore the person without whose sanction the decrees of the assembly could neither be made public nor have any legal weight. During these tumultuary proceedings, and whilst the number of

* The first article decrees the calling of a national convention; the 2nd, the provisional suspension of the king; the 3rd, the appointment of a new ministry; the 4th, the exercise of the functions of government by the existing ministers till the appointment of their successors; the 6th and 7th refer to the civil list and the suspension of all payments under that head, and the present provision for the king; the 8th decrees that the king and his family shall remain in the assembly till the restoration of order in Paris, and that afterwards a suitable residence be prepared for them in the Luxembourg (*sous la sauvegarde des citoyens et de la loi*); the 10th declares every officer, civil or military, who may have deserted his post on the days of disturbance, infamous. In the 11th and 12th articles it was ordered that the department and the municipality of Paris should immediately order these decrees to be proclaimed, and that within twenty-four hours extraordinary couriers should be despatched to each of the eighty-three departments of the kingdom, in order that the authorities of these departments should in like manner announce them to all the communes within twenty-four hours.

the deputies became daily less, the decree concerning the army of 20,000 men under the walls of Paris, to which the king had refused his assent, received the great seal under Danton's authority, and was made public. On the motion of Jean Debrys, the assembly afterwards passed a resolution by which the choice of deputies should especially devolve upon the very lowest classes of the people, and upon those who had been the instigators and ringleaders of the revolution. It was resolved, that in the primary assemblies every Frenchman who was twenty-five years of age, whether possessed of property or not, should not only have a vote, to which he was already entitled, but that he should be eligible to become an elector and deputy, and be qualified to fill every office in the state.

The destruction and mutilation of works of art was resorted to on the 10th of August and subsequent days by the band of murderers and robbers to whom the city was given up as a spoil, partly from the mischievous disposition of the rabble, and partly by the suggestion of the few who were the secret instigators and leaders of the whole plot. The articles exposed to the indignation of the republicans and designedly destroyed consisted of statues, coats of arms, and other insignia of ancient nobility. This vandalism was even provoked and promoted by an express decree of the national assembly, in which it was resolved that all the royal insignia and statues should be broken, and not even the statue of Henry IV. on the *Pont Neuf* escaped the fury of their decree. The king was not released from his confinement in the reporters' box till he had been obliged to listen to all these destructive resolutions and cruel decrees; at one o'clock in the morning he and his family were removed from their ignominious position and assigned four small chambers for their use, in the neighbouring convent of the Feuillants*, separated from one another and from that of their suite by glass doors. Those writers who attach great importance to the dramatic effect of the scenes of this day and night, or who are disposed merely to fix their attention on the melancholy and sorrowful contemplation of fallen greatness, and to give expression to the sympathies which are due to suffering innocence, have given long accounts of the conversation and prayers of the king during this night of

* The royal family was attended by messieurs de Briges, de Choiseul, de Poix, d'Hervilly, Goguelat and Nantouillet, who all slept in the antechamber. De Tourzel and Aubry slept in the king's room.

sorrow, which we must pass over, because our object is neither to affect nor shock, but to inform our readers ; and it would have been a more agreeable duty for us to have spoken of patience and devotion, had there not been an utter want of all dignity and manly courage, and had not the same deficiency of magnanimity been deducible from the passive endurance and ceremonial devotions of the king, which appeared to be exhibited in the hearty appetite of which he had previously given evidence in the box.

On the following day (the 11th), all respectable people were deterred from appearing in the streets, which presented scenes of horror ; they were filled with crowds of men intentionally dressed in the most frightful costumes, and the murdering bands clamoured for blood, in order to spread terror and alarm in the neighbourhood of the king's temporary sojourn. The royal family was again brought into the assembly on the 11th, 12th and 13th, on which occasions the queen was treated in the most vulgar and contemptuous manner. We must now briefly advert to those definite measures which were the result of the decrees passed in the assembly and referred to in a previous note, because they prepared the way for the dominion of that oligarchy of terror which professed to be founded on the will of the sovereign people. The six ministers were not allowed to make individual, but were required to send in united reports to the committee, or to the whole national assembly, respecting the measures adopted by each in his own department. The 16th of August was the day appointed for holding the primary assemblies to choose the electors of the deputies to the national convention, and in these every Frenchman who was twenty-one years of age and not in the service of another Frenchman was qualified to vote ; and, as has been already observed, every Frenchman was eligible to office who was more than twenty-five years of age. In order to drive the masses of poor, rude and reckless men from all directions into these electoral assemblies, and to terrify the peaceable citizens, it was resolved, that every person who was obliged to leave his home for the purpose of the election should receive a franc for every hour's distance it was necessary to travel, and three francs a day as compensation for time, which was a great deal for the working classes. The members of the former constituent assembly, as well as those of the existing legislative assembly, were all declared to be eligible to seats in the projected national convention. The police and the administra-

tion of law and justice were brought exclusively into the hands of those who were under the guidance of Danton, who aimed at the complete extirpation of everything old, and the summary removal from the world of all the friends and supporters of the old government. In pursuance of this plan, twelve deputies from the national assembly, which in the name of the sovereign people had approved of all the horrors of the 10th of August, and treated the king as a prisoner, were sent with unlimited powers to the army, and commissioned to remove from their commands and offices all generals or other military and civil officers of whose fidelity there was the least suspicion. The staff of the gens d'armes was wholly dismissed, and Santerre was definitively appointed commandant of the national guard of Paris. In order to throw the whole direction of affairs into the hands of Danton, and of those who from this moment began to adopt measures for the September murders, the committees of the forty-eight sections were also abolished. The communes of Paris were from this time no longer obedient to Pétion, Manuel, and their visionary friends, but to real and practical demagogues, to Chaumette, Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Tallien, Fréron and others, and the government of the kingdom was completely wrested from the moderate party, who had been compelled to give the king and the royal family into the hands of their opponents.

After four days of insult and suffering to which the king and his family had been exposed, the national assembly, with some degree of consideration for their privations, passed a resolution which had all the form of a law, appointing the palace of the Luxembourg as a residence for the royal family: the commune of Paris compelled them to rescind this decree. The commune protested against the resolution, and thereby clearly showed their intention of judicially murdering the king. They alleged that the palace of the Luxembourg would be too difficult to guard, and that, as a prisoner, he ought to be committed to the criminal prison of the *Abbaye*. This shameful demand was happily evaded, and the royal family for a time lodged in the palace of the Chancery in the Place Vendôme; the commune however protested anew, and alleged that even there, the family could not be safely guarded. At length the old Temple was assigned for their temporary residence, and converted into a species of castle. Pétion and Manuel, who were already made the tools of a party, which was governed on one side by Robes-

pierre and on the other by Danton, were compelled to remove the royal family from the Chancery on the 14th, and conduct them to the Temple, that is, to remove them from under the protection of the state authorities, and to place them within the fangs of the council of the commune. The advance of the allies against Paris, and the ridiculous threats of the emigrants, which were strengthened by the signature and authority of the duke of Brunswick, gave great weight to the principle advocated by Danton and Marat, who maintained that there was no other means of rescuing the cause of freedom and the national honour, than by a war of extermination carried on by the poor against the rich, and the uneducated against the educated classes.

From the 10th of August the doctrine was universally preached, that everything old must be thoroughly extirpated, and the religion and morality of former times put in abeyance till a new order of things was founded; and both Robespierre and Danton acted on this principle to its fullest extent. Horrible as it may seem, it is yet perfectly true, that Danton, as minister of justice, employed the administration of the sacred duty with which he was entrusted for the protection of his fellow-citizens, for their murder, and the funds of the state for the payment and reward of the murderers. On the 10th and afterwards, till the end of the month, all those who used arms to defend their lives were prosecuted as murderers; all those who belonged to the higher classes were arrested for any reason whatever, or without any reason at all, and the whole of the large buildings of the capital were converted into prisons. Hundreds, nay thousands were arrested under the pretence of having killed some of the patriots on the 10th of August. Thousands of clergy throughout the kingdom, and hundreds in Paris were arrested and devoted to death, under the pretext of the necessity of extirpating the whole of the non-juring priests. Even the convents were turned into prisons. The national assembly made preparations for another St. Bartholomew's day in the beginning of September, by passing a decree on the 15th of August, that the fathers, wives, mothers or children of emigrants should not be suffered to remove out of the bounds of their respective communes. Previous to this, a decree had been passed with a view to divide the great estates, and to raise a multitude of families from a condition of feudal bondage to the rank and comfort of small proprietors; it had been resolved that the large estates of

the emigrants should be divided and sold, and thus brought by portions into the hands of new possessors. The decree for the institution of a new criminal tribunal was with difficulty extorted from the national assembly by the importunate and threatening demands of the commune of Paris, because this tribunal was obviously not designed for the administration either of law or justice, but for the unscrupulous condemnation of those whom they called enemies of the people*.

After the 12th, all those who were called aristocratic journalists in Paris were arrested, and their printing presses transferred to the patriots. Audouin, accompanied by a band of three hundred and fifty patriots, traversed the whole neighbourhood of Paris, in order to hunt out and arrest aristocrats. Domiciliary visits of all kinds were organized on a great scale, and Fouquier Tinville, together with some other similar persons, are said to have ordered the violation of private correspondence to a much greater extent than, as is well known, it has ever been practised in England, which is so often held up as a model for the world. Similar laws and measures were all resolved on by the council of the commune, and were only brought to light in the necessary form through the instrumentality of the national assembly; this council therefore called itself the *general revolutionary council*†. The council empowered Chaumette, one of the most fanatical of the jacobins, and who was afterwards appointed Pétion's successor in the mayoralty, to cause all suspected persons to be judicially interrogated and arrested. By a decree‡ of the legis-

* Previous to this, what was called the *haut cour* had been established in Orleans. This tribunal it is true condemned some accused persons, but it observed judicial forms; that appeared to the promoters of the present scheme much too tedious, and therefore they insisted on the institution of the *Tribunal du 10 Aout*, as a prelude to the later revolutionary tribunals. The judges of this court were appointed by the electors of the commune, in order, as it was said, "to take cognizance of the crimes of the 10th of August, and other circumstances and facts connected therewith."

† The council of the commune retained the *committee of surveillance*, which was appointed before the 10th of August, and the names of the men who sat on it in August and September afford proofs sufficient that its object was the extirpation of everything old. Sergeant the jeweller, Santerre's brother-in-law Pains, Marat's bosom-friend Jourdeuil, Leclerc, Lenfant, Duplain, Deforgues, Desard and Caddy, were joined as colleagues with Marat, who forced himself into the committee without having been chosen.

‡ The decree passed on the 19th of August runs as follows:—"La garde nationale sera divisée en quarante-huit sections armées. Chaque section aura un commandant nommé par tous les citoyens armés qui la composent. Il y aura un commandant général élu pour trois mois par tous les citoyens composant les sections armées, lequel sera susceptible de re-election."

lative assembly, this armed civil power, which was said thereby to have received a new institution, was converted into an instrument of every species of democratic mischief. The armed populace terrified the national assembly from without, and from within it was overawed by the raving and threats of those bribed and venal clamourers, who afterwards filled the tribunes of the national convention. The newly-elected tribunal of the 10th of August was a prelude to those of the revolution, and the mere mention of some decrees, which were issued by the legislative assembly at the end of August, will show the manner in which, and the reason why, the legislative assembly was used in order to seize upon individuals, who were afterwards murdered without trial or sentence in the September massacres.

First, by the resolution of the 26th of August, the clergy were devoted to death, and on the 28th and 29th care was afterwards taken, that no one who was disaffected to the reigning system should escape the eyes of the demagogues. It was decreed that domiciliary visits should be made throughout the whole kingdom, in order to drag to light the persons suspected by the clubs; next, nightly searches were ordered to be made through all the houses of Paris, and every one was threatened with death who should offer the least obstruction to the agents of the provisional government in tracing out and discovering their enemies. The commune completed this general law by a municipal order. It resolved that every house should be lighted in the evening, and no one be allowed to drive in the streets after ten o'clock. The most dreadful of all these regulations however, and one whose scope and object was not made obvious till the September days, was that by virtue of which all needy but able-bodied men were put in requisition, because the commune might require their services (for the September massacre), and to whom therefore a daily allowance in money was given as a retaining fee. As the day appointed for the massacre approached, a feeling of universal dread was diffused by the preparations made for the event. The barriers on all the approaches to the city were closed; patrols were constantly on foot around the whole circuit of Paris, and all suspected persons who had an appearance of seeking safety by flight were detained and arrested. On the day before the perpetration of the massacre, the originators of all the horrors which had occurred since the beginning of August removed the council

of the commune and nominated a new one, which consisted of persons who were not disposed to shrink from any crime. This council roused the indignation even of the obsequious legislative assembly. The assembly opposed its appointment, and refused to sanction this revolutionary body; but all to no purpose. On the 2nd of September, the day appointed for the massacre, they were obliged to rescind their resolution and acknowledge those authorities which were forced upon their acceptance. Under these auspices, the massacre of the unfortunate and innocent prisoners was commenced on the very same day; and what is more hateful than all, the appearance of a judicial administration was audaciously given to this unbridled license of tyranny and revenge, or rather the unfortunate prisoners were mocked and deceived; and those whom the barbarians designed for instant murder, were deluded with the appearance of acquittal and liberation.

We shall not dwell on the description of the scenes of blood and murder which took place in all the prisons, large convents, palaces and buildings in Paris from the 2nd till the 6th of September, and which were systematically perpetrated by murderers instructed and paid for the purpose, as there are books in which all this is poetically and rhetorically detailed; what is most horrible is, that Danton, as minister of justice, had devised and arranged the whole affair, with that cold-blooded and diplomatic political wisdom which he had learned from Talleyrand and Mirabeau. As it was quite impossible even for the *tribunal of the 10th of August* to condemn whole masses of human beings, he adopted the very original idea of collecting together a number of people from the wine-houses, who in this night of slaughter and death were to assume the office of judges, and in the midst of intoxication and clamour to condemn or apparently acquit those devoted to destruction. When the bands who were sent out to perpetrate the massacre appeared suddenly before any of those large buildings in which the unhappy individuals who had been arrested since the 10th of August were confined, Danton's pretended judges immediately took their seats. They were furnished with lists of a few persons who were to be allowed to escape, and took their seats in the hall, or in some part of the building near the rooms in which the prisoners were confined; the murderers took their stand in the court. The prisoners, when not shot down in masses, as sometimes occurred, were

brought before this mock-tribunal and briefly interrogated, and those who were apparently acquitted were conducted from the presence of their judges, as if to be set at liberty; but were no sooner out than they were beaten down by the murderers with clubs and swords, and those who were remanded were in fact the only persons who escaped. The massacres continued without interruption till the 6th, and the measure, considered as one of cool, calculating, but ruthless policy, was no doubt efficiently designed for the realization of the desired end,—the thorough extirpation of the old order of things. All those who favoured the new order of things were substantially responsible for these horrible crimes, however violently incensed they may have been against Danton and the murderers, as his colleagues in the ministry undoubtedly were; no retrograde step was any longer possible, for every reaction must necessarily affect those alone who had been merely lookers-on,—those alone who had founded their philosophical republic upon blood; for the actual murderers consisted partly of convicted criminals (*repris de justice*), obscure vagabonds, who were paid for their work, and whom no one knew.

Besides, by this compulsory union of all the friends of the new order of things against the adherents of the old, and by the extirpation of the whole monarchical generation, room and possessions were secured for the new; and the effect was, that at the ensuing elections no one durst give his vote to any other than to a well-known jacobin for a member of the future national convention. As to the change of the landed property of the kingdom, the legislature, on the very day on which the massacre commenced, declared the property of the emigrants, which had hitherto been merely put under seizure, to be the property of the state. The legislative assembly moreover, and even the council of the commune, had no further share in the massacre than that of being inactive spectators; the conduct of the affair was wholly in the hands of the revolutionary committee already mentioned, of whom Danton was the organ. Together with the bands of vagabonds to whom we have referred, the chief share in the execution fell upon the Marseillaise; these were formal bands of murderers, and the lower classes of the people of Paris and the workmen of the faubourgs were not employed on the occasion as executioners' assistants. At nine o'clock on the 2nd of September, a signal was given to these bands of executioners by means of a bell, and by three o'clock in the afternoon divisions

of them had already visited the Conciergerie, the abbey St. Germain, La Force and Châtelet, the seminary of St. Firmin, the street of St. Victor, the convent of the Carmelites, the Vaugirard, the Bernardine convent, the Bicêtre and Salpêtrière.

Every species of murderous instrument was resorted to; in two places crowds were fired upon with grape-shot, the dead bodies thrown in heaps into wide and deep pits and covered over with lime. The murders themselves, as well as the carrying away of the dead bodies and the digging of the pits, were paid for out of the treasury of the city. The accounts respecting the massacre, which is there called *work*, the removal and carting of the dead, are now partly at least printed, and the receipts of the murderers, given for what they call *work at the prisons*, serve as appendices. The massacre afterwards ceased as soon as the signal was given, as punctually as it had been commenced, and public order was as speedily restored as it had been disturbed on the 2nd of September. All this is proved by documents, by the placard which was everywhere to be read on the 7th, signed "Pétion, Mayor, and Tallien, Secretary to the Court*." On the 8th, Santerre again summoned the national guard to their usual duty, and the police again protected the lives and properties of the citizens.

The scenes to which this massacre led may be found detailed in Thiers's 'History.' We, from our experience and accurate knowledge of the manner in which affecting, edifying and entertaining books are generally written, attach little or no credit to the anecdotes, words, speeches and scenes which are always so minutely described. We distrust the romantic, simply because these things are very differently reported in different places and by different writers. An immense diversity of opinion prevails even with regard to the number of the persons who were massacred from the 2nd till the 6th of September, and in many cases it is no doubt greatly exaggerated. It is certain that there were about three thousand persons in prison, of whom only some hundreds remained alive. The jacobins, like the disciples of the jesuits, who promoted the massacre of St. Bartholomew, called upon the whole kingdom to perform a similar general execution, and commissioners were even sent for the purpose of recom-

* In this placard the then authorities of Paris admit that the people had taken a just vengeance, but entreat them from thenceforward to leave the punishment of the conspirators to the tribunals.

mending and enforcing it in the greater cities of the country ; but only two or three municipalities followed the example of that of Paris, and even these only caused a few hundreds to be murdered.

The high officials who, like the minister Delessart, were to have been tried before the high court at Orleans, were afterwards brought to Paris, under the pretext of being placed before the new tribunal of the 10th of August, and having reached Versailles on their way to the capital, during the horrible scenes in Paris, were there massacred on the 9th. The minister of justice himself sent the dreadful Fournier with a party of the September bloodhounds to meet them at Versailles, and thanked the murderers on their return to Paris, after the perpetration of the deed. They assembled before the Chancery in the Place Vendôme, and Danton having presented himself on the balcony, publicly approved of the murder and praised its perpetrators*. Danton's friend and political mentor, bishop Talleyrand, on the evening of the massacre diplomatically withdrew from the scene of danger, charged with a diplomatic mission. Barrère, who was at that time a judge of the court of cassation, and afterwards called the Anacreon of the guillotine, informs us in his recently published '*Mémoires*,' that on the night of the massacre he found Talleyrand in Danton's antechambers, clothed in a grotesque disguise, in order to have the state seal, which was in Danton's keeping, attached to his passport that he might proceed to England on a diplomatic mission.

* The mayor and magistrates of Versailles attempted in vain to rescue from the hands of Fournier and his companions fifty-seven persons who had been sent to Orleans as state criminals, and who were pretendedly being sent to Paris for trial, together with twenty-two persons who were in prison in Versailles. Danton said to the murderers from the balcony, "C'est le ministre de la révolution qui vous remercie de votre louable fureur."

CHAPTER II.

EUROPEAN WAR AND INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM
SEPTEMBER 1792 TILL THE TRUCE OF UDINE, 1797.

§ I.

PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA (NETHERLANDS), GERMANY TILL THE
FLIGHT OF DUMOURIER, AND THE PARTICIPATION OF
ENGLAND AND HOLLAND IN THE WAR.

At the moment in which the edifice of the old French state was overthrown, and all the offspring of the corrupt generations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, guilty and innocent, were buried under its ruins, the monarchs of Europe saw nothing but blood and destruction in France, and never suspected that a new race would spring forth from under these ruins of giant power and Titan boldness, to whom the descendants of the nobles of the middle ages, impoverished in mind and enervated in body, could offer no effectual resistance. On the advance of the Prussians against Verdun, there was exhibited a universal relaxation of the old discipline in the French armies. The emigration of the noble officers had led to the same consequences in the army as resulted in the civil department, from the sudden annihilation of the ancient official hierarchy and the new occupation of all the public offices.

At first there was nothing but disorder, confusion, murder and robbery; civilization however soon asserted and assumed her rights; she repelled, as she always does, the rude, the useless, and all that was incapable of being transformed so as to suit the spirit of the age, but whoever was useful and educated soon found himself in his new situation. The new magistrates and officers, who owed their appointments wholly to their capacities and activity, did wonders, because they were fitted for the new order of things, as it was suitable to them. Dumourier, who, as we shall afterwards relate, was to have checked the advance of the Prussians after Lafayette's flight, followed an entirely new system in opposing the methodical duke of Brunswick in the field, and pursued it with the same boldness which he had formerly done in the cabinet. How little Austria and Prussia, with their distinguished officers, promoted merely on account of

their rank, descent, intrigues and alliances, were able to meet the struggle with the plebeian French, must be obvious as soon as we are made acquainted with the names of the persons who had the greatest power and influence in both states.

The councils of the allies were chiefly influenced by the French princes, together with Bischoffswerder, and sometimes also by Calonne. The two monarchs Frederick William II. and Francis II. were further especially guided by three persons, who were in the highest degree unstable in their principles and very suspicious from their connexions. The first was major-general Heymann, who it is true enjoyed some distinction as the plenipotentiary of Louis XVI. and as such insinuated himself into the confidence of the king of Prussia, but of whom every one knew, that he was far more intimately connected with the commander-in-chief of the French army (Dumourier) than with the allies. Heymann had originally been on the most friendly and confidential terms with Dumourier, Dillon and Mirabeau; he had served under Bouillé, and in company with him left France on the failure of Louis's attempt to escape by flight, but was not on that account less disinclined by his intrigues to promote the cause of foreign powers against his native land; like his friend Dumourier, he therefore always kept on good terms with both parties in order to betray both. Louis XVI. recommended him to Frederick William, whose adviser Bischoffswerder was a friend to all intriguers, and from him he received an appointment and a pension. He was present and took part in all the conferences as the representative of king Louis, and yet at the same time rendered important service to general Dumourier when he was minister of foreign affairs. When Dumourier sent young Custine to Brunswick and Berlin, Heymann was the man who paved his way, and Benoit, Dumourier's agent, who was intriguing in Brunswick, also received hints from Heymann. Together with this Franco-Prussian diplomatist there were two other intriguers, who were as little trustworthy and ungerman as he. The one was the imperial vice-chancellor Philipp Cobenzl, who along with Ségur had been a pupil in the school of the empress of Russia and Potemkin. As we have already observed, Cobenzl was educated as completely according to the old French custom as his cousin Louis, and therefore lived and acted also like him, and thought exactly like Talleyrand, although he had not studied with him in Strasburg, as his cousin Louis had. The other

was the notorious count von Haugwitz, afterwards so well-known for his unhappy influence as Prussian minister of state, and whom the king of Prussia at this very time had appointed his minister at the imperial court.

Count von Haugwitz was born in the barren neighbourhood of Göttingen, and in his childhood surrounded with pious and sentimental persons of rank. He lived and studied at Göttingen in the Klopstock times, when the bard-union was in its glory, and cultivated all sorts of subjects, as people of distinction are accustomed to do, without studying anything thoroughly, because all that a man wants in high life is to shine, and by the possession of a polished exterior and universal superficiality to be all things to all men. Filled with the love of adventure and extravagant in his habits, he afterwards travelled in Italy and passed some time especially in Florence, where, being a man of like temperament and passions with the emperor Leopold, he was highly favoured, and imbibed that spirit of Machiavellianism at its very source, which he afterwards applied in the Prussian cabinet when associated with the Marchese Lucchesini, who was born in Lucca. In Italy he was accompanied by his young wife, who was a daughter of general Tauenzien; she was however afterwards separated from him, because he proved as faithless in his matrimonial as he did in his political conduct. With what foresight Lavater acted when he made some reserve as to the leading characteristics of his mind, in the extravagant compliment which he paid to his bust! Lavater delivered one of his oracular opinions on Haugwitz's physiognomy, which is sufficiently characteristic both of the physiognomist and the statesman: The count, he remarked, *in spite of the mass of immoral indications which his physiognomy presents, has still the head of a Christ.*

Without professing to be oracular, we shall endeavour to show the accordance between this declaration of the Zürich prophet and the facts of history, by saying that Haugwitz combined an agreeable countenance with a pleasing disposition,—the well-known clever cheerfulness of a profligate, with the enthusiasm of a Lavater and the mysticism of a Bischoffswerder. It is clear that he was born to be the dear friend and companion of Frederick William II. and the countess Lichtenau, and the sharer of those amusements and pleasures with which she surrounded the king, as well as of the mysteries and phantasmagoria with which others occupied his attention. The king's mistress succeeded (in the

end of May) in having Haugwitz appointed Prussian minister at the imperial court. In this character he entered into consultations with Heymann and Cobenzl, after the opening of the campaign, and from the very first showed himself to be as light-minded and unstable in political affairs as he was licentious in his private life. From this moment he formed a member of that triumvirate which for fourteen years drove Prussia hither and thither, as a prelude to its temporary fall. He might be called the Prussian Calonne, had he possessed the capacities and talents of the Frenchman.

Haugwitz, Lucchesini and Lombard formed a diplomatic triumvirate in the cabinet, whose intrigues were in the highest degree injurious. The duke of Brunswick, as commander-in-chief of the allied army, by no means fulfilled the expectations which had been formed of him, in consequence of the reputation which he had enjoyed since the seven years' war, gained by the methodical service of the Prussian cane and drill: his character was formed on the model of the times of Pompadour, of which Marmontel and mistresses formed the ingredients. The Germans of that period, who so willingly interested themselves with the history of the mistresses of their princes, had in fact much to relate respecting his, although he was not so destitute of shame as Charles Theodore and others, who introduced strangers into an apartment which was adorned by their portraits. Among the various mistresses of the duke, the good and loyal Germans took a particular interest in an Italian lady named Bianconi, and Miss von Hartfeld, of whom the latter was in some measure recognised as his wife by the duchess herself, and employed to guard him from the toils of persons of worse reputation. Notwithstanding this, the duke was a man of many admirable qualities and of much more penetration than Frederick William, whom he flattered, and like a courtier indulged in his humours, without however relinquishing his own views or opinions. This produced the most injurious consequences in the conduct of the war against France, because plans were pursued sometimes to please the king, and sometimes in accordance with the duke's convictions. In the previous decennium he altogether disapproved of the resolution to reinstate the stadtholder of Holland by force of arms, and expressed his disapprobation; and yet when the king insisted on it, he not only agreed to the expedition, but consented to take the command. In the same way,

when the crusade against France was undertaken, he at first determined carefully to pursue the old, tedious, methodical strategy of the seven years' war; but afterwards, in order to please the king, he adopted plans of which he did not approve, appeared as if he would make a bold and rapid advance, and then returned to his old method of delay.

In politics, the duke suffered himself on the one hand to be ensnared by Dumourier, and on the other from courtly weakness signed his name to an insane manifesto, drawn up by a creature of the miserable Calonne and his count d'Artois, and of which he himself never approved. The natural consequence was, that he repented of what he had done, that his actions did not correspond with his declarations, and that in the whole course of his conduct he merely adopted half-measures. Moreover, it is obvious from Göthe's account of this campaign, that the king, prince Louis Ferdinand, who still behaved like a child in 1806, and the throng of Sibarites, who continually swarmed around the person of the monarch, uniformly hampered and obstructed the duke, and that nothing was adequately provided for. The anti-Austrian spirit of the seven years' war, to which the duke owed his reputation, made him more inclined to lend a favourable ear to the French emissaries, who abounded in all directions, than to the Austrians. Neither Wurmser nor Clairfait was satisfied with the duke; a fact which is proved by the correspondence of the two generals. Clairfait was placed under his orders on the march into Champagne, and his letters prove that he never supposed the duke to be really serious in the design of advancing rapidly upon Paris. He was incessant in his requests to be allowed at least to press forward with the Austrians, when the duke exhibited timidity and hesitation respecting the employment of the Prussians. The duke indeed gave full scope to intrigues, instead of fighting, and carried on an indirect correspondence with Dumourier, instead of putting himself in immediate intercourse with him.

The Austrian army in the Netherlands, which could not be called numerous, and which was to act independently of the main body under the duke, was commanded by one of those princes, who make the Austrian army completely useless in the presence of an enemy. They stand at the head and enjoy all the advantages, whilst the really able officers fill the lower ranks, and the brave soldiers are harassed to no purpose.

The prince who, in name at least, was commander of the army in the Netherlands was the duke of Saxe-Teschen, and as if it were not enough that one prince should lend his name to what other and abler men devised, the good emperor reserved the chief command for himself in person. Two other Austrian divisions, which appeared on the Rhine, were likewise commanded by two princes, whose adjutants and staff subordinates, as is usually the case, were obliged to do their best. The one division, which was already collected, was under the command of the prince von Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, and the other was recruited and assembled in the Breisgau by prince Esterhazy. The last-mentioned force was to be joined by the prince of Condé and his emigrants. Thus an army of mercenaries, composed of men drilled by the help of the cane, without a particle of patriotism or national feeling, without any hope of gaining glory in the field, or obtaining promotion and honour by their valour, and commanded by princes, nobles and generals of the seven years' war and by invalids, was opposed by an army of Frenchmen inspired with a fanatical love of freedom, and impelled to action by the love of glory, patriotism, and the rewards of victory. It will therefore excite as little surprise, that the allies were victorious only until the old French army was by degrees disbanded, or that they were conquerors whilst the new one was being formed, as that they were beaten as soon as the new levies took the field.

We have already stated, that the first constitutional ministry of the king of France met the threats of the emperor and the German princes by organizing three armies, which were commanded by three generals, two of whom, Rochambeau and Luckner, belonged wholly to the old school, and the third, Lafayette, half to the new. When Rochambeau, who was to command the northern army, and at the same time, as the oldest general, to have the supreme command of the whole, had received his dismissal, Luckner was called from Alsace to the northern army, and only a small force remained around Strasburg. This body was first commanded by lieutenant-general Lamorlière, then by Victor Broglio, and finally, when Broglio proved disloyal to the new government in order to save the monarchical constitution, by the duke de Biron. Lafayette was in command of the third army on the Moselle, when Dumourier succeeded in having himself appointed as adviser to the aged and weak Luck-

ner, whom he speedily drove from his command and replaced. Dumourier's first care on joining the army was to avail himself of the influence of the political party with whom he had formed an alliance, as the sure path to fortune, in order to secure Luckner's command for himself. This was indeed the best that could have been done under the circumstances of the time, because Dumourier was in the vigour of life and a skilful general, whilst Luckner was become weak and incapable from age.

In order to secure his object, Dumourier was obliged secretly to intrigue against Lafayette, and particularly against Arthur Dillon, with both of whom he came immediately into collision. The latter was an older lieutenant-general than Dumourier, and like Lafayette was a friend and defender of the monarchical constitution; Dumourier himself therefore, with all his efforts, cannot conceal the fact of his having intrigued with the jacobins against both. These disputes between Lafayette, Dillon and Dumourier soon led to an open quarrel. Luckner exchanged commands with Lafayette, upon whom consequently devolved the defence of the north-eastern frontier, whilst the former went to Lorraine and established his head-quarters in Metz. Dumourier was to remain with the army of the north, and consequently to serve under Lafayette. He declared however expressly that he would have nothing to do either with him or Lafayette. He even refused obedience. He was then indeed again placed under Luckner's command, but in his new relation he became insolent and overbearing, relying upon the support of the jacobins, who were at that time more powerful than the king. Luckner, as well as Lafayette, was thoroughly monarchical in his views, and both repeatedly applied to the minister and the king to remove Dumourier from the army, as a man of well-known anti-monarchical principles.

Dumourier, as is well known, without a blush afterwards sold himself to the English and to the royalists of the old school, and remained their servile tool during the whole of his life; on referring to these disputes however, he informs us without scruple, that he had contrived to maintain himself by republican cabals alone. Instead of the king and his ministers, he addressed himself to the president of the national assembly, in order that the majority of deputies, which consisted of republicans, might thus be afforded an opportunity of taking up his cause. They adopted this course with the greater zeal, as from the 20th of

June, Lafayette had become an object of suspicion, and great fears were entertained, that at the head of his army, and supported by constitutional addresses from the majority of the departments, he would carry into effect what he had not been able to accomplish at the head of the national guard in Paris on the 28th and 29th of June. Dumourier had contrived by degrees to rid himself of his dependence on Luckner, although to all appearance he still retained a subordinate command, assumed the air of a jacobin general, and as a jacobin, Louis Philippe also, son of the duke of Orleans, served under him. Both showed every inclination, in case of necessity, to frustrate all those plans which were devised by Dillon and Lafayette in favour of monarchy. Dumourier plainly announces this fact in his Memoirs, when he says, “the camp which he then occupied at Maulde was wholly devoted to Dumourier, whilst those of Maubeuge and Pont sur Sambre were thoroughly in the interest of Lafayette.”

After the events of the 10th of August, Lafayette refused to allow the army under his command to swear the republican oath founded on freedom and equality; Dillon at first also resolved to pursue the same course, but afterwards changed his mind. Lafayette not only refused the republican oath, but commanded his soldiers to renew their former oath of fidelity to the constitution. Dumourier again renounced his obedience, and caused the new republican oath to be administered. This circumstance contributed greatly to the failure of Lafayette’s attempt to save the king and the monarchy by the aid of his army and the assistance of the numerous departmental authorities, whose opinions were strongly monarchical. In this attempt also he showed himself to be precisely the same man which he afterwards proved during the whole course of his life,—an honourable and honest man, destitute of all political talents, which though often immoral are for that very reason wholly practical, and incapable of coming to a bold resolution on any sudden emergency. He also was wholly deficient in that great quality of a ruler, which was inborn in Buonaparte,—the power of employing every man to do the duty for which he is fit, and of making himself the centre of the selfish efforts of thousands. Instead of having everything ready on the 12th and suddenly advancing on the capital, he waited till the 20th before he called upon his army to march to Paris; but he had been then previously surrounded and immeshed by Dumourier’s agents and his army corrupted, and it became

a very easy task for the republicans with Dumourier's aid to purify the army from the old nobility*.

The jacobins had sent Couthon, a paralytic advocate, to the army of the north,—the same man who afterwards formed one of the triumvirate with Robespierre and St. Just during the reign of terror. Couthon acted in concert with Dumourier, and held in his hand the threads of all the jacobin affiliations; Dumourier and the jacobins took their measures so well, that Lafayette suddenly found himself forsaken on all hands. In order not to fall a sacrifice to the thirst for blood, which had become a ruling passion after the 10th of August, he felt compelled to make his escape from the country. On the news of his resolution to march to Paris, and in consequence of the declarations of many departmental administrations in favour of his views, the national assembly had issued a decree of impeachment against him and his friends, which was much the same as a capital condemnation, and he therefore sought to withdraw himself from this revolutionary justice by surrendering as a prisoner of war. Lafayette and the whole of his general staff, consisting of twenty-four persons, passed into the Austrian territories, where, as was to be expected, they were detained. Immediately afterwards, however, the monarchical governments of Austria and Prussia pursued a course of conduct towards Lafayette and his friends, who had sat with him in the constituent assembly,—colonel Bureau de Puzy, and generals Alexander Lameth and Latour Maubourg,—which was the model of that followed by the jacobins during the reign of terror.

In order to please the emigrants, these four former deputies were treated as state criminals, and especially Lafayette; they were dragged about in Austria and Prussia to various prisons† in a manner disgraceful to justice and humanity, most scandalously treated, and detained as prisoners for five years, contrary to all law and justice, till Buonaparte at length compelled the emperor to liberate these benefactors of the French nation. Victor Broglio, and at the same time with him colonel Dessaix, who afterwards became so renowned as a general under Moreau on the Rhine, under Buonaparte in Egypt, and on the field of

* The fullest accounts of Lafayette's undertaking may be found collected and arranged in the appendix to the last edition of Dumourier's '*Vie et Mémoires*,' vol. ii. note G. p. 445, &c.

† To Wesel, Magdeburg, Glatz, Neisse and Olmütz.

Marengo; Caffarelli, who was an admirable artillery officer, and Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, all attempted, but with like want of success as Lafayette, to employ their great influence with the army, and the general esteem in which they were held, for the maintenance of the monarchical constitution. They soon found themselves forsaken; Broglio and Dietrich were beheaded, whilst Caffarelli and Dessaix fled for a short time from the country.

Dumourier, having assisted in the attainment of their objects, by their aid realized his own. He indeed inwardly laughed at the republicans and their republic, kept up a constant connexion with foreign powers, and wove intrigues, which saved him from the destiny of Lafayette, when his projects made shipwreck as those of the former had previously done. Honourable men were thrown into prison and chains, whilst the European diplomats treated the cunning traitors with forbearance or respect! Luckner was for a time pushed aside without being precisely dismissed, and the division under his command transferred to general Kellermann, who was then subordinate to Dumourier, as the younger in service. Had the allies sooner crossed the frontiers and pushed rapidly forward, they might have derived great advantage from the misunderstandings and disputes between the constitutional and republican officers; but they delayed till all the constitutionalists had been driven out, and a man of Dumourier's genius, talents and knowledge was engaged in the organization of a completely new army, consisting of citizens, and not merely of mercenaries.

The allied army of Austrians and Prussians, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, and which he had threatened to lead to Paris for the destruction of the city, if any injury was done to king Louis, remained quietly in their camp near Treves till the 10th of August, and the Sardinian army on the Isère and Var, against which the French had sent a number of troops under general Montesquiou, did the same. After the 10th of August, the duke, who had been so long exhorted, entreated and spurred on by the king, broke up his camp, and with hesitation and fear, half indignant and half protesting, began his march. It will therefore excite no wonder that his advance was incredibly slow. He only marched 120 miles in the space of twenty days, and on the 18th, when he thought of ordering Clairfait to join, his army had never once been together. At length he collected his whole forces at Tiercelet, and in company with Clair-

fait proceeded further. Clairfait gave many proofs of his impatience at the slow progress of the allies, although he was wholly unacquainted with the Prussian intrigues.

The duke could not be prevailed on to relinquish his methodical course, but continued to hesitate and delay, even when the flight of general Lafayette and his staff had deprived the whole French army of all its commanders and experienced officers, and the easy conquest of the small fortress of Longwy appeared to justify the splendid hopes of the emigrants. Even the declared will of the king proved insufficient to induce the duke to yield the smallest points of the strategical wisdom of the seven years' war; Dumourier himself pronounces this opinion, and at the time when he wrote and published his *Memoirs*, he had every reason to spare the duke. He censures the delays which took place on this occasion without reserve, particularly because the circumstances at that time were highly favourable to the Prussians. They had experience of this also before Verdun. Not only the numerous body of royalists among the inhabitants, but a portion of the garrison also opposed the commandant, who was desirous of defending the fortress, and compelled him to surrender after only fifteen hours' bombardment. The duke even then continued to persevere in his system. He called to his council all the princes in the army, who, according to their whole nature, are conservative, and in this council he appealed to all the sons of Teut, who are well known for their preference for the learned, deep, methodical, traditionary and solid: how was it possible that his systematic delays should not have met with approbation?

In the council of war called by the duke, all the tacticians of his old army, afterwards annihilated at Jena, but then still boasting, and among the rest the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe and the princes of Nassau and Baden, were solidly instructed and convinced by the duke in a conference five hours long, that the whole course of proceedings must be in accordance with the usual systematic tardiness of operation; they all voted for its adoption. The duke indeed had afterwards the vexation to find, that the two Frenchmen who were present at the council, generals Lambert and Pouilly, and the Russian ambassador, were not only not of his opinion, but had also convinced the king of Prussia that they were right. The king then expressly declared himself against this German irresolution, and rapidity of movement was pressed upon the duke as a duty; but even in executing the

king's desire he still found means and pretences enough for delay. Whoever wishes to be fully informed of the order, or rather disorder, of this systematic expedition, what the noble and distinguished generals and prince Louis Ferdinand did and how they did it, will find the whole depicted in lively colours by Göthe in the last part of his quasi-biography. We refer particularly to him, because he is always polished and sparing where we from principle would be sharp and severe.

The march of the Prussian army was to be directed through Châlons to Paris, and must therefore be conducted through Champagne, which is almost impassable in autumn on account of the depth of the roads; and in order to reach this province they were obliged to cross the thick wood of Argonne, through which there are only five high roads or passes. Dumourier had availed himself of the tardiness of the Prussians to occupy all these passes from the 1st till the 5th of September. The Prussian army, together with the contingents of Hesse-Cassel and Austria, has been stated at 70,000 strong, but it was in want of supplies. The French too were badly provided with stores, because they had no magazines, and were merely furnished with assignats instead of money. The Prussians suffered severely in an unhealthy neighbourhood, where there was a complete deficiency of good water, from bad weather and bad roads, and would also have been threatened in the rear, had the duke de Biron obeyed Dumourier's repeated commands and proceeded from Strasburg down the Rhine. Notwithstanding all this, the duke of Brunswick remained true to his system of delay; for he did not, as every one wished, even take the pass of Grand Pré in a few days by storm, near which Dumourier was posted, but avoided it by a circuitous march. He was thereby detained at an unfavourable season, in an impracticable neighbourhood, and his people worn out with marching.

When at last the second pass near *Chêne populeux* was taken possession of, Clairfait seized upon that by *Croix au bois* by storm. Dumourier it is true despatched general Chazot to occupy the pass, but Clairfait returned with reinforcements, drove Chazot from his position, and cut off him and his division wholly from the corps under Dumourier. Clairfait was at that time convinced that Dumourier himself with his 15,000 men at Grand Pré might be completely surrounded, and wished to make an immediate attack. The duke however, instead of profiting by

the favourable moment, instead of attacking, or allowing Clairfait to march, sent major Massenbach to treat with Dumourier, and the major, who thought himself very clever at intriguing, suffered himself to be deceived by general Duval. Dumourier proved more cunning than the Prussians, precisely because they always wished to be the most prudent: he extricated himself from his difficult position, united his army, which had been previously widely scattered, without being molested by the enemy, and on the 16th of September was stronger than before in his camp at St. Menehould.

At this time the contemptible triumvirate of favourites of the king of Prussia's ruling mistress, that is, the three unprincipled diplomatists, who had neither patriotism, sense of justice, nor moral integrity, as they proved in 1805 and 1806, had made themselves masters of the helm of Prussian politics and deceived the king, who was at that time serious in his warlike purposes. These three persons, who in the present century plunged Prussia into an abyss by their intrigues, at that time also prevailed upon the duke of Brunswick to pay no attention to Clairfait's urgent importunity, to intrigue instead of fighting, and to suffer himself to be shamefully deceived and deluded by Dumourier. The pure count Haugwitz had just become a cabinet minister, and Schulenberg been obliged to set out for Berlin on account of Polish affairs; the former alone therefore, with his two worthy colleagues, the Marchese Lucchesini and private secretary Lombard, conducted the secret consultations in the Prussian camp. This noble triumvirate drew major-general Heymann, a creature of Dumourier's, into their council of intrigues, and by his mediation kept an agent always with Dumourier, whom the latter contrived to detain with repeated assurances of his inclination to help the king of France, which he concealed under the mask of jacobinism. By means of this channel, Dumourier kept the duke so long in suspense at the decisive moment, till it became equally dangerous for the Prussians either to advance or retreat, on account of the roads, the weather, the season and the means of providing for the army, and because a general rising of the people had now been organized over the whole country.

The man who carried the messages backwards and forwards between the Prussian triumvirate and Dumourier was neither a Frenchman nor a Prussian, but something of both; he was a

native of Neufchatel. Dumourier succeeded in deceiving him so completely, that the triumvirate, through the duke, delayed all undertakings in the field, in the expectation of Dumourier's declaring against the republicans, till on the 20th of September Kellermann's reinforcements arrived. The whole state of things was completely changed by Kellermann's arrival, for the French army, without reckoning the reserve in Châlons, then amounted to 50,000 men. When it became at length clear that the Prussian intriguers had been overreached by the French one, who notwithstanding contrived to keep up his intercourse with them, the king of Prussia insisted upon trying the issue of a battle. The duke and the triumvirate however relied upon Dumourier's hints and wished to venture nothing. Because the king so wished it however, the army was drawn up in order of battle at Valmy; it was plain that there was no intention of a serious engagement, because it was supposed the desired object could be more certainly gained by cabals. The Prussians contented themselves with keeping up a continuous cannonade against the French and killing a few thousand men, but afterwards withdrew to their camp without attempting to mount the heights. The issue of this delusive engagement was turned to account in a masterly manner by the French. They reported throughout the whole kingdom, and it is yet boastingly announced by all their historians, that general Kellermann, by his firmness on the heights of Valmy, had frustrated the whole expedition of the allies; we however are now fully acquainted with the whole history of the cabals between the duke, the cabinet triumvirate, and the very equivocal commander-in-chief of the French army.

Dumourier contrived to combine a second intrigue with the first, because he knew the duke was altogether disinclined to advance; it was necessary however to conceal the intrigues, and the affair was conducted by Heymann through a Neufchatel agent. The agent reported that the whole affair must be managed by conversation, in order that there might be no written proofs, and that no official correspondence might be necessary; with this view Lombard, on the 21st of September, contrived to fall into the hands of the French. He had then a conference with Dumourier, was again set at liberty on the 22nd, and returned to the Prussian camp in company with the chief leader of the desperadoes who had stormed the Tuileries on the 10th of August; in the camp the further negotiations were to be ver-

bally completed. Dumourier's adjutant, who accompanied the secretary of the Prussian cabinet, in order to carry on the intrigue with the two other members of the triumvirate and with the duke, was no other than sergeant Westermann, who since the 10th of August had been promoted to the rank of colonel, and prudently selected by Dumourier as his adjutant. He came under the pretence of effecting an exchange between Lombard and a Frenchman belonging to the civil service who had been detained as a prisoner; the real object however was to dissuade the king of Prussia from venturing a battle. This was to be effected by Westermann's arranging the chief points with Heymann alone, who was still at that time a Prussian major-general, whilst the duke of Brunswick and the triumvirate worked upon the king by all sorts of means to prevail upon him to enter into negotiations with Dumourier.

Westermann and Heymann had no sooner come to an agreement on the leading points, than the triumvirate induced the king to consent that Heymann and colonel Mannstein should be immediately sent to the French quarters, and they then concluded the truce which had been previously agreed on, on the very same day (22nd of September). During the whole course of this affair, Dumourier played his part in a most masterly manner; he assumed the appearance to the Prussians, whom his friend Heymann helped to persuade, of being desirous every instant of betraying his protector Danton and the jacobins, and at the very same time promoted all their plans and views in the most zealous manner; he even availed himself of one of the most fanatical democrats, the companion of the frantic Rossignol, to conduct his negotiations with the ultra-monarchical Prussians. Whoever wishes to become acquainted with Dumourier's diplomatic talents, his complete mastery in that system of sophistry now prevailing,—in the art of changing lies into truth by cunning devices and polished phraseology, must study his *Memoirs*, and there see the manner in which he represents all the topics on which we have here touched. With all the art and ingenuity of the most experienced pickpocket, he abstracts the truth from the very grasp of the reader and substitutes lies, without our being able to say in the proper sense of the word, either that he directly lies, or intentionally puts forward what is false, as if it were really true.

Dumourier contrived to deceive the king of Prussia till the

decisive moment by the expression of a desire to maintain the monarch and monarchy in France; the convention no sooner proclaimed the republic, than the king was forced to believe that he had been deluded and overreached. He therefore immediately demanded a cessation of the truce and ordered a renewal of hostilities; in this he was joined both by the princes and general Clairfait, but even in this emergency Dumourier still found means to avail himself of the methodical duke and the triumvirate. The latter were desirous of throwing the whole burthen of the war upon Austria, and making Prussia great at the expense of Germany. This admits of no doubt, because Massenbach, the duke's confidential agent, who had been sent to Kellermann, unhesitatingly admitted the fact in the presence of the duke of Orleans' son, whom Dumourier had at that time placed under the orders of Kellermann. The duke and Lucchesini then assisted Dumourier to deceive the king. They persuaded him to give an audience to general Thouvenot, a friend and confidential agent of Dumourier, on the subject of a pretended military convention, by which, without any suspicion on the part of the king, preparations were to be made for the retreat, which he so strongly disapproved. The king had no sooner given his consent and Dumourier made secret promises, which he neither would nor could fulfil, than a convention was signed, with whose secret articles even general Kellermann was not made acquainted. By virtue of this convention, the Prussians were to evacuate the whole of the French territory within twenty days, and it was stipulated that they were neither to be annoyed in their passage over the Meuse, on the French territory, nor beyond the frontiers; and on their retreat and withdrawal the fortresses which they had conquered were to be restored to the French.

This convention, the confirmation of which had been expressly reserved for the respective governments, was agreeable to neither, and was equally rejected by the king of Prussia on the one hand, and the committee of foreign affairs appointed by the convention on the other. The agreement was nevertheless completed, for Dumourier and Lucchesini were people who always found means to work out their designs. Their object however could not be fully attained by the duke and the triumvirate, with which in fact Dumourier was well pleased, because in this way he escaped from the obligation of his secret promise in favour of the augmentation of Prussia. The king of Prussia proved unwilling

to sacrifice the Austrians, as the intriguers proposed, or what is the same thing, treacherously to relinquish the whole of Belgium, and therefore announced the cessation of the truce as early as the 27th; the convention, in its democratic violence, declared that it would hear nothing of negotiations till the French territory was completely evacuated. The diplomatists and Danton and his friends however succeeded by masterly management in carrying through their cause, in spite of the king of Prussia and the convention. Danton's friends and those of the duke of Orleans, whose representatives with the army, Westermann and Louis Philippe, helped to bring about the convention which Thouvenot afterwards concluded, succeeded in giving the victory to Dumourier's diplomatic cunning over the will of the convention. Danton and his party obtained a resolution in the convention, that Prieur, of the department of Marne, Carra and Sillery, all of whom were daily companions of the duke of Orleans, should be sent with unlimited powers to Dumourier's camp; and it was they who prevented Kellermann, who was not in the secret, from profiting by the complete relaxation of discipline in the Prussian army to effect its destruction.

The Prussians, and, as it is said, even their king, expected to have been led into battle on the 29th, the truce having been declared at an end by the king's command on the 27th; instead of that however they received orders to retreat on the 30th. This would have proved utterly destructive had not the commissioners of the convention spared the Prussians in order that they might be able to plunder Belgium. The sufferings to which the Prussians were exposed from the season, bad roads, want of discipline and insufficient supplies, may be best learned from Göthe's account of his adventures, and especially because his view was not historical, but purely poetical. Whilst the rest of these disordered troops attempted to reach the Rhine and to gain the right bank of the river, a division remained at Treves, for Kellermann had received a hint not to attack them there. The Prussians having marched up the Rhine, in order to drive Custine out of Frankfort and Mayence, Beurnonville made an unsuccessful attack upon the position at Treves and was repulsed with great loss.

The cabals which had been commenced by the triumvirate in Valmy, with a view to induce the king of Prussia to come to an understanding with the French at the cost of the Germans, were

also afterwards continued and carried on more vigorously, because the countess of Lichtenau, the king's mistress, who had been at Spa, came to the camp and made common cause with the triumvirate, in order to cause a breach in the alliance between Prussia and Austria. There were two persons who took part in the attempt to draw Prussia at that time nearer to France, and to separate it from Austria, the hierarchy and feudality, who were influenced by motives very different from those of the king's mistress and the triumvirate. The one was Lebrun, who had formerly worked for Maupeou the chancellor in the reign of Louis XV., and at a later period became a high dignitary and duke under the empire, but at the time of which we speak was republican minister of foreign affairs in Paris; the other was the noble and free-minded Herr von Dohm, who was then residing at Bonn as Prussian minister to the court of Cologne. Nothing could be made of all the intrigues which were there woven, because the king could not be persuaded to acquiesce in disloyalty to his allies, but his diplomatists then laid the foundation on which they afterwards built; it is no part of our object or duty however to follow the course of their cabals beyond their immediate and obvious effects. From that moment forward, when the Prussians left Champagne in the autumn of 1792, the movement commenced in France which then finally roused the people to a sense of those national rights which had been lost in the middle ages, and spread in three directions over those provinces which bore the oppression of feudality, hierarchy and ministerial irresponsibility as impatiently as France. The first of these provinces was that part of the left bank of the Rhine which still continues free from the middle ages, because, like the Prussian portion, it has not again obtained back a share of it by a statute of nobility and jesuitical clergy or Prussian historical jurists. It was at first merely the strip extending from the frontiers of Alsace to a little above Mayence which was delivered from the ancient evils. The second of the provinces was Savoy, the third Belgium; the whole three were however afterwards united with France by the French republicans, and therefore injured in their most sacred rights, and from free citizens of their own state with their own language and their own customs, changed into compulsory Frenchmen and ruled by natives of France.

In order to comprehend the enthusiasm with which the irruption of a French corps was received in September 1792 in the

German districts of the Upper and Middle Rhine, we must remember that from Alsace to Düsseldorf the abuses of the German imperial nobles, of the ecclesiastical and secular despotic and embarrassed princes, of the convents and abbeys, of the cities and their corroded institutions and privileged magistrates, were quite incredible. Innumerable jurisdictions of imperial knights and counts, convents, foundations and universities, and among these that of Heidelberg in particular, ruled over villages and towns, and lived in a state of continual quarrel with the small princes and dukes, with the bishops, electors and archbishops within whose territories their petty lordships were included. The industrious citizens and peasants were completely degraded and treated with the greatest contempt by the privileged gentlemen, and given up to be plundered by the *amtman*, or in the Palatinate by the *landvogt*, and to be whipped or put in the stocks by the bailiffs. The duties and taxes were certainly much less than after their incorporation with France, or than they are at the present day ; but this profited the citizens or peasants nothing, especially because no kind of work could be done in consequence of the time devoted to the mere ringing of church and convent bells, to festivals and pilgrimages.

We shall cast a glance on the condition of the larger states on the Rhine, in order to show with what joy the French must have been received in these provinces, had they, as they really professed, and as George Forster and some of the clubists in Mayence actually believed, brought freedom, without, as they did, depriving the Germans of their nationality, which every honourable man values higher than his life. We expressly omit all notice of the state of affairs in the innumerable small principalities and imperial free counties, lordships, and ecclesiastical foundations, because this would involve the necessity of going too deeply into those intricate questions of German law, which still continue to be so dear to our jurists and university scholars. We shall not even mention the eternal disputes which were carried on in Worms and Spire, sometimes between the chapters and the municipality, and sometimes between one or other of these and the bishops ; we shall pass over the pitiful condition of things in Deux Ponts, the impoverishing of the house of Leiningen, the wretchedness of Nassau with its numerous divisions, and the French feelings and habits of the olden time in Kirn, Kyrburg, &c., and only very slightly refer to the conduct pur-

sued by this miserable and contemptible race of rulers in the war. No one ever thought of helping to extinguish the conflagration of his neighbour's house till his own was absolutely on fire, as appears from the history of the electors, who could and ought to have kept off the French from the Rhine.

That part of the Rhine provinces which was most immediately threatened by the French assembled in Alsace could have been the more easily defended by Charles Theodore, elector of the Bavarian palatinate, as Mannheim was at that time fortified on both banks of the Rhine; but from his youth up, previous to 1778 in Mannheim, and subsequent to that year in Munich, Charles Theodore had been the mere toy of concubines and priests. His nobility and favourites played a scandalous game in the Palatinate, sold all the public employments, and exhibited unbounded insolence and audacity. The public offices were either sold to the highest bidder or hereditary in certain families, which was even true of the professorships in Heidelberg; the protestants were persecuted and oppressed, all access to the elector in Munich barred, and Oberndorf ruled in the Palatinate. As Charles Theodore did not wish to be burthened with any of the toils of government, his ministers and even his landvogts ruled like despotic governors, and from 1786, every man who entertained or ventured to express a liberal idea was persecuted as one of the illuminati. This last remark is particularly true of Bavaria proper, where the people were and are so far behind the age as to have no care except for mere physical, or, as they are now called, material interests, and were ready to burn any man as an arch-heretic who spoke a word concerning the necessity of mental cultivation or in favour of mental freedom. It is somewhat remarkable that the Bavarians, who have so recently raised an insurrection on account of beer, were at that time also dissatisfied with the landed proprietors, who were decked with their ribands and stars, and their privileged tribunals, because they forced them to pay too high for their favourite beer, and raised a loud outcry against *peasants and brewers with stars*.

The elector moreover was constantly devoted to the policy of the court of Vienna, and till his death remained the mere plaything of Austrian cabals, Italian women, and of baron Thugut, who managed both. At this period he showed himself miserably undecided, in order if possible to save Juliers by diplomatic arts. He would not allow any of the emigrants to remain in his

territories, and at the decisive moment declared his neutrality, by which he gained nothing, but yielded up his oppressed subjects as a prey to both friends and enemies, by whom they were cruelly maltreated. True it is that he furnished a contingent to the imperial war, which many of the other estates did not do, caused Mannheim to be put in a state of defence, and allowed the Austrians to collect a division of their army on his territory, but at the same time remained perfectly quiet, when Custine's hussars and peasants marched to Worms.

The margrave of Baden, whose territories were then small, had no army, and the duke of Wirtemberg declined the proposal of Austria to take 8000 Wirtemberg troops into her pay: he also wished to remain neutral. The landgrave of Darmstadt in like manner was anxious to promote his own interest, and made not the slightest attempt to defend Frankfort and other parts of the right bank of the Rhine, when Custine crossed that river with a very insignificant force. Danger no sooner appeared imminent, than Darmstadt, as well as Baden, Bavaria and Wirtemberg, began to carry on secret negotiations with the enemies of the empire; and an agreement having been made, sent its small army from Darmstadt to Giessen, and quietly looked on whilst Custine levied contributions on Frankfort.

In Hesse-Cassel, William IX. had succeeded his father in 1786, who had become so rich by his notorious traffic in men during the American war, and on his accession adopted several measures well calculated to promote the welfare of his subjects; but his stony, military heart, and his mind, which was only intent on discipline, parades, and the accumulation of money, were now filled with the greatest anxiety and dread of the diffusion of the new spirit which since 1788 had emanated from France. He was much too penurious to give a kind reception to the emigrants, or to enter into a war with the Frenchmen of the new age, who were his detestation, and he eventually did this merely to please the king of Prussia, and afterwards in order to pocket English money. He carried on the severest and bitterest persecutions against the utterance of every free thought which might affect or lead his Hessians astray, who were accustomed to strict military obedience; but nothing could induce him to expend a farthing upon the emigrants, however distinguished or unfortunate they may have been. The petty prince of Waldeck pursued a course in this respect the very reverse of William IX., and so com-

pletely exhausted his finances by his hospitality and liberality towards the emigrants, that no one in Göttingen, near which he resided, would give him credit even for a few dollars. The Hessians, who joined the Prussians on their march through Cassel in 1792, were taken into the pay of the king of Prussia, till in 1793 a favourable opportunity occurred of selling them to advantage to England.

Worms, Spire, and the three ecclesiastical electorates had excited the warmest enmity of the French by the reception given to the emigrants. This was completely the affair of the priests; the citizens and peasants were extremely enraged at the course which was pursued. They were moreover in the highest degree dissatisfied with their governments, in consequence of the favour shown to all descriptions of rabble and every kind of spiritual and temporal abuses; the way down the Rhine was therefore paved for the French who were then in Alsace. Had not Custine foolishly crossed the Rhine, he would have been easily able to have raised an insurrection in the electorates of Treves and Cologne as well as in Mayence, in the rear of the Prussian army.

Of the three spiritual electors, Maximilian Joseph of Cologne was undoubtedly the best; but it is deeply to be lamented, that from attachment to his unfortunate sister, Marie Antoinette, he should have given a degree of support to his friends, relations, and to the emigrants in general, which was totally inconsistent with his means. The Saxon prince Clement Wenzeslaus of Treves, who in this archbishopric, and still more in his bishopric of Augsburg, cherished the jesuits, to whom no favour was shown either in Cologne or Mayence, had become already an object of aversion on account of his avarice; the feeling against him was greatly increased by the insolence, licentiousness, and the whole conduct of the emigrants, who, to the great annoyance of his brother, the emperor Leopold, were protected and favoured by him more than by other princes, with the exception of the prince of Waldeck. He suffered them to collect armies, to recruit troops, and to make a warlike incursion into their own country, and even relinquished his favourite residence of Schönbornslust near Coblenz, to the king's two brothers and their court. The whole electorate was discontented, because all trade and commerce had been completely destroyed by baron Dominique, to whose management the aged elector, who had neither knowledge

nor resolution, had entrusted everything. Baron Dominique exercised uncontrolled dominion both over the country and the elector, because, in order to gratify the old man's avarice, he, as his first minister, sacrificed every consideration to the fiscal enrichment of the treasury and the privy purse.

Frederick Charles Joseph von Erthal, who cherished and protected arts, manufactures and science with princely splendour in Mayence, had for his private secretary Johann Müller the Swiss, afterward known as Johannes von Müller, the historical eulogist of the middle ages and its knightly aristocracy; from the incomes of three of the richest convents, which he abolished for the purpose, he founded a new university, in which there were some protestant professors, and among them Sömmering and George Forster; but all the splendour of his court could not conceal the destroying cancer of hierarchical feudality. It is impossible to obtain a clearer view of the evils from which the left bank of the Rhine suffered at that time, when it was tormented and desolated by ecclesiastical nobles as by a swarm of locusts, than from the remarks of two able men who were eye-witnesses of the whole course of proceedings which was pursued at the court of Mayence, and the conduct of its nobility and mistresses. The one of these is George Forster, whose correspondence we recommend to the perusal of our readers for many reasons, and particularly as published in the new edition. The other is lieutenant-colonel Eikenmeyer, from whose *Memoirs*, published in 1798, we shall make a few extracts, but only on such points as we ourselves have verified by actual observation on the spot, after the publication of the work referred to. Eikenmeyer, who afterwards became a general in the French service, is a very suspicious witness respecting the conquest of Mayence, and we shall therefore merely extract general facts and matters of experience, to which every German was at that time accustomed, and to which they must in some places begin to accustom themselves again. He says—

“For many years I was unhappy at the thought, that a people who were susceptible of every good, and blessed with one of the richest countries, should be obliged to suffer from a constitution under which merit and virtue must yield the way to sin and ignorance, whenever these were found connected with the pride of birth. This was especially the case under the government of a prince who brought into fashion and spread a taste for luxuries

revolting to reason and humanity, by means of money extorted from those who were called his subjects which he scattered in hands-full among useless courtiers, flatterers and mistresses. Together with this, the vain man was influenced by a longing for notoriety, and sought eagerly after every opportunity of playing a part in the politics of Europe," &c. &c. Whatever opinion we may entertain of Eikenmeyer himself, the representation is literally true, and perfectly corresponds with all our inquiries on the spot, after Mayence had become French, and all feelings of animosity had long disappeared. The dissatisfaction with this prince, a man after Johannes von Müller's heart, who was the ardent protector and friend of the knightly and lineage system of the middle ages, was the greater in the district of Mayence, on account of the strong contrast which it exhibited with the truly spiritual and ecclesiastical government of his predecessor Emerich Joseph von Breidenbach.

Emerich Joseph, who ruled from 1765 till 1774, was, in everything he did, the true representative of a bishop of the most ancient apostolical church: Frederick Charles Joseph directed the whole of his conduct according to the principles of the papal church. Emerich Joseph was the father of his subjects, lived in the simplest manner, and enriched none of his relations; he was neither surrounded by mistresses, cousins, nephews, nor distant relations. He was expressly hostile to the jesuits, their casuistry and the mechanism of their worship, left behind him scarcely 20,000 dollars, and this he bequeathed to an hospital; and finally, he died lamented by good men of all sects. The condition to which Frederick Charles Joseph had brought affairs at the time when the French were threatening Germany with an irruption, may be seen in the 8th part of the writings of George Forster, recently published by Gervinus: what is there said must be compared with what we are now about to narrate.

We have already stated, that the duke de Biron, who was very notorious in the chronicles of scandal of that time, had obtained the chief command of the army in Alsace instead of Broglio. He still remained subordinate to Dumourier, under whom he had previously served in the Netherlands, and was often ordered by him to detach a division to annoy the Prussians in their rear; he was however obliged to wait till the troops under count von Erbach had marched into the territory of Luxemburg. This no sooner took place than he despatched general

Custine. Custine's division was not indeed strong enough seriously to threaten the Prussians; but he might have reduced the allies to a state of great perplexity, had he not, out of mere vanity and presumption, committed the great fault of crossing the Rhine. He had so small a number of troops, and some of them bad, that he durst not venture to attack count von Erbach, who was posted on the Middle Rhine with 10,000 men, but remained shut up within the lines of Weissenburg, till count von Erbach with his best troops had marched into Luxemburg. The count left only a small force behind him in Mayence and as far up the Rhine as Spire, so that Custine was able to show himself at the head of his army, which consisted of few troops of the line, but of a numerous body of national guards. The army of Mayence, of which count von Erbach was the commander-in-chief, was moreover much less fit to be brought into action than Custine's national guards, who soon learned their military duties and became fond of war. The elector looked upon the army as he did upon the church, as a mere institution for making a splendid provision for the nobility. This is clear from the extraordinary fact, that the few thousand men of whom the army of Mayence consisted had no less than twelve generals.

When Custine left the lines of Weissenburg, the number of his army has been greatly overstated at 18,000 men; before however he marched against Spire and Worms towards the end of September, he was reinforced by some thousands of peasants, who had been infected with democratical principles. The army appeared quite unexpectedly, and was so favoured by fortune and the tone of public feeling, that from that moment forward very different views began to be entertained in Germany respecting the French revolution from those which had been previously taken. A few thousand prisoners and the ill-guarded stores which had been collected at Spire fell into the hands of the French under Custine, on the 29th of September; on the 30th, Worms was occupied. As the people of the Bavarian palatinate showed themselves humble, and Darmstadt had been pleased to send all its troops to Giessen, Custine, with his national guard and auxiliary peasants, was able to invest the most important of all the fortresses of the empire as easily as if it had been defended by mere field-works. Mayence at that time was in somewhat the same condition as Magdeburg in 1806, after the battle of Jena. It may be seen from Eikenmeyer's 'Memoirs,' how little this most

noble and spiritual government could calculate upon the body of the citizens or upon any sacrifices for their preservation. He describes the feeling which universally prevailed among men of intelligence, precisely as it was described to the author on the spot ten years afterwards, when everything had been completely changed*. He also so truly and strikingly describes the state of the fortress, the treatment of the whole body of citizens, and the small estimation in which the best officers were held when they did not belong to the privileged classes, that we shall subjoin a passage in a note, because we have inquired into its truth, and not satisfied ourselves wholly with Eikenmeyer's testimony†. Eikenmeyer is undoubtedly highly unjust towards

* Eikenmeyer's 'Memoirs,' Hamburg, 1798 :—"When the fortress of Mayence fell into the hands of the French in October 1792, the small number of enlightened men who had been observers of the course of events, but who did not venture to appear in public affairs, saw nothing else in this loss but a natural consequence of the bad military constitution of Mayence, and the unpolitical behaviour of a court which was occupied with constant intrigues. The multitude, who were full of hope and entertained the most wonderful expectations of the result of the Prussian incursion into Champagne, could explain this wholly unexpected and rapidly successful movement in no other way than by supposing the existence of some secret understanding with the enemy. The court party was anxious to keep alive this suspicion, and hired scribes were employed to circulate it and give it an air of probability. All those who in Mayence had been hostile to arbitrary power and of the oppressions to which it gave rise, and who on the arrival of the French openly declared themselves to be friends of freedom, furnished some reasonable pretext for this opinion. I was therefore the man (he was a lieutenant-colonel of engineers) who was said to have given plans of the fortress to Custine. But as this fortress was surrendered, without the aid of these plans, immediately after the first summons, by a council of government and a council of war, whose members were well known to be anything but of republican principles, they at least did me the honour of having been able, by my influence, to induce those high dignities to take this disadvantageous step."

† Every man was classed with the citizens who did not belong to the nobility, who alone were eligible to foundations and public offices, and therefore the case is *now* completely altered. Eikenmeyer, § 7. p. 19, says :—"The military service in Mayence under Von Erthal, who overturned everything which his predecessors had built up, was an abundant source of profit and luxury for the nobility, and a means of magnifying the splendour of the court, daily increasing in luxury and pomp. Pedantry in dress, puppet-like drills, and theatrical exercises, were the peculiarities which distinguished the Mayence troops from all the other troops of the empire. On all festive occasions the officers were commanded to court, and there the differences of rank were exhibited in the most striking light. Whilst the noble captain and court page sat at the gaming-table and helped themselves to refreshments, colonels who belonged to the citizen class and had become gray in the service formed in rows and durst scarcely venture to go behind the chairs. If the court festival was concluded with an entertainment, it was then hinted to the officers who were not noble that they might quietly withdraw." § 8. "It was at these court galas that the fate of officers was usually decided. Count Wilhelm Sickingen, now in the Austrian service, and who, as most people in Mayence know, under the name of minister

the elector, and overlooks all his good qualities; and in the case of the surrender, as well as afterwards, he also played a character against his German fatherland which it is quite impossible to excuse by any love of freedom, any feelings of dislike to an insolent and oppressive caste, or any cosmopolitanism whatever.

Custine, with an army whose troops of the line consisted chiefly of hussars and a very small number of regular cavalry, no sooner marched against Mayence, on the 5th of October, than all those who had hitherto lived on the fat of the land and despised everything citizen-like, hastened with all speed from the city. The elector, the chapter, nobility, priests and councils, left the city to its fate and fled beyond the Rhine; the imperial troops which were in garrison there took their departure by a rapid flight. They excused themselves on the same pretext with which the landgrave of Darmstadt glossed over his fear or his treachery for not having put himself at the head of his brave and well-trained Hessians, and prevented Custine's hussars, national guards and peasants, from marching on Mayence. "The empire has published no declaration of war," said the landgrave and the leaders of the imperial troops. Among all the cowardly and faithless men, who either fled or insisted on a surrender, there are three Germans whose names demand honourable mention, and these were the capitular of the cathedral, Von Fechenbach, chancellor Albini, and privy councillor Von Kalkhof, who insisted upon the defence of the fortress; there were however no troops there, and lieutenant-colonel Eikenmeyer, who had the greatest influence upon the commandant, even according to his own account, was not the man who either could or would inspire the citizens and students with a desire which they did not feel, to fight for the high German nobility and the hierarchy. The fortress was surrendered without a defence as early as the 21st of October. How important this was, may be judged of by the fact, that it was afterwards defended by the French till beyond the middle of the following year, against the whole of the combined Prussian and Hessian forces.

of state, at that time really performed the duties of a *maître de plaisir*, was accustomed on all these occasions particularly to observe the officers. Those whose countenances or external appearance displeased him were remarked, and means were found to make them aware that they would do well to resign their commissions, in order to make room for more acceptable persons. These court musters took place in such a surprising manner, that little power of observation was necessary to foresee the consequences on every occasion."

The French had no sooner taken possession of Mayence than they formed clubs in the city as well as in other places on the Rhine, after the French models, and the aristocracy of the middle ages, who had there so grossly abused their privileges, felt the whole force of the hatred of the oppressed citizens. This hatred however was often manifested in such an unreasonable and unworthy manner, that all peaceful, sober-minded men, who loved their country and religion even in the midst of the degeneracy of both, and who never despaired, felt offended and disgusted, or expressed their feelings of dislike both to the French and their principles. The princes and their courtiers, the priests and their servants, the free imperial barons and their officials and bailiffs, all fled from the country*. Even the elector, Clement Wenzeslaus, in Coblentz, was completely seized with the panic, and the terrified estates of the electorate forthwith sent a deputation to Mayence to treat concerning the surrender of Coblentz. In order to form some idea of the miserable condition of these governments of the middle ages, it is necessary to know that Custine could never have thought of extending his operations to Coblentz, and that Ehrenbreitstein, by which the town is covered, was regarded as an impregnable fortress.

Luckily for the Prussians and the Rhine countries, Custine was so intoxicated by his unexpected and undeserved good fortune, that as early as the 22nd he sent colonel Houchard to Frankfort, in order to offer to that city, which was at that time fortified, a better freedom than the German. The good citizens of the prosperous and rich city, which however was still in the bonds of the middle ages, and whose trade more resembled peddling than commerce, had not the slightest idea of this new freedom, which was wholly destitute of privileges, diplomas, guilds and corporations, although the tradesmen and lawyers made high and holy asseverations that they were genuine republicans, in order to be able somewhat to reduce the amount of the contribution demanded by the French. But when the French would not be satisfied with half a million, and carried away with them seven of the most distinguished citizens as hostages, and it be-

* This is literally true, for the late syndic Kleudgen has often told the author the way in which he and the prorektor of Heidelberg (who was a monk and professor of catholic theology) were engaged on business in one of the villages when the news came that the French *were coming*. The prorektor gathered up his gown under his arm, leaped out of the carriage, and fled on foot over stocks and stones.

came eventually necessary to pay a full million in the beginning of November, then the Frankfort love of freedom wholly disappeared, and they became again good German patriots.

The French had also taken possession of the small fortress of Königstein, which belonged to Mayence, reached the summits of the Taunus hills, and pushed forward as far as Nauheim, when the Prussians, who had returned from France, collected, arranged, and reinforced their army on the Lower Rhine, and, in connexion with the Hessians, prepared again to occupy Frankfort and to wrest Mayence from the hands of the French. The former was not difficult; the second cost them great labour, time and expense, notwithstanding the confusion then prevailing in France. Mayence was well provided with stores and artillery; the most skilful officers, who gained great renown by the defence of the city, were sent thither; and the most violent and resolute members of the convention were appointed as absolute commissioners to the army in the conquered districts. Reubel and Merlin, two of those officers, gained no small glory during the investment of the city. The French republicans proved as successful against the Sardinian army as they had been against the Prussians. According to agreement, the Sardinians were, properly speaking, to remain on the Var and the Isère till the allies attained their object; but they must always have had reason to fear being betrayed in Savoy, because the fiscal regulations and despotism of the court of Turin had embittered the minds of the people against them; as soon therefore as the French advanced, they evacuated Savoy and left Nice also to its destiny. On the 28th, general Montesquieu took possession of Savoy, and general Anselme of Nice, neither of whom experienced the slightest opposition.

Frankfort was moreover retaken by the Prussians and Hessians as early as the commencement of December; this deed however ought not to have been commemorated by the erection of the monument before the Friedberg gate, because the brave Hessians who there fell storming the city made a very wrong-headed and wanton sacrifice of their lives, as the French could not possibly maintain themselves in the city after Custine had withdrawn to Hochheim. The German empire had at last declared an imperial war on the 23rd of November, but it was not proclaimed till the 22nd of March 1793. The more tedious the movements of the empire, the more rapid became those of the

national convention in Paris. At the very moment in which the Germans were adopting measures for the reconquest of Mayence, the convention united both the city and territory with France. The people of Mayence were compelled to send a deputation to Paris, to beg that their territory might be incorporated with those of the republic. Savoy also was united to France, as the department of Mont Blanc. Avignon and Venaissin had been already wrested from the pope in the midst of peace, and Belgium was no sooner in the hands of the French than it too was obliged to petition for a union with France.

At this time the friends and adherents of the duke of Orleans, concerning whose share in the French revolution many fables have been invented, had the guidance of affairs in their hands, and they constituted precisely that portion of the holders of power who were as real and practical as they were immoral. Dumourier and Danton were masters of the state, the one in the field and with the army, the other in the cabinet and with the fermenting mass; three intimate friends of the duke of Orleans, in connexion with Dumourier's former *protégé* Heymann, who was still in the Prussian service, had laid the foundations of a scheme for bringing the Prussian politics into conflict with the views of Austria. The pupil of madame de Sillery, who is better known under the name of countess de Genlis, Louis Philippe of Chartres, eldest son of the duke of Orleans, under Dumourier's guidance, played the part of an ultra-democrat, and young as he then was, deceived the republicans, both as to his own views and those of his father, which Dumourier would have realized had fortune continued favourable to him. From the fragment of the journal which Louis Philippe kept to please madame de Genlis, from 1790 till the end of 1791*, we learn how well the countess

* Single portions of this journal, but designedly and maliciously chosen to place king Louis Philippe in the most disadvantageous light, are to be found in a work entitled 'Louis Philippe et la Contre-révolution de 1830,' par B. Sarrans jeune, 2 tomes, Paris, 1834. The English tory who bought it at madame de Genlis's auction, has translated it into English and published it in the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. lii. August—November 1834, pp. 527–555. The publisher prefaces the translation by the following remarks:—"We happen to possess a copy of this little work, and as it is rare, and has never we believe been translated, we think our readers will not be sorry to possess it *in extenso*, particularly as, amidst the deluge of French memoirs with which we have been inundated, this curious little piece has been carefully suppressed. Nay, in the laboured apologetical life of Louis Philippe, in that *liberal* but most flimsy and false publication, the 'Biographie des Contemporains,' it is not even alluded to."

had trained her pupil to play the part of a demagogue, although she herself, as is well known, without any sense of shame, afterwards suddenly forsook democratic ideas to adopt the monarchical notions of the old *régime*. There it will be seen at the first look, that his whole ingenuity was continually on the stretch to prove to madame de Genlis that he admirably understood how to clothe himself in the garments of sansculottism.

Dumourier continued to carry on the education which Genlis had commenced, made the duke de Chartres his adjutant, for some time initiated him into all his political secrets, and sent him, by his presence and advice, to aid lieutenant-general Kellermann, who was not initiated; but the unskilful father frustrated all that Dumourier and the son had so successfully commenced. His meanness and total want of shame made him ridiculous, and his base avarice, exhibited at the wrong time, exposed him to universal contempt. On the one hand he entered into relations with Marat, which he ought most carefully to have avoided, and on the other, by his refusal to pay a sum which he had promised, he furnished this shameless and reckless promoter of revolutionary frenzy with an opportunity to name and abuse him by placards on the walls in consequence of this obligation. Besides, on the election of the deputies to the convention, the duke exhibited both his cowardice and his ambition too manifestly to escape the notice of men of all parties; and the Gironde, as well as those republicans who had sworn to fight under the standard of Robespierre, entertained no doubts as to his ulterior views. By Manuel's advice, the duke made himself ridiculous, and his friends and adherents objects of hatred and scorn, not only by renouncing his title but even his family name, in order to obtain an affected appellation, which was in reality no name, but was merely to serve as a passport to his election as a member of the convention*. Dumourier however informs us, by the names which he mentions and his manner of relating the circumstances, that on the retreat of the Prussians in the middle of October, he

* Upon Manuel's advice, he besought the council of the commune of Paris to bestow upon him a new name, and in the font of republicanism they baptized him, Philip Egalité. He returned thanks for this honour in the following terms:—"Citoyens, j'accepte avec une reconnaissance extrême, le nom que la commune de Paris vient de me donner; elle ne pouvait en choisir un plus conforme à mes sentimens et à mes opinions. Je vous jure, citoyens, que je me rappellerai sans cesse les devoirs que ce nom m'impose, et que je ne m'en écarterai jamais."

went to Paris to arrange a plan of operations, and that, as soon as he induced the Prussians to retire and laid down a plan for the conquest of Belgium, he availed himself of the assistance of the duke of Orleans' friends in order to have his plan accepted.

Servan, minister of war, now began to see that it would be impossible for him to maintain his place; Pache, his successor, it is true, belonged to a different party of the jacobins from that which was protected by Dumourier and connected with the duke of Orleans, for he was on terms of more intimate friendship with Marat and Robespierre than with Danton. There was an individual however who had also a voice in the decision of military questions, and great influence with Pache, who was an intimate friend of the duke of Orleans and a participator in all his orgies, and of whom Dumourier availed himself to promote his views; this was Chauderlos de la Close (author of the '*Liaisons Dangereuses*'). Dumourier carried on his intrigues in Paris with consummate ability; he obtained reinforcements for his army, and succeeded in procuring the appointment of Kellermann, whom he could not endure, to the chief command of the army of the Alps. Dumourier also at that time intrigued against Custine, and wished to effect his recall from the army of the Rhine. On the other hand, he availed himself with great ability of the services of Santerre, who had been violently abused by him because he was an intimate friend of the duke of Orleans. Santerre, who had at that time been changed from the owner of a brewery (for he was no more a brewer than the demagogue Cleon in Athens was a tanner) into a general, was a good-natured narrow-minded man, and for that reason fitter to be employed by Danton and others for the promotion of their objects, and to be led into revels and debauchery by the duke of Orleans. He was worked by Westermann and Danton for Dumourier, and Dumourier admits, that he was indebted to him especially for being allowed to enter upon the winter campaign which was undertaken against the Austrians in Belgium*.

A storm had at that time already been raised against Dumourier, and all the corrupt and worthless men who thronged around

* Dumourier observes,—“Le vil (!) général Santerre fut très-utile à cette occasion; il étoit maître de tous les approvisionnemens, et s'il n'avoit pas voulu consentir à les lâcher, il eût fallu rester dans l'inaction. Heureusement Westermann étoit son ami, Danton pouvoit tout sur lui, et ils y mirent un grand zèle.”

Danton and the duke; the consequence of this was a much greater accession of power in the jacobin club, among the people, and in the convention, to Robespierre, than his talents could have procured for him, although he was a man incorruptible in his principles, simple in his mode of life, and above the reproach of licentiousness in morals. Dumourier therefore hastened back with rapidity to his camp, because the girondists hated and abhorred him, Marat wrote and Robespierre declaimed against him, and he saw no other possibility of executing his designs except by victories, conquest, and enriching the people who were either sent to him from Paris, or whom he himself appointed to their situations. His views were obviously neither ideal nor republican. He no sooner returned to the camp than he ordered the division under Beurnonville to join the main body under his own command, in order, with their combined forces, to make an attack upon the duke of Saxe-Teschen before Clairfait could form a junction with him. Clairfait with his army had separated from the Prussians on the 13th of October and marched into Luxemburg, but was obliged to make a circuit in order to form a junction with the duke. The troops under the command of Saxe-Teschen had raised the siege of Lille on the 24th of October, and been driven back from point to point as far as Mons. In the neighbourhood of Mons, or at Bergen, near Jemappes, the duke resolved to make a stand, before all the regiments had arrived which Clairfait was bringing to reinforce him, and whilst those which had arrived were still suffering from the fatigues of their march. It is obvious, even from the sparing and eulogistic Austrian report* of the exploits of this noble commander in this campaign, that in spite of all palliations and excuses, it would have been very fortunate for Austria, if, instead of him and other princes therein named, some other able generals had possessed the command. The imperialists were completely defeated at Jemappes, and the Walloons deserted. They were not however very rapidly followed by the French; and no small astonishment was felt at the delay, and all kinds of suspected views and secret plans were attributed to the intriguing Dumourier, who, without any apparent reason, remained in Mons from the 7th till the 10th of November. Robespierre and Marat availed themselves of this fact to excite suspicions against Du-

* In der österreichischen militärischen Zeitschrift. Neue Auflage. Wien, 1834. 2r Band, s. 5, und folgende.

mourier in Paris, for Marat published in his dreadful journal, 'L'Ami du Peuple,' a long series of remarks on the battle of Jemappes, some just and true, and others malicious, and especially directed against Dumourier and his adherents in the convention.

The duke having been compelled to resign the command of the army, which was in a miserable condition, to Clairfait, and having gone to Aix la Chapelle, the new commander soon found himself unable to maintain his ground against the French, and was obliged to evacuate the whole of Belgium at the end of November; Liege was occupied as early as the 28th, and on the 30th Miranda reduced the citadel of Antwerp. In Liege the French found a much more ardent revolutionary party than in Mayence, for the people of Mayence had been only rendered hostile to the whole system of German nobles, priests and officials by the last bishop, whereas the people of Liege had been at enmity with the prince bishop for thirty years. This district was therefore earlier, and much more easily united with France than Belgium. In the meantime Dumourier was engaged in a series of disputes with Pache, the minister of war, who did not belong to that party which availed itself of the instrumentality of Marat in his journal, in order to write down every man who exhibited any degree of genius, or was unwilling to concur completely in all Robespierre's views. This party however still spared Danton and his adherents, because they still had occasion for his energy and influence to assist in annihilating the girondists, as the constitutionalists had been annihilated since August. Robespierre and his friends therefore rabidly attacked Brissot, Roland and others, as early as the months of November and December; in January the girondists were obliged to acquiesce in Roland's resignation of his office, although coupled with the condition that Pache also should cease to be minister of war. The jacobins however succeeded in having their friend Pache appointed mayor of Paris, whereby he became much more powerful than before, because the commune of Paris ruled the whole of France: Roland remained without any appointment. Pache had previously been obliged to make concessions to the victorious general, and to suffer him to enter into all sorts of negotiations with adventurers, fortune-hunters, speculating contractors and commissioners, who robbed the soldiers of their claims and cheated them of their supplies, to enrich him-

self. Dumourier charges general La Bourdonnaye, his second in command, and a man of his own stamp, with having been guilty of wholesale extortions; that may be so, but the Peruvian adventurer Miranda, whom Dumourier chose to replace him, was indisputably much worse, and especially far inferior as a military man to La Bourdonnaye.

The brave soldiers of the republic in the meantime suffered great miseries, the discipline of the army became relaxed, speculators and knaves enriched themselves, and Dumourier, on account of his intrigues, was compelled to have recourse to the aid of very worthless men, or to act with military vigour against those still more worthless ones who were sent to him in crowds from Paris by the clever criminals who were at the helm of affairs: by these means he exposed himself to great animosity and hatred. Dumourier's 'Memoirs' cannot be regarded as any authority for these intriguing times, because he is very anxious to conceal what all of us, however young, who lived in those times, knew to be the fact,—that his whole army fell into a miserable condition through the dishonesty of the contractors, whilst the bloodsuckers of Belgium, the refuse of Paris, became rich. To all this may be added, the equivocal and ambiguous language and conduct of the commander-in-chief; his continual disputes with Pache, the minister of war, as long as the latter remained in office; and finally, the prevailing anarchy and party-spirit in the convention, until they got rid both of the king and the Gironde. Cambon, who afterwards directed the financial affairs of the new republic, was undoubtedly a fanatical republican, who shrunk from the adoption of no means of terror; but he was at the same time a master in his department,—honourable, faithful and industrious. He first directed Pache's attention to the confusion which Dumourier and his contractors had made*, and because the finances or treasury were under his direction, he submitted his views to the convention respecting the speculators. Dumourier favoured the usury of these people, because he profited by their intrigues, although he may not

* The way in which Dumourier speaks of speculators of the worst description (predecessors of Ouvrard) will sufficiently show why Malus and D'Espagnac, whom Dumourier had sent to Paris as his agents, were arrested. "D'Espagnac," he remarks, "homme de beaucoup d'esprit et fertile en ressources, vint l'y trouver. Il avoit l'entreprise des convois de l'armée. Il lui prêta cinquante mille écus, et il fit par ordre du général avec le commissaire ordonnateur Malus, différens marchés pour des souliers et des capotes, dont le soldat avoit grand besoin dans une saison aussi rigoureuse."

have shared the advantages of their infamous gains. On the motion of Cambon, the convention caused the chief speculators, Malus, Petit Jean and D'Espagnac, to be arrested.

The conduct of one class of jacobins towards the other did not make the matter better. The army was not better provided for, and the conquered country was still more cruelly plundered, when the anti-Orleans party to which Pache belonged, sent other knaves and scoundrels who were to cabal against Dumourier as the others had intrigued in his favour. The choice of the chief commissioner itself proves, that the scum of Paris, the refuse of the hellish adherents of Marat, were urged on against the rich and bigoted Belgians. The fanatical Ronsin, who afterwards, at the head of the revolutionary army, filled all the country around Paris with horror and dread, and at a later period, in connexion with Westermann and Rossignol, was guilty of murder and burning in La Vendée, was selected for this important office, which demanded a man of the highest prudence and experience. Dumourier would have been lost at that moment had he not found support and protection in the deputies from the convention who belonged to the other party and were present with the army, and from Camus, Danton, Gossuin and Lacroix.

If any reliance can be placed upon Dumourier's account of his disputes and differences with the convention, he had no doubt much more correct ideas of the manner in which France ought to have dealt with her conquests, than either the vain republicans, who were desirous of forcing their nationality upon other nations, or Buonaparte, who wished to play the characters of Cæsar and Charlemagne at the same time. He states, that he would have united Liege, Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine and Savoy with France, but would have bound them to that country by the ties of alliance and gratitude as independent and separate republics. Had the convention adopted this plan and advice, the prince of Orange, the German princes and abbots, and the councils and burgomasters of the middle ages would have immediately and irretrievably fallen. Dumourier alleges, that he split with Danton and Lacroix on this very point; they were anxious not to allow the unlimited dominion and certain booty, which was secured to them by the decree of the convention of the 15th of December, to escape from their hands. By means of this decree, the deputies sent to the armies obtained possession of unrestricted power. Danton and his three col-

leagues were in fact good for nothing except to pull to pieces and to destroy; and therefore they were provided at this time with the assistance of Treilhard and Merlin de Douay, two men who possessed all those qualities and talents, and all that information of which the Dantons were destitute*.

The mischiefs perpetrated in the conquered provinces by others as well as by the six commissioners sent with unlimited powers by the convention to the army, at length induced Dumourier himself to take a journey to Paris, in order to effect the rescinding of the decree of the 15th of December. He arrived in Paris in the beginning of the year 1793, and took part in the consultations respecting the defence of Mayence against the Prussians and Hessians, who had regained possession of Frankfort. Custine had declared Mayence in a state of siege, taken the necessary steps for its defence as early as the 14th of December, and stationed 10,000 men of the reinforcements sent to him by Biron in the city, and yet he still continued to keep possession of Hochheim six days after the arrival of the sovereign commissioner from the convention. In the very commencement of the year, the convention despatched to Mayence Reubel, Merlin de Thionville and Hausmann, as deputies with unlimited powers, to erect and organize clubs in connexion with the parent club in Paris, and as the supreme administrators of politics, administration and war, to provide for the defence of the city.

Dumourier left Paris on the 26th of January and found new enemies to struggle against on his return to the Netherlands, because the convention, on the 1st of February 1793, had declared war against England and Holland. The causes of this war and the course of political events we shall hereafter give in detail, and in the meantime confine ourselves to Dumourier's undertakings.

The French began their campaign in Belgium earlier than the English and Dutch were in a condition to take the field; but they overlooked the fact, that the Austrians, whom they had driven out of Belgium, had received very extensive rein-

* In the latter part of Dumourier's Memoirs (published 1794, 6th and 7th book of the edition of 1822), Dumourier adds: "À ces six commissaires on en ajouta trente-deux autres, nommés par le pouvoir exécutif ou le conseil, mais désignés par le club des jacobins de Paris. Ceux-ci étoient pour la plupart des bêtes féroces et des scélérats, qui n'entraient dans ces riches provinces que pour piller et massacrer."

forcements during the winter on the Rhine. On the 17th of February Dumourier set out from Antwerp, with a view to attack the frontier fortresses of Holland, whilst Miranda was sent against Maestricht. On this occasion the expatriated Dutch liberals rendered most important service to the French by means of their committees, which, after 1788, had been formed partly in Paris and partly on the frontiers; and besides, the most distinguished of all the engineer officers of the old French army commanded one of the divisions of Dumourier's force. This was general d'Arçon, who had gained great reputation by the invention of the floating batteries employed in the siege of Gibraltar, although the invention brought no good fortune to the Spaniards; but became far more celebrated for having, in connexion with Carnot, helped to prepare and digest the plans for the victorious armies of France during nineteen years. Westermann, who in the course of a few months had risen from the rank of sergeant to that of colonel, in consequence of this campaign, deserves to be named amongst those generals of the revolution who have proved that the armies of the revolutionary time were indebted for their success and victories to the circumstance of the way being opened up for merit to the attainment of the very highest offices. The jacobins and their representatives, the deputies, had indeed placed a drunken tailor from Lille at the head of a regiment of hussars, but Dumourier dismissed him from his post without ceremony.

The French were at first as successful in Holland as they had been in the preceding year on the Rhine and in Belgium; for the whole of the fortresses fell into their hands as if they had been open places. Breda, Getruydenberg and Klündert were taken without the labours or losses of a siege; Willemstadt, Bergenopzoom and Steenberg were closely invested, and the siege of these latter fortresses commenced when the Austrians at length began to move on the Rhine. On their retreat from the battle-field of Jemappes, the imperial army had been almost wholly dissolved, at least completely demoralized; but notwithstanding Clairfait had succeeded in bringing it, without any considerable loss, first to Berghem, and when the French had also taken possession of Liege, next in defending himself behind the Erf and the Roer, and in maintaining the small fortress of Juliers; notwithstanding all this, he was replaced by one of the numerous princes who exhibited as figurants in the Au-

striar army. Frederick Josiah of Saxe-Coburg was now appointed to be general field-marshal of the Austrian army of the Rhine, but before he began his movements against the enemy, he was to enter into close relations with the duke of Brunswick, who was as methodical as himself, and had learned and practised the old system of strategy in the seven years' war. He therefore took a journey to meet the king of Prussia at Frankfort, before he joined the army. The new commander was a worthy disciple of the tedious strategy of Lacy and other generals, among whom he had served in the seven years' war, and who relied on all their plans being devised and settled in the cabinet; Mack, who afterwards became so notorious, had a description of influence with him as a colonel similar to that which Massenbach had with the duke of Brunswick. According to the style of the newspapers and the language of the court, Coburg had gathered laurels in Wallachia during the war with the Turks, but in reality he had merely got himself into a position of great difficulty and danger, and was in the greatest anxiety till Suwarrow came to his relief, who by the exercise of his immense talents as a general and the bravery of the Austrians, who rejoiced in having for once a general worthy of them, gained a splendid victory. He now appeared with the army of the Low Countries in order to reap the fruits of what Clairfait had sown; immediately after his arrival therefore the army advanced. In this expedition the van was commanded by a prince of the house of Austria who afterwards rendered great service to Austria and Germany, and gained great honour by the skill which he displayed against Jourdan and Moreau. The arch-duke Charles, to whom we refer, had learned the science of war under Clairfait.

The imperial army broke up from its quarters on the 1st of March 1793, and advanced for the deliverance of Maestricht, which had been most vigorously cannonaded by Miranda from the 20th of February. Prince Frederick of Hesse commanded the city for the Dutch, but the emigrants, and among them some admirable artillery officers, were the men who defended the fortress with all the resolution of despair, because they expected no mercy from the enraged republicans. Among these, Dumourier speaks in the highest terms of praise of lieutenant-general d'Autichamp, and ascribes to him the maintenance of this position till the appearance of the Austrians on the 3rd of March. Dumourier ascribes the misfortunes which then befell

the besieging army to an incomprehensible mistake on the part of general Miranda, whilst Miranda casts the whole blame of the affair upon Dumourier's confidential friend, general Valence. Dumourier alleges, that Miranda should have taken up a strong position between Tongres and Maestricht, and have there stopped the Austrians in their advance, but that he had lost his understanding and the army all confidence in their general. The French were soon driven from the whole of the right bank of the Meuse, Liege occupied by the Austrians, the French threatened in the rear, terror spread as far as Louvain, and the deputies of the convention, alarmed for the fate of the whole army, sent orders to Dumourier to relinquish the Dutch expedition in order to save Belgium. He received this command on the 8th of March, and on the following day hastened to Antwerp, in order further backwards to re-collect Miranda's army, which had become completely disorganized.

Dumourier having been obliged to relinquish his undertakings in Holland, and the English having been disembarked and advancing into the country, he had not only to contend with his enemies in the field, but with the Belgians, who were extremely discontented, because the jacobins, who had been sent from Paris into the Netherlands, and their Belgian associates had conducted themselves partly like robbers and partly as madmen. Dumourier however succeeded in collecting an army behind the canal of Malines, of which the Austrian official reports give an exaggerated account in estimating it at 55,000 infantry and 6500 cavalry. These reports further allege, that there were besides 22,000 men scattered about among the various places in Holland, and that the Austrians advanced so rapidly against Dumourier in order to attack him before there was time for the troops from Holland to join. This however was only partly successful; and it was not, as they say, prince Josiah who urged the affair with so much zeal, but Clairfait. The prince should at least have known, that in the previous year, when the design was entertained of besieging Lille, no heavy artillery, at most only some that was useless, was to be found in the Netherlands, and that he ought now to have made provision against such a deficiency; but this was not done, and there was also a want of heavy artillery for the siege of Mayence. On the advance of the Austrians, Clairfait commanded the advanced division of the army: he and the arch-duke Charles were always in the van.

At the very moment in which the French army was compelled to retreat, the jacobins had caused a general movement among the people of the Netherlands, and were active in inducing them to sign petitions for a union with France, whilst the people themselves scarcely knew why they were assembled, and, properly speaking, did not understand for what they were petitioning. Dumourier therefore describes with great humour the manner in which at that time new departments were added to France*.

Dumourier moreover did not await the attack of the Austrians, but by advancing endeavoured to raise the fallen courage of his army; he in fact succeeded in repelling the enemy, and on the 15th of March gained some advantages at Tirlemont. Both parties had resolved on an engagement, which actually took place on the 18th of March, between Landen and Neerwinden, where so many battles had been fought in the time of Louis XIV. As Dumourier and Miranda had no reliance on each other, and the military talents of the latter were very doubtful, nothing very good could be expected from the result of a battle in which he held the chief command, and was at the head of troops who had no confidence in their general. The field of battle extended over a space of about seven English miles; the right wing, which was commanded by Dumourier, sustained the attack of the enemies' centre in an engagement which lasted from seven o'clock in the morning till five o'clock in the afternoon, and maintained the advantages which it had gained in the very commencement of the battle. The cautious and systematic prince field-marshal was in fact making all the necessary arrangements for a retreat, and had actually ordered the artillery to retire upon Tongres, when he perceived that the arch-duke Charles had beaten the left wing of the French.

The defeat of the left wing compelled Dumourier to make a quick retreat, and he lays the whole blame of this disaster upon the incapacity or evil intention of Miranda. He alleges, that

* "Les commissaires assemblaient le peuple dans les églises sans aucune forme régulière. Le commissaire Français, soutenu par le commandant militaire, par des soldats, par des clubistes Français et Belges, lisait l'acte d'accession, que souvent personne ne comprenait, non plus que sa harangue. Les assistants signaient cet acte, la plupart en tremblant, on imprimait ces pièces et on les envoyait à la convention, qui, sur le champ créait un département de plus."

this general retreated as soon as he saw that two of his columns had been thrown into confusion, and troubled himself no further with the condition of the army. Dumourier waited for him for some time in vain, and afterwards found him quietly seated at his writing-table, when he reached Tirlemont on his retreat. The loss of this battle was ruinous to the French. They not only lost 7000 men in killed and prisoners, but all the exertions of their officers proved utterly insufficient to prevent the army, which still partly consisted of undisciplined troops, from disbanding. Dumourier now met with the same fate as Lafayette; he lost the favour of the people and all credit with the national convention; but he had long since adopted measures by his diplomatic arts so as to gain protectors and friends among the enemies of his country. As early as the 12th he had made the national convention acquainted with his dissatisfaction respecting the condition of things in Paris; as long as he was a conqueror he inspired fear, and the influence of his friends among the Orleans party sustained him; and Danton and Lacroix had even been sent to him anew to endeavour to change his mode of thinking, but after his defeat a universal shout was raised against him. He was besides imprudent enough on this occasion to express his belief, that he might rely upon his army for the restoration of a monarchical order of things.

The monarchical project, to which Dumourier at that time so frequently alluded, could be no other than the establishment of an Orleans on the throne, seeing that the king was executed and the whole of the elder line of the Bourbons outlawed. The jacobins were fully aware of all this, but they were afraid of him, for they knew well that he as well as they would not hesitate to have recourse to any means which would serve to promote his object. Notwithstanding Dumourier's cunning and talents, in order to carry on the cabals in which he was constantly engaged, he was obliged to take into his confidence a number of unprincipled men who sold themselves to both parties. Three of these men who employed jacobinism as a mere screen for rascality, and like innumerable others called themselves republicans merely to obtain advancement, were now sent from Paris to Dumourier in order to worm out his secret. This they were able to manage without difficulty, because immediately after the loss of the battle, he had entered into some very suspicious neg-

otiations, and the spies who had been sent to watch his conduct, according to their own report, found him in company which led them immediately to expect treason*.

Dumourier himself informs us, that he had opened his treasonable intercourse with the prince of Coburg as early as the 21st and 22nd of March. As we learn from the Austrian official military reports, there were according to ancient custom two princes, both of whom regarded themselves as above the law, and carried on continual disputes with each other. Prince Frederick, who had the command of the Dutch, followed his own views; and prince Josiah complained, that he had not advanced as far as Malines, which he ought to have done.

The chief part in all these intrigues carried on by Dumourier was played by the notorious general Mack, and everything was done by word of mouth, because the Austrians agreed to a truce only under conditions which were not to be made public. The treasonable agreement which was concluded in Louvain, by virtue of which the French army was to be allowed to retreat beyond Brussels without being attacked, and a new conference to be held with Dumourier on the 24th of March to settle the plans which Dumourier promised to pursue in co-operation with the imperialists, was not even communicated to Clairfait, who did not therefore desist from hostilities. Coburg on the contrary remained three days in Louvain, and merely for appearance sake sent out a few troops to pursue the French army in their disgraceful and disorderly retreat from Louvain. The second conference between Dumourier and Mack took place in Ath, and the former himself admits, that he declared to the latter his intention of leading his army back to Paris and forcibly dissolving the convention. He repeated the same thing, in the presence of his staff, to Proly, Pereira and Dubuisson, the jacobins already mentioned, who had been sent to him at Door-

* The three knaves who pretended to be his friends, and to whom he gave some commissions to Paris, were named Proly, Pereira and Dubuisson. The report which they made to the convention may be seen in the last edition of the *Mémoires*, vol. ix. note B. pp. 277—287. In everything affecting Dumourier, the report bears *internal* evidence of truth; but it is obvious enough that everything relating to the spies is false. They met him in Doornick in company with Louis Philippe at the house of madame de Genlis: “Il (Proly) le trouva dans une maison occupée par madame Sillery (Genlis), mademoiselle Egalité (Clotilde) et Pamela; le général étoit accompagné des généraux Valence, Egalité (Louis Philippe), et d’une partie de son état major.”

nick*. The agreement entered into at Ath between Dumourier and Mack on the 27th, in presence of prince Louis Philippe de Chartres, the worthy pupil of a Dumourier and countess de Genlis, was completely frustrated by the imprudent declaration of his views which Dumourier made on the 29th to the three spies of the convention at Doornick. He calculated too much upon the unconditional attachment of his army, and had therefore arranged with Mack that the Austrians should halt on the frontiers and only act as auxiliary forces; the three spies however instantly hastened to Paris to report to the convention what they had discovered in Doornick, and on their return through Lille gave the necessary hints to Delacroix, Robert and Gossuin, the three deputies of the convention who were there, to lead them to do everything in their power to counteract Dumourier's designs. These three therefore immediately required the commander-in-chief to repair to Lille; he replied however, that he could only come to them at the head of his army. In this way Dumourier formally declared war against his country, and these, as the other deputies of the convention had previously done, availed themselves of the secret intelligence they had gained of his negotiations with foreigners, and of his promise to put a fortress into their hands as a pledge of his sincerity, in order to stir up the pride and national feeling of the army against him. Dumourier reckoned with certainty upon the troops of the line; in this expectation he was deceived, but the greater part of the German regiment of hussars (Berchiny) in the French service proved really so devoted to him, as afterwards upon his command to arrest the deputies of the convention and to go over with him to the ranks of the enemy.

Cambacérès, at that time a fanatical jacobin, but also a very profound jurist, therefore prepared for all cases, and afterwards Napoleon's high-chancellor, had just brought up the report agreed to by the committee of general welfare respecting Du-

* The conversation had turned on the king, when one of the party said, no one would consent "*qu'un Louis . . .*" Dumourier interrompt et réplique, '*Peu importe qu'il appelle Louis ou Jacobus.*' '*Ou Philippus,*' dit Proly. A ce mot Dumourier se livre à un mouvement violent, dit, que '*c'est une atrocité des jacobins, qui depuis longtemps lui reprochent d'être du parti d'Orléans, parcequ'après l'affaire de Jemappes il avoit rendu à la convention un compte avantageux de la conduite courageuse de ce jeune homme, qu'il forme au métier.*'"

mourier's treason, and laid it before the convention on the 26th of March 1793, when Proly, Pereira and Dubuisson announced the result of their journey of espionage. On this occasion, as well as on all others, Cambacérès showed himself to be a most skilful advocate, because in the course of a very few days, from being the defender of a man whose cause he had zealously taken up on the 10th, he became his accuser as soon as victory had forsaken him, and to please the very same enemies against whom he had previously defended him. On the 26th of March, he brought forward the criminal accusation, and induced the convention to pass a decree on the 1st of April for the arrest of Dumourier. The deputies Camus, Quinette, Bancal and Lamarque were to be entrusted with its execution and publication, and they were to be accompanied by Beurnonville, minister of war, who was to assume the temporary command of the army. These commissioners found the general at the baths of St. Amand; but he immediately caused the deputies as well general Beurnonville to be arrested by his German hussars in the service of France, and sent them on the 4th to Clairfait at Doornick, where they were detained as hostages for the safety of those members of the royal family of France who were kept prisoners in Paris. This occurred moreover at the time when Dumourier's plan of putting Condé and Valenciennes as pledges into the hands of the Austrians had proved a failure. He had been repulsed from Condé by force, been fired on from Valenciennes on his attempt to enter the city, and his attempt to surprise Lille was equally unsuccessful. Forsaken by all those on whom he had most confidently reckoned, outlawed by the convention, and proclaimed as a traitor, he betook himself to Clairfait at Doornick, where he was afterwards joined by some 1500 cavalry and infantry, who brought along with them all the baggage belonging to the general staff.

§ II.

HISTORY OF THE INTERNAL MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC TILL THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE, ST. JUST AND COUTHON, THE TRIUMVIRATE OF THE REIGN OF TERROR.

a. FIRST DIVISION TILL THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

The election of deputies to what is called the national convention was made under the influence of that general terror which had prevailed in consequence of the events of the 10th of August, and fell exclusively upon those who were recommended to the people by the advocates and literati who ruled in the clubs of Paris, and who had the boldness to play Dantons in the clubs which corresponded with that of the capital*.

The proclamation of a republic was already involved in that of the legislative assembly, which was professedly drawn up on the 10th of August, and came from the pen of Condorcet, in which the nation was called upon to empower the deputies whom they elected to make a complete change† in the monarchical constitution and the laws adapted to it, and the convention was scarcely opened on the 21st of September, when it passed a formal resolution declaring France a republic. This resolution was adopted on the motion of Collot d'Herbois, the actor, who afterwards, in connexion with Dubois Crancé, an engineer, played one of the leading characters during the reign of terror. This day was the commencement of a new order of things throughout the whole of France. During the previous tumults and disturbances, the heads of parties were merely intent upon demagoguery and the promotion of insurrection, but now

* The author has often conversed with Grégoire on the events of the reign of terror, and expressed his wonder that Paris, in which Robespierre ruled, found obedience and imitation throughout the whole of France. The answer was, "Que voulez vous, il n'y avait pas de village qui n'eût son Robespierre."

† This "Exposition des motifs d'après lesquels l'Assemblée nationale a proclamé la convocation d'une Convention nationale et prononcé la suspension du Pouvoir exécutif," is to be found in Thiers, and also in the 'Essais Historiques de Beaulieu,' and is the best proof, that the dream of a republic deceived the ablest members of the Gironde respecting the dangers of the 10th of August. It is quite impossible that Condorcet could have written this admirably composed paper at the time of the tumult, and we have already observed, that everything had been made ready in July which was to be made public in August.

all the ablest and most useful men were united in the various committees appointed for the management of the various departments in the state, and the deputies of the convention, who were sent with full powers into all the departments, supplied the want of those authorities which had been everywhere either abolished or suspended.

By an examination of the ordinances which lie at the foundation of the French code, or by which it was at least preceded, it will be seen that the wise and experienced men who sat in the committees, and were unconnected with the police, the politics of the moment, and with the actual government, adopted at that time the most admirable measures for erecting a new political edifice, upon the ruins of the middle ages, suited to the wants and claims of the age. Whenever any committee possessed the confidence of the convention, this body unhesitatingly resolved and decreed what the committee recommended, although in everything relating to the present moment, to police and government, it was absolutely dependent upon the common-council of Paris, as it again was under the rule of the jacobin club. The committees themselves, and especially the two entrusted with the business of administration, were only suffered to be organized first in October 1792, after a violent struggle between the moderate members and those dreadful men who had been brought into the convention by Robespierre, Marat, and other demagogues. One of the great objects of the promoters and friends of these committees was, by their means again to reduce the power of the commune of Paris within just limits, and to raise up a counterpoise to the jacobin club. The Gironde, whose members composed the most moderate as well as the most numerous portion of the convention, was also anxious to diminish the influence of the savage terrorists. They were particularly desirous of lessening Danton's influence, whose implacable resentment against those who had been anxious to call him to account for the September murders afterwards contributed to the downfall of the Gironde. For this purpose a law was passed, that no one could at the same time hold the offices of minister and deputy; Danton was in consequence obliged to resign the ministry and the great seal.

The committees divided amongst themselves those departments of government and administration which had been previously managed by the ministers of the crown, and the mere

executive portion of the government was all that was now reserved for those who were called by that name under the convention; they were kept apart from all those noisy and violent consultations which shook the convention, which alone had to decide upon all questions affecting the state. In this manner, thirty members formed the committee of *surveillance*, twenty-four were named for the superintendence of the war department, and fifteen sat upon the committee of finance. The legislative committee was very carefully selected, irrespective of all party considerations or politics; its wisdom is to this day recognised and appreciated by the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, and its institutions, with the modifications to which they were subjected under the empire, are regarded by the inhabitants of these provinces as the palladium of their liberties. This committee was composed of forty-eight experienced jurists, formed by intercourse with the world and trained in the courts of law; these men sprung from the ancient schools, which, however bad they might have been for the masses, as our old learned institutions now are, were still good for the few, who wished to penetrate through the shell and to reach the kernel of knowledge. There was still a fifth committee of forty-two members, to whom belonged everything connected with the finances, the mint and assignats. Although the three parties into which the convention was divided well knew, that for the present no expectations of a constitution could be seriously entertained, as the leaders of the jacobins at a later period publicly declared, yet it was thought expedient to do something at least to make the people believe they were not to remain wholly dependent on the arbitrary rule of the convention, and therefore a committee was also appointed to draw up the basis of a constitution.

The names of the persons who were to consult together with a view to draw up the basis of a constitution will show that it was impossible to arrive at any practical result, as really proved to be the case. On this committee, Danton, Siéyès, Condorcet, Thomas Payne, Pétion, Brissot, Gensonné, Vergniaud and Barrère, at that time still a girondist, sat and deliberated together. As will be seen from the list, the girondists, or the friends of a peaceful republic, founded on the full acknowledgement of civil rights, constituted the majority; and their enemies afterwards availed themselves of this fact to expose them to the indignation and hatred of the people, by alleging that they were the

persons to be blamed for the want of a constitution. The majority of the convention at that time consisted of moderate men, to whom the general name of girondists was given, however different they were in the directions and tendencies of their politics; the party however had no resolute and efficient leader, for Brissot never was entitled to that rank, although their opponents nicknamed the party Brissotists. Their opponents, the proper jacobins, from whom the Gironde completely separated after the murder of the king, had two men to whom they yielded implicit obedience; there was therefore unity among them, and by virtue of that unity of action they also became eventually conquerors. Those deputies who at a latter period constituted the party called the *Mountain*, recognised Robespierre as their leader, and Marat as the expounder and organ of their cruel energy; the others (called *Cordeliers*) followed Danton's hints, and till the end of the year 1793 were the authors of all the scandalous scenes which took place in Paris, because they reckoned the whole of the mob, all the powerful and wicked men of the city, amongst their number.

The members of the convention who were called girondists, from October 1793, gave rise to a war between the moderates and the two parties which fought under the banners of Robespierre and Danton. This was occasioned by complaints and threats uttered against Danton and his adherents, who were accused of embezzlement of the public moneys, bribery and corruption of every description, and against Robespierre and Marat on account of the incessant demands of the latter for the continuance of scenes of plunder and blood, and the suspicious declamations of the former against all those who possessed greater talents than himself. Servan was therefore driven out of the ministry by the opponents of the Gironde, and Roland was merely able to maintain himself in his position till the commencement of the following year, when the discovery of the iron chest in the Tuileries furnished their enemies with an opportunity of accusing the most distinguished men of the moderate party of being concerned in a royalist conspiracy.

The locksmith who made the iron chest, which was built up in one of the walls in the palace of the Tuileries, and contained all the papers, letters and documents relating to the private politics and views of the king, pointed out the place to the city police where this suspicious depositary was to be found, who then seized upon

and examined the papers, and caused all those to be printed which were calculated to promote their views. The Gironde however was accused of having suppressed much. Among these papers were letters and documents relating to the correspondence kept up by the king both at home and abroad since 1789, with a view to escape from the dominion of the commune of Paris, and to get rid by any possible means of the national assembly and his own ministers. This chest also contained accounts of the vast sums foolishly expended by Laporte in bribery, and as it was said also, the letters of the leading members of the Gironde, of which we have already spoken, in which they proffered their assistance to the king, on conditions which he scornfully rejected. The most of the men belonging to the moderate party were timid, and therefore the violent sections saw the propriety of having recourse to decisive measures, if they hoped to rule in the convention, in order to inspire terror, and to obtain by fear what they could not realize by argument; with these views they urged on the masses, whom they called the *people*, to demand the execution of the king. The king's trial furnished them with the means of either causing a complete severance between the girondists and the fanatical people, or binding them to a deed, which would confound the timid among them with the audacious and criminal, because they would be compelled after the issue of that event to have recourse to all possible means to protect themselves against the vengeance of the adherents to the old *régime*.

The Gironde was well aware that the captive king might prove a support to them in case of necessity against their audacious and impious colleagues; they were therefore well-disposed to save him, when demands were made from all sides that he should be brought to trial for his life; they dare not however exhibit any evidence of their inclinations. All quiet and peaceable citizens had been kept in such a state of terror since September, that they scarcely ventured to appear in public; the masses of the people were stimulated to violent indignation against everything old by the journalists and clubs; the judges were all selected by the populace who had assumed to themselves the execution of summary justice and the management of the police; and any expression of dissatisfaction with their views respecting the king would have sealed the doom of him by whom it might have been uttered. We think it necessary in this place to

refer to this fact, in order to determine the point of view from which the incredible quarrels, personal disputes and cabals must be judged, which occupy such a prominent place in all the memoirs of that period, and are usually detailed at such length in all French histories of the revolution. All this may have great national interest for the French, but has much less for other nations.

The charge and accusation against the king did not moreover proceed from Robespierre or Danton, but from a member of the convention who was reckoned among the girondists. On the 7th of November, Mailhe brought the impeachment, the discussion on which was opened on the 13th, and on the 20th Roland, in his capacity of minister, laid those papers which had been found in the iron chest before the assembly, who wished to append some of them to the indictment as proofs. Every one who has even the smallest idea of criminal justice will see, that these documents could afford no ground whatever for a penal judgement upon the king, although they might perhaps have justified a renunciation of allegiance. The king's trial, into the particulars of which we shall not enter, was a mere farce; the object of which was to induce the majority of the national convention to declare it their opinion, that it had become politically necessary to remove the king out of the way, and by a bloody sacrifice to bind the convention irrevocably to the revolution. The chief points alleged against the king, and proved by the documents found secreted in the iron chest, really consisted of nothing more than the allegation, that the king had entered into and kept up a continuous correspondence with the open and secret enemies of a people who were constantly in rebellion against him, and that too at a time when all existing laws were set at defiance in the name of the people. It also appeared from the documents referred to, that he had contributed money for the seduction and bribery of statesmen of importance,—continued to pay his former guard even in Coblenz, and finally, that he had been made the mere tool of knaves and intriguers and given very considerable sums to both his brothers; but all this could not be called a capital offence. It is therefore with no small astonishment that one reads the report presented to the convention on the 3rd and 4th of December, drawn up by the committee of legislation, that is, by forty eight of the most celebrated jurists in France. These jurists continued to wrest and

subtilize the law so long, till they at length satisfied themselves in coming to the conclusion, that the allegations made did furnish a ground for a criminal prosecution, although even if they were right, all had occurred at a time in which the people sinned more against the king than the king against the people.

The prevailing fanaticism, which carried away even the best men, clearly appears from the debates which took place in the convention on the 3rd and 4th respecting the questions, whether and how the prosecution against the king was to be carried on, and before what tribunal he should be tried. When we have read the speeches of those whose words were at that time regarded as oracles in France, there no longer exists any difficulty in explaining the silence of one part of the convention, the vain forwardness of the majority of the jurists, who were accustomed to pervert the law, and the cowardice of others, who were anxious to obtain the favour of the clamoring populace, which was then the arbiter of honour and the bestower of substantial rewards. In this respect particular attention must be paid to the speeches of the pious Grégoire, and his dreams of Utopian virtue; of the marquis St. Just, overflowing with the sentimentality of the visionary Rousseau, in which he quotes the principles of the *contrat social* of the Genevese reformer as others do the Bible; of the learned and philosophical marquis Condorcet, and of Camus, who was as bigoted and devotional as an ignorant monk. When such men gave way to vehemence and passion, who could venture to continue cold and rational without danger of being torn to pieces? These men however were real enthusiasts; they did not with cold malice and poisonous envy calculate the obvious views expressed in their shallow and figurative declamations, which were suited to affect the mass of common minds, in such a manner as to denounce every one who did not coincide in their opinions as an aristocrat and enemy of the people. Robespierre was the great master in this art, of whose powers a full display will be found in his speech on this occasion. His address in the convention is hypocritical, flattering, and mean. It is what the multitude regard as beautiful, copious in language and mild in expression, although he plainly points in the distance to the downfall of all those who did not concur in his views; the whole spirit of the speech is directed against the punishment of death, but proves at the same time that it must be inflicted on the king.

There were ten men, who had been remarkable ever since 1789 for their fiery zeal against feudalism, hierarchy, and, in short, against all the abuses of the times of ancient royalty, and for their enthusiasm in favour of freedom and the cause of equal rights, and who for these reasons had been chosen members of the convention, who distinguished themselves on this occasion by their solemn protest against the murder of the king, which their colleagues demanded on political grounds. Among this number, deputies Louvet and Fauchet were conspicuous; men who were well-known for their fiery republicanism, and their vehement hatred against those abuses of christianity which they regarded as popish idolatry; the former of these deputies* warmly supported his colleague Salles in his proposal that an appeal should be made to the people, when judgement was about to be pronounced in January. To this number also belonged the noblest of all the numerous lawyers in the convention, the jansenist Lanjuinais, the zealous defender of right and justice. The efforts of these ten honest and noble-minded men to ward off the blow from the head of the unfortunate king proved to be in vain; they could not even succeed in having a special tribunal appointed for his trial, as had been done in England in the case of Charles I. The same convention, which raged with such fanatical hatred against the king, were desirous, according to the resolution of the day, to confer upon themselves the appearance and distinction of a court of justice!!

It was first resolved, on the motion of Pétion, that the king should be put upon his trial; and secondly, that the court before which he was to be tried should consist of the members of the convention. On the 6th of December it was moreover resolved, that a commission of twenty-four deputies should be appointed to draw up the articles of impeachment, and report to the convention on the 10th, and that the king should be placed at the bar of the assembly on the 11th. From this moment the king was treated as a criminal prisoner in the Temple, absurdly and contemptuously addressed as Louis Capet, and loaded with indignities of every description. This was all cunningly and maliciously calculated with a view to rob royalty of its splendour, and to destroy the glory which names and titles still possessed in the eyes of the people, and at the same

* *Mémoires de Louvet de Couvray*, Paris 1823, p. 60.

time to expose the person of the king to contempt. With respect to his own bearing, the reports of all, even of those who have praised him as a martyr, and have devoted many volumes to the tragic history of fallen greatness and unmerited sufferings, agree that he neither exhibited firmness nor dignity. He endured, it is true, but with the endurance of a monk or a woman, and not with that dignity and manly firmness which puts common men to shame, and which might have recalled to the minds of the miserable tools of his enemies, that they were born with degraded souls.

The commune of Paris was entrusted with the safe custody of the king, and the persons whom they employed as their agents were selected from among seditious priests and the lowest artisans, in order that the royal family might be rudely and ignobly treated. The mean and vulgar persons by whom the royal family was surrounded in the Temple behaved in their presence, and in their intercourse with them, precisely in the same manner as they would have done in company with their equals in the wine-shops of Paris. We pass over the whole of the melancholy narrative of these vulgar insults and of everything which merely personally affects the king, because this must be depicted in a manner altogether foreign to ours, whose object is to detail the history and connexions of states, of the life, conduct and condition of their people, and the relations of the various ranks and orders of which the people consist, and especially because, instead of invoking either Calliope or Clio, we are accustomed constantly to appeal to their mother Mnemosyne. We have innumerable accounts of the last days and fate of Louis XVI.; the best however which we can recommend to our readers is the journal of Cléry, the valet who was with the king in the Temple, and which has since been printed. Thiers also, and especially Beaulieu, in what he calls his attempts at a history of the revolution, go very minutely into particulars. The extent to which the minds of the people were embittered may be judged of from the passage quoted below, from the report of two eye-witnesses*. Great differences of opinion prevailed and have

* *Histoire de la Révolution par deux Amis de la Liberté*, tome ix. p. 221. "On ne faisoit pas deux pas dans les rues de Paris sans trouver des baladins montés sur des tréteaux, qui quand ils avoient attiré autour d'eux la multitude par le son de quelques instrumens, entamoient ensuite un dialogue, dans lequel on traitoit Louis XVI. d'anthropophage, et dont la péroration étoit, qu'il falloit faire tomber sa tête pour l'affermissement de la liberté. Des

been expressed concerning the king's conduct before his judges and in prison till his execution; we place no reliance in this point, as well as generally on the affecting and well-told anecdotes which are related by thousands, or the well-known exclamation of the priest upon the scaffold. The king's conduct before the tribunal and in prison, like the character of his religion in the Temple and at his execution, seems to us to betray more of a womanly than of a manlike character, and to have been much more suitable to the condition of an ordinary citizen than to that of a king; but most writers, and even Barrère himself, are of a different opinion*.

Barrère, in his *Memoirs*, not only deems it right to praise the bearing of the king and the whole course of his conduct, but this dreadful reporter of the committee of public welfare of the year 1793, boasts concerning himself, that although also a perverter of the law, he was yet better than Buonaparte's high-chancellor. He informs us that he was president of the convention on the first hearing of the king before that assembly, and that as such he spared Louis XVI. the pain of hearing himself addressed as Louis Capet; and that Cambacérès, who was then his colleague, but who afterwards announced to the king, in the name of the convention, that he was permitted to employ three advocates to manage his defence, repeatedly used the expression Louis Capet,

furibonds, le sabre à la main, hurloient le soir dans le Palais Royal, *A la guillotine, Capet, à la guillotine*. Des sociétés populaires écrivaient des départemens, qu'il falloit que le sang de Capet expiât ses crimes; des hommes blessés à l'affaire du 10 Août défilèrent dans le sein de la convention sur des brancards en criant vengeance. Des orateurs des sections affluèrent à la barre et demandant une sentence contre Capet, déclaraient hautement, que l'humanité ne régneroit sur la terre, que quand il n'y auroit plus de prêtres."

* In the fourth volume of Beaulieu's 'Essais,' the tragic history of the king is related from the 7th of November till the 21st of January 1793, with all the minute circumstances and in the very words of Cléry and others; and at the conclusion of the volume a report of the judicial hearing and other documents are appended word for word. It would lead us too far to enter in this place into a review of all the circumstances on which our judgement with respect to the king's conduct has been formed. Barrère is of an opposite opinion. In vol. ii. p. 59, he remarks: "Louis XVI. parut à la barre, calme, simple et noble, comme il m'avoit toujours paru à Versailles, quand je le vis en 1788 pour la première fois au tems des états-généraux et de l'assemblée constituante;" and *l. c.* p. 60, "Cependant le roi restait toujours debout avec une noble assurance; il ne perdit pas un instant la dignité du trône sans paraître se souvenir de son pouvoir." This testimony would undoubtedly outweigh all others, as Barrère sat in the convention and also saw the king in the Temple, if it did not come from Barrère, in whom no confidence can be placed.

although the king interrupted him in order to state, that that name could in no respect be applied to him.

The prolongation of the king's trial from the middle of December, when it was commenced, till beyond the middle of January, must be especially ascribed to the circumstance of the majority being desirous of resorting to all possible means to snatch him out of the talons of the Orleanists, without being compelled to sacrifice the favour of the lower classes, on whom at that time everything depended. On this occasion no one was more active, more courageous, or more fertile in expedients and obstructions, suggested by his knowledge of law and its forms, than Lanjuinais, who had previously neither suffered himself to be deterred by political prudence nor fear from constantly demanding the punishment of the September murderers. The case was very different with Barrère, who, because the office of president of the convention was at that time transferred to a new member every fourteen days, was the person that interrogated the king on the 11th of December, and whose account of this judicial examination occupies a great part of the second volume of his *Memoirs*. It will be seen from the manner in which he there gives his report, how he withdrew from the affair, with what skill he contrived to serve both parties, and understood how suddenly to change from one side to the other. He had previously given proofs of his abilities in this way, when he, Dufresne de St. Léon and Talleyrand, were impeached on the grounds of some papers found in the iron chest. He drew his head out of the noose; Dufresne de St. Léon and Talleyrand (who was absent) were impeached. With the same skill did this man, afterwards the Judas of the girondists, escape the consequences, when through Dumourier's flight, the intimate relation in which he had stood to Dumourier, Madame Genlis and the duke of Orleans, and the guardianship which he had undertaken at their request, threatened to prove ruinous to him.

The rupture which took place between Robespierre's and Danton's adherents and the reasonable party in the convention, or between the Mountain and the Plain, during the king's trial, and in some measure in consequence of it, proved very disadvantageous to the management of public affairs. Those therefore who wished to rule the convention through the instrumentality of the commune of Paris, excused all the mischief which

they suffered and called into life by the declaration, that it was only possible to secure any unity of government, or the defence of the kingdom against foreign enemies, by having recourse to a new 10th of August or 2nd of September. All those clamorers who had succeeded in crying down the friends of a monarchical constitution now thought themselves obliged again to raise their voices against every man who seceded from the jacobin club, or whose expulsion from this dreadful association was regarded as a prelude to the loss of their freedom or life. Whenever therefore the war was attended with bad success, the blame was ascribed to the girondists, and as early as the concluding months of the year 1792, all the newspapers, journals and speeches in the jacobin club made allusions to the treachery of Roland, the intrigues of Brissot, the knavery of Louvet, Guadet and Vergniaud. The girondists however succeeded in having at least the forms of justice observed in the king's trial. We have besides always regarded it as a mark of special weakness in the king, that instead of compelling these men of violence and blood to be guilty of a formal murder, he condescended to submit to a long and humiliating trial, and allowed his defenders to put in answers to the three hundred and fifty-one counts in his impeachment. The king appeared before the bar of the convention on the 11th, and again on the 16th of December, and then an interval was allowed for the preparation of the defence.

During the period of delay between the 16th and 26th of December, the mob of Paris, and all those who in such various ways were employed as the machinery of jacobinism, were stimulated to such excesses of fanaticism and so completely organized for an insurrection, that the cowardly majority of the convention was in a state of continual dread, so that they trembled for their lives, and at length fell in with the stream. The cause was carried on from the 26th of December till the 7th of January 1793, and after an adjournment brought to a close on the 14th and 15th of the same month. On the 14th three questions were submitted to the convention, which, in opposition to all the institutions existing since 1790, united in itself the duties both of judges and jury. Its members were called upon to give an issue on these questions: "*Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the nation? Shall the judgement pronounced by the convention be referred to the people? What punishment shall be*

inflicted on him, should he be found guilty?" The king was pronounced guilty on the 15th, and all the attempts made by many members of the convention to procure a reference of the sentence to the will of the people proved useless. The most violent debates took place on the 17th and 18th respecting the last of these questions, whether he should be condemned to the punishment of death? At length it was resolved with malicious cunning, that each of the members should answer to his name and deliver his solemn decision; this method was resorted to in order to take advantage of the fears of the majority, who dreaded the manifestation of any appearance of royalism, and to make it impossible for any one afterwards to deny his share in the murder. This method of voting consumed forty hours, and some idea may be formed from the words of an eye-witness given in the note, of the courage which was required under such circumstances for a man to remain true to his convictions of the resolution with which some members did so, in spite of the most imminent dangers, and what excuses may be made for those weak minds which were overruled by terror*.

When all the courageous and honourable men saw that an absolute majority would be in favour of the sentence of death, two able lawyers had recourse to the last means for deliverance. Lehardy, and after him Lanjuinais, claimed, on behalf of the king, a right which was secured to all persons judicially con-

* The few words of an eye-witness, which are here given, seem to us to contain much more than the whole long dissertation at the end of vol. iii. of Thiers's 'History of the Revolution': "A la convention, il y avoit tumulte, désordre, fureur. Il n'étoit pas un recoin de cette enceinte qui n'offrit pas un aspect repoussant. Les hommes du 2 Septembre sont accourus, armés de bâtons et de sabres. Altérés du sang, que leur promettent les chefs jacobins, ils remplissent les avenues de la salle, ils y attendent les députés, applaudissent à ceux qui leur sourient, et poursuivent de gestes assassins et de cris féroces ceux qui dans les séances précédentes parlèrent de clémence. 'Ou sa tête, ou la tienne!' ne cessent-ils de vociférer à chacun d'eux. Des femmes assises dans les loges de faveur vis-à-vis la tribune oratoire, parées avec soin, semblent assister à une grande représentation théâtrale. Les députés de leur connoissance les saluent, causent avec elles, vont leur chercher des rafraichissemens. Elles regardent avec avidité ce spectacle nouveau; leur intérêt s'attache à la physiognomie, au son de voix du député qui prononce son vote, &c. &c. . . . Cependant les êtres les plus abjectes des faubourgs s'y montrent en plus grand nombre et sous des vêtements sordides; on y boit du vin et de l'eau de vie; on y fait des paris pour ou contre la mort du roi; on pique des cartes avec des épingles pour marquer la couleur des opinions à la manière des pontes dans les salons du Palais Royal. L'ennui, l'impatience, la fatigue se lisent sur tous les visages, lorsque dans les rares intervalles de suspension ou de tranquillité, la colère et la rage n'en décomposent pas les traits."

demned to death, viz. that two-thirds of the votes should be necessary to give validity to the sentence. This claim also was rejected, and the clamour and tumult became almost incredible; and yet withal, of the 721 deputies who were present, only 361 voted unconditionally for the punishment of death; and in order to show a majority, the names of all those should be deducted, who it is true voted for death from cowardice, but who added to their vote a condition in favour of delay or something of a similar kind. Garat, who had become minister of justice instead of Danton, who had been obliged to resign in order to retain his seat in the convention, was now called upon to perform the duty of announcing the sentence to the king. This man afterwards played a splendid part in our century, for which he paved the way by this affair. To the honour of the majority of the deputies however, we must remark that there were courageous men among them who were anxious for a delay of the execution, in hopes that the present madness would only prove of short duration. This proposal was made on the 19th, but rejected by a small majority,—380 against 310 votes. The execution took place on the 21st. By this murder a new and unexampled description of government and administration of justice was rendered necessary, because the majority of the French and all the princes were deeply offended at the conduct of the convention.

On the 29th of January Siéyès came forward with his transcendental idea of transferring the powers of government to an authority for managing the resources of the nation. Such a plan was not for a moment to be seriously thought of. The opponents of the Gironde were therefore indisputably right in alleging, that the idea of a peaceful social republic governed according to the Genevese principles was an absurdity under the existing circumstances; they were therefore politically right and morally wrong, when they wished to root out everything contrary to the system of Danton and Robespierre, and for the present to allow nothing in France but a continuance of the work of demolition. They wished to burst all the social bonds of past times; to destroy every man who did not share in the prevailing fanaticism in favour of innovations; by fair or foul means to bring estates and public offices into the hands of the friends of the new order of things, and not to suffer a return to the quiet operation of law till the subversion of the old *régime* had been made complete, and the last everywhere become the first.

In order to attain this object, it was necessary to enrich the masses, the poor, and even criminals, because their services were absolutely necessary for the perpetration of scenes of violence and force in the interior, whilst the armies were employed in service against foreign foes. This plan was therefore advocated by all the public orators, and openly and boldly proclaimed by Robespierre in particular in all public assemblies; it was daily announced by Camille Desmoulins in his pamphlets, by Fréron, Marat and others in their journals, and by this means Marat, who had been an object of contempt in the convention and hooted at by the boys in the streets, became the political tool of others; he was in fact the herald of murder. The importance which this contemptible and horrible man possessed for a long time in such a city as Paris, can only be explained by bearing in mind, that a species of impious and audacious originality gives a degree of force to the language of reckless profligates and blasphemers, formed in the wine-shops and beer-houses of great cities, of which we have some opportunity of witnessing examples in our public courts, in the conduct of the most desperate criminals, borrowed from the tales and romances of our own times, which are unhappily too often full of such scenes of horror and disgust. Marat was a proficient in this style.

It was quite impossible that the remains of madame de Staël's saloons, the eloquent men who had assembled and shone there together with Lafayette, Laroche-foucault and others, and who were not at the head of the Gironde, could offer any permanent resistance to these audacious principles, or to the desperate men who maintained and propagated them, and who carried them out by means of the mobs of Paris, which were under their guidance and control. The struggle for life and death which had been incessantly carried on between the Gironde and the two jacobinical parties ever since the king's execution, led to scenes in the hall of the convention and in the streets in February 1793, similar to those which preceded the fall of the constitutional party in June and July 1792. Marat gave the signal for all those acts of violence which were perpetrated by the poor upon the rich, and well understood how to avail himself of the fact of some capitalists having made an unseasonable speculation. Several members of the convention had united with a number of merchants who had founded a mercantile speculation, which would have been a matter of course in other times, upon the

issue of the war which had recently broken out between France and England and Holland, and the consequent difficulties of importation. They made large purchases, particularly of coffee, sugar and soap; the retailers raised the prices of these articles; the women of the capital, who were interested in the affair, were easily roused to excite tumults in the streets, to assail the shops, and to raise a cry against the rich. They at last pretended that they wished to assemble in a body to draw up and sign a petition to the convention against the rich, and for this purpose obtained the use of the hall of the jacobin club.

The whole affair was a mere contrivance* in order to excite a tumult and alarm, for the jacobins no sooner refused their hall to the mob on the 22nd of February, than a number of Marat's 'Ami du Peuple' appeared on the 25th, in which he encouraged the populace to storm some of the shops and to hang up at their doors some of the forestallers whom he pointed out. This hint from the organ of the enemy of the Gironde, for whose annihilation every expression which was uttered by Marat was calculated, was not indeed literally followed, but first the bakers' shops and then those of other dealers in necessities were surrounded by crowds and kept in a state of imminent siege. The multitudes who besieged the shops first established a low price above which the goods were not allowed to be sold, and finally those shops were absolutely plundered. The convention, which continued to hold its sittings during the tumult, received one report after another concerning every step which was taken by the populace against the shops, but the hired clamorers who filled the tribunes raised as loud and violent an uproar in the hall of assembly as the women did in the streets. Every announcement of some new piece of mischief was received by them

* In order to explain the machinery of that time and to elucidate the passage in our text, we here present our readers with the words of an eye-witness who then played the difficult character of a moderate journalist in Paris. Beaulieu, 'Essais,' vol. v. p. 53, gives an account of the manner in which the women who pretended to be washerwomen gave vent to their complaints respecting the rise in the price of soap, in the jacobin club and in the council of the commune of Paris, &c. He then adds: "Voici comme cela se passait: quand le comité secret des jacobins avoit besoin de quelque insurrection, de quelque pillage, qu'il n'osât faire provoquer directement, par la Société-Mère il envoyoit des émissaires aux cordeliers et à la société fraternelle, et les clubistes cordeliers, et les clubistes femmes, d'après l'invitation de ces émissaires, venaient présenter aux jacobins, au conseil de la commune et enfin à la convention, les pétitions solennelles qui devoient servir d'introduction aux expéditions populaires."

with the shout of *So much the better*, and every proposal to take means of putting an end to the riot was responded to by *Down with him*. The majority of the convention indeed succeeded in carrying their resolution, by passing a decree of accusation on the 26th against Marat, as the instigator and promoter of these incessant disturbances; but no one could think of putting the decree into execution; on the contrary, Robespierre and Danton, the two protectors of the accused, founded their dictatorship in March on his dominion over the people.

Marat's friends, or rather the enemies of true civil freedom to which the Gironde was favourable, prevailed upon the mayor of Paris, in the midst of the wild clamour of the tribunes, to cause a petition to be presented to the convention from the commune of the city, in which the insane measure was recommended of fixing a *maximum* price upon all articles of prime necessity. Even in these affairs the same men were already actively engaged, who for a year afterwards were the most powerful supporters of the system of murder. Pache having been obliged to resign the office of minister of war to Beurnonville, had now become mayor in the place of Chambon the physician, and Chaumette was his *procureur*. This attempt to regulate prices failed on the present and every subsequent occasion, and proved the ignorance of those who took such a view of its possibility; but the opponents of the Gironde, who wished to establish a power dreadful to every honourable citizen founded upon the favour of the people, nevertheless attained their object.

On Danton's motion a war-tax was first decreed, which was to be levied on the rich citizens exclusively, and next forty-two commissioners of the convention, armed with despotic power, were sent through the whole of France to promote reforms according to Marat's principles. Two of them were to go into each of the twenty-one departments, in which it was thought desirable first to lay the foundation of these jacobinical principles, and to dispose of all offices, things and persons with unlimited dominion, and without any appeal from them or against them to the convention. They were commissioned to establish democracy, to remove all obstructions to the introduction of the new order of things, and to cause all evil-disposed citizens to be arrested and brought to trial, as well as to direct everything relating to military recruiting with dictatorial power. We pass over a considerable number of similar measures which

were resolved upon in March, in order to mention that dreadful tribunal, which was instituted on the proposal of the most learned jurist in France, whom Napoleon especially consulted respecting his code, and who became his high-chancellor, and on the institution of which this renowned parasite attached himself to the minister of justice who had protected the September murders. We must not however deprive the theologians of their share in this murderous tribunal, which was erected by the jurists. The proposal which Cambacérès and Danton, to whom we have above referred, took up, had originally proceeded from a protestant clergyman called Jean Bon St. André.

There should, it was said, be a tribunal intended for the whole of France, and confined to the duty of trying the enemies of the nation. This was at first merely called an *extraordinary*, but afterwards a *revolutionary* tribunal; it was changed in its structure from time to time, till at length it was fairly despoiled of all protecting forms of law, and assumed the functions which we shall hereafter describe. The erection of this tribunal has been excused or defended by the allegation that France was still swarming with malcontent priests and friends of the emigrants, and that a dreadful insurrection had broken out in La Vendée in March. Further, it was alleged that the emigrants had taken the field with foreigners against their country, and the defence of the nation must be supported by the severest measures. Lanjuinais and Guadet, jurists of a different character from Cambacérès and Danton, attempted in vain to have the jurisdiction of this terrible court limited to Paris; they were merely able to obtain the concession, that the jury, whose number was afterwards fixed at twelve, and not the judges, should be the sole judges of the fact. It cannot be denied that the first movement for the institution emanated from the Gironde, but the dreadful institution itself was afterwards forced into active existence by Marat's and Danton's sovereign people. Chaumette organized a threatening procession from the Paris sections of *Bon Conseil*, *des Cordeliers* and *des Jacobins*, in order to compel the convention to acquiesce in the institution of this tribunal; we see however, from the changes which were effected in the original form of the court, such as it was proposed* by Cambacérès and Danton, from the 10th of March

* The resolution, as proposed by Cambacérès and Danton, was as follows: " Il sera établi à Paris un tribunal extraordinaire révolutionnaire. Ce tribunal

when it was first established, till the end of the month, how powerful the members of the Gironde then were. It was the heads of this party who succeeded, at least at first, in giving to this tribunal the appearance of an ordinary court, during the continuous bloody struggles of this month. The united adherents therefore of Robespierre and Danton alleged, as early as April, that it was impossible to expect any unity of government, or any energy for the defence of the kingdom, until the party of the Gironde was completely annihilated.

According to the milder and better form of the court which has been just referred to, there were to be five judges and twelve jurymen, a public prosecutor, and two assistants; certain judicial forms were also established, which were neglected as soon as the Brissotines, or as they were called, federalists of the convention, were conquered. From that time forward the public prosecutor alone spoke before the court, and the jury chosen by the convention, that is, by the faction ruling in the convention, pronounced *guilty*, whilst the judges named by the same faction passed the *sentence of death*; this tribunal recognized no other. Such a court obviously required a police suitable to itself; and together with the committee of *surveillance*, appointed by the convention, and that of the commune of Paris, such a committee was formed in every section of Paris and other large cities, and finally in every parish. Twelve citizens, chosen by lot, were everywhere elected, and constituted an authority before which every man was obliged to appear and to receive from its hands the card of a citizen. Whoever was unprovided with this card was exposed to penalties or death.

At this period the laws against emigrants, priests and mal-

connaîtra de toute entreprise contre-révolutionnaire, de tout attentat contre la liberté, l'égalité, l'unité et l'indivisibilité de la république, la sûreté extérieure et intérieure de l'état, de tous les complots tendant à rétablir la royauté ou à établir tout autre autorité attentatoire à la liberté, l'égalité et la souveraineté du peuple, soit que les accusés soient fonctionnaires civils ou militaires ou simples citoyens. Les membres du jury sont choisis par la convention. Les juges, l'accusateur public et ses deux substituts sont aussi nommés par elle à la pluralité relative des suffrages. Une commission de six membres de la convention est chargée de l'examen préparatoire des pièces et de la haute surveillance sur les procédures. Le tribunal prononcera sur la validité de la récusation des jurés qui pourrait être faite par les accusés. La déclaration des jurés sera rendue à la pluralité absolue des suffrages. Les jurés voteront et formeront leur déclaration publiquement et à haute voix à la pluralité absolue des suffrages. Les juges ne peuvent rendre un jugement s'ils ne sont du nombre de trois. Les jugemens seront exécutés sans recours au tribunal de cassation. Les biens des condamnés seront acquis au profit de la république."

contents of every description were rendered more severe at least once every week, and among others a law was passed, that every non-juring priest and every emigrant who should return to his home should be executed within eight-and-forty hours. Nothing was said of a new constitution except that Siéyès once produced a metaphysical specimen of such a document. The various committees of government, and the deputies who had been sent into the provinces at that time, exercised a dictatorial power in the kingdom. Neither the committees nor the convention were however agreed among themselves; Danton's and Robespierre's dominion, on the contrary, was continually disputed by the Gironde from April till the end of May. Danton and the knaves who together with him and Dumourier had maintained the cause of the duke of Orleans, were at last obliged to relinquish the prince, when Dumourier and the duke's son became traitors. The duke had exposed himself to suspicion by assuming the name of Philip Egalité, and he embittered even Robespierre against him, by voting for the death of the king; Danton was unable to save him. At the beginning of April he was conveyed from Paris to Orleans as a state prisoner, and then to Marseilles; and Robespierre was not able to succeed till October in having him brought back to Paris and there executed.

The measures to which recourse was had in this month did not proceed from the jacobins and cordeliers alone, but the girondists, threatened by their enemies in the convention, and by the fanatical royalists, aristocrats, priests, and the slaves of priestcraft of the old *régime*, were obliged either to bring forward or to defend severe laws, in order not completely to lose the favour of the people, their influence, or their lives. Because these men already perceived in March that they must yield to their violent opponents in Paris, and as the whole government by degrees fell almost exclusively into the hands of the two clubs and the common-council of Paris, they were zealous in their opposition to the centralization of all government and civilization in the capital. They threw out some hints of a union of French republics, of which the centres were to be established in the large trading cities of the south and west. This idea of Brissot's was adopted by Barbaroux, Guadet, Condorcet and other able and intelligent men, but not the slightest use was made, nor any measures taken to apply the principle to the state, and this very idea was afterwards regarded as high treason in the opponents of Robes-

pierre and Danton ; the Parisians were especially enraged against them because their scheme was calculated to humble the pride of the capital. The party was named *federalists* or *Brissotines*, and this name, like that of *aristocrat*, or on our side of the Rhine at the present moment, of *jacobin*, *demagogue*, or *communist*, was a species of sentence of death which every cowardly calumniator had it in his power to pronounce against every honest man.

Up till the time of Dumourier's flight and the delivery of the minister of war into the hands of the enemy, which we have already related, the Gironde found a very powerful support in general Beurnonville. He was the man who with strong hand repelled the assault of the mass of jacobins, who on the 10th of March 1793 wished to repeat against the convention, what on the 10th of August had been perpetrated on the king. The proposal to storm the convention was not certainly adopted without Danton's advice, by the sections *des Cordeliers* and of the four nations. Danton kept in the back-ground, but his hellish subordinates, Varlet, Fournier, Lasuski and Desfieux, showed themselves openly, but at the head of such a cowardly rabble as no one would have acknowledged had the cause failed of success. At a previous period neither Pache the mayor, Chaumette the *procureur*, nor Hébert of the treasury knew anything of the plan ; Santerre spoke against it ; Marat and Robespierre denied all participation whatsoever in the commencement of these public murders ; these men nevertheless carried their plan into execution.

The plan of the September murderers was as follows : the whole body of ministers were to be engaged in deliberation on the 10th, at the house of the minister of war ; these were either to be driven out of the country or slain, and then the convention would be compelled to expel such of their members as proved not to be agreeable to the murderers. The whole masses of the people therefore rushed in streams to the convention, filled the hall as well as the neighbouring squares and streets, whilst the real instigators of the plan, who were exclusively bold villains, surrounded the house of the minister of war. Fortunately there were still in the city 4000 of the Brest volunteers, who were on their march to the army, and who had already helped to restore order in the capital on the 25th of February ; Beurnonville had immediate recourse to those who were his countrymen. The ministers caused ladders to be placed against

the lofty walls, and by means of these escaped into the garden, from whence Beurnonville hastened to the Brest volunteers, and having put himself at their head, sword in hand, he soon scattered the mob. The remaining crowds at the convention were afterwards easily dissipated, because they were without leaders, and a very heavy storm of rain compelled them to seek for shelter.

The convention, which on its opening had assumed a completely despotic power, and united in itself the functions of government and legislation, together with the administration of justice, on the pretence of being furnished with peculiar powers to represent the people in an extraordinary manner, during the months of March and April delegated the whole of these powers to various committees. The committee of government, although bound to make reports to the convention, constituted in fact even at that time a despotic oligarchy. This oligarchy however was first completely instituted after the breaking out of the disturbances in La Vendée and Dumourier's flight from the army, although a diplomatic and a military committee, and a third which was called the committee for general defence, had long united in themselves a great part of the power of government, whilst not only a state inquisition (*comité de surveillance*) formed from the convention, but one still more democratic had been long established in all the communes. In the course of events, the revolutionary tribunal, the plan of which had been drawn up by the greatest jurists of the present century, was changed into an extraordinary political machine, by the decree quoted in the note*: under this law, without having recourse to all the wicked arts of the monarchical inquisitions, any man might be destroyed who was of a different opinion from his enemy and accuser. At a later period another name and designation was given to the committee for general defence. This change was consequent on

* "Ceux," so runs the decree, "qui sont ou qui seront prévenus d'avoir pris part à des révoltes contre-révolutionnaires qui ont ou qui auraient lieu à l'époque du recrutement sont hors la loi; en conséquence, ils ne peuvent profiter des décrets concernant la procédure criminelle et l'institution des jurés. Le fait demeure constant par un procès verbal revêtu de deux signatures, ou bien d'une seule, confirmée par un témoin ou par la déposition orale de deux témoins. Les prêtres, les ci-devant nobles, les émigrés, les agents, et les domestiques de toutes ces personnes, subiront la peine de mort avec confiscation des biens." This law was proposed by one of the two Trebonians of the reign of terror and of the times of Buonaparte (Merlin and Cambacérés)—by Cambacérés, the prince of French jurists and parasites.

Dumourier's defeat at Neerwinden, on the 19th of March 1792; for it took place on the 25th of the same month.

The resolution respecting this new institution, which we would call the first foundation of the reign of terror, did not at first arouse any suspicion that an oligarchy was to be founded upon it. It was resolved, that a committee should be appointed to watch over the *public welfare*. This committee was to consist of twenty-five members, who were to digest and bring forward such laws as might appear to them desirable for the defence of the republic against domestic and foreign enemies. The members were to meet at least twice every week, to summon before them the ministers of whom the provisional commission of government consisted, and to call upon them for reports and communications respecting the various departments of administration, current events, &c. At first this college of government, which was afterwards divided, was no oligarchy, for it consisted of members who had been taken from all parties, who regularly retired from office and were replaced by others, without reference to existing parties.

In the same way as Dumourier's defeat at Neerwinden gave occasion to the appointment of this committee, the treason and flight of the same general were made an excuse for taking another step, which brought Danton and Robespierre much nearer to the attainment of their object. On the 6th of April a law was passed, according to which the committee for public welfare was to consult apart from the committee for general defence, which was henceforward called the committee of *general safety*, and these two bodies were only to unite or to co-operate with others in certain dangerous and pressing contingences. The committee of general safety was often called the committee of government, because it alone in some measure exercised the executive power and the functions of the high police, and only recognized the convention as the organ of those principles which the committee were to apply. These principles, clothed in the garb of bills, always proceeded from the committee of public welfare. This body was at first to consist only of nine persons, who were to direct all the movements of the executive power and constantly to watch over its operations. The deliberations of the two committees were to be secret, and in pressing cases the committee of public welfare alone was permitted to adopt the measures necessary for the public protection. It will thus be seen that all the

scaffolding for the erection of the system of terror was ready, when the majority of the convention still belonged to the Gironde, and the girondists were still very powerful in the committees.

b. SECOND PERIOD.—FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE TILL THE NINTH THERMIDOR OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC, THAT IS, TILL THE 27TH OF JULY 1794.

The government of the committee of public welfare undoubtedly gave to the internal administration and government, as well as to the defence of the kingdom, the full energy and strong impulse of a people deeply imbued with the spirit of enthusiasm, and led by bold and daring despots. This tyranny gave life to a new generation and new institutions and customs; but whether or not all this was bought too dear, our readers will be best able to judge from what follows. We can never admit that the end justifies the means, although this doctrine is recognized even in Rome, where the vicar of Christ rules, and in England, which is under the dominion of the orthodox high church. The committee of general safety too, by energetic means and courage, made France great in the same manner as a few ruling families have made a few millions of Englishmen incredibly rich. Both despised and at the same time appealed to the people, who are starving in England, whilst some millions of their countrymen live in the indulgence of royal luxury and splendour, extort wealth from a hundred millions of Indians, reduce the Irish to the borders of despair, and consign to the misery of workhouses the thousands of their own countrymen who have the misfortune to be poor. These poor-houses are regulated so as to produce miseries worse than anything which occurred in France during the reign of terror; for the measures of the reign of terror were the suggestions of the moment and fitted for its exigencies, whereas the English bastilles are the produce of years of reflection and experiment, and have been and are annually discussed in the plutocratic parliament.

The committee of general safety moreover was at first only established for the period of a single month, and in the commencement of its operations it was obliged to give a written report weekly to the convention. This was the more necessary, as it was the only means by which the convention could be made acquainted with the state of the republic, because all corre-

spondence was carried on through the committee, and it alone was entitled to propose decrees relating to affairs of administration. As long as a ministry still existed, or an authority for the execution of decrees (*conseil exécutif*), the committee performed its functions through the medium of the ministers, but afterwards immediately. The deputies of the convention, who were sent into the various departments with unlimited power, received their instructions from this directing body. When we consider the immense weight of labour resting upon a few members of the committee, or reflect merely upon the signatures which it was necessary daily to attach, we shall readily comprehend why Carnot at a later period in the military department, and the tenacious and laborious Robespierre and his cold and abstemious companions, without trouble drove out Danton and his dissolute and visionary associates, for whom such labours were by far too onerous. Among the men who afterwards turned the committee into a tyrannical oligarchy, there was not one of those who were at first chosen in April, and the members who belonged to the Gironde were also subsequently admitted: the committee was at first wholly in the hands of Danton and his friends. The party of violent republicans, who were called the *Mountain*, from the raised seats which they occupied in the convention, had no sooner got possession of the government through the instrumentality of the committee, than it was publicly declared that all those obstructions to decisive and energetic measures which were caused by the mildness and moderation of men who had a prevailing influence in the assembly on account of their eloquence, must be removed by the annihilation of the obnoxious individuals. At first twenty-two deputies only were named as belonging to this category, as persons who led astray the majority of the convention and the people also by their eloquent and persuasive speeches. This design could not be effected by ordinary means, and therefore it was found necessary to employ the same clamorers and the same mob, called the people, to raise a public prejudice against them, as had been previously employed against the king.

Among these clamorers, Marat was the most completely destitute of shame. In the 'Ami du Peuple,' he daily encouraged the reckless and bloodthirsty mob to murder the enemies of the Mountain, or as he was pleased to call this section, the *patriots*, and held out to them plunder and robbery as an inducement, which the commune of Paris, whose organ he was, could not decently

do. When times shortly afterwards became still worse, Hébert, in a journal called 'Le Père Duchesne,' which was eagerly read by the lower classes, far outstepped Marat in the use of vulgarity and indecency, and in the audacious use of the awful language of murderers, thieves, and the daily frequenters of wine-shops and houses of ill-fame. Marat and innumerable members of the committee of government and of the commune of Paris secretly supported and paid clamorers and writers, and urged the people of Paris incessantly to pour in petitions to the convention beseeching them to expel the girondists from their assembly. The signal was given by the same section of Paris which had been the first to propose the deposition of the king, and whose name was therefore changed from that of evil counsel (*du Mauconseil*) to that of good (*du Bonconseil*). This section having taken the lead, was followed by that of the Corn-hall (*Halle aux blés*), which sent forward a representation in which they formally appealed to the Mountain for aid against the Plain, and found a favourable hearing among the deputies of the former. Pétion, as a girondist, belonged to that party whose expulsion or death formed the object of the petition, and he therefore insisted on the punishment of the originators of this infamous representation; Danton on the contrary proposed that they should be treated as honourable; but he did not go so far as Robespierre, who could venture on a bolder declaration, because he was not stained with those crimes by which Danton was polluted. Danton had sold himself to the civil list, and been in close connexion with Orleans, Dumourier, and those knaves who had been guilty of pillage and robbery in Belgium, in order to secure some miserable gains. Robespierre appeared to the people the very pattern of virtue, because he never enriched himself or sacrificed to his pleasures, but wholly to his ambition.

On this occasion therefore Robespierre came forward much more openly and boldly than Danton; in a long and dreadful speech he ventured to demand that Orleans, and indeed the whole family, Valence, Sillery and their adherents, all the accomplices of Dumourier and the countess de Genlis,—and among these accomplices he had Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet and Gensonné particularly in view,—should be immediately summoned before the revolutionary tribunal. And he had also long since proposed, as he says, that a prosecution should at length be commenced against the queen. The time of this persevering and

tenacious man, who was wholly under the dominion of envy, pride, and love of power, had not yet fully come, and the accused, who were men of far superior talents and possessed of a very different description of eloquence from that of a tame advocate, who was rich in words and phrases but poor in feelings and ideas, ground him to atoms by their speeches, and his motion failed. At that time however Marat was president of the jacobin club, and during the debates on the petition to which we have just referred, the convention was informed of a bold step which he had taken with a view to aid his protector Robespierre. As president of the club he drew up and signed an address to the people, calling upon them to rise in insurrection, exhorting them to save their country, and by one bold stroke to rid themselves of the whole mass of traitors and conspirators against its welfare. This indeed led the convention to issue a decree requiring Marat to be put upon his trial, but this unhappily was moved by the same Lacroix who contemporaneously with Danton had brought disgrace upon the French name in Belgium; from that time forward therefore Marat became a man of great importance.

The prosecution of Marat gave the wretched man, when he was acquitted, all the eminence of a martyr in the cause of jacobinism in its struggle with the girondists, who had procured the decree, after having sacrificed the principle of the personal inviolability of the members of the convention. It was the girondists in particular who on the 8th of April succeeded in carrying a motion, that every one who was accused of a crime against the nation should be put on trial before the revolutionary tribunal, and that deputies were not to be exempt from the operation of the law. The decree against Marat, which was passed on the 13th, kept all Paris in a state of excitement till the 24th, on which day he was to appear before the court. On the 15th, thirty-five out of the forty-eight sections of Paris sent deputations to the convention, who were required to hand in a formal denunciation against twenty-two of the most distinguished of its members, and to support their appeal by audacious language. The city continued for a whole week in a state of formal insurrection, and on the 18th another petition was presented similar to that which had been rejected on the 15th. Notwithstanding the clamours of the populace and in spite of the threats of the commune, the majority of the convention courageously bade defiance to the Mountain. They not only paid

no attention whatever to the petition, but loudly expressed their indignation at the audacity of its declarations. As early as the 22nd, another deputation from three sections of the faubourg St. Antoine appeared at the bar, and among them Gonchon, a man with the voice of a stentor, of brazen forehead and bold of speech, who had been previously so often employed to appeal to the convention. In the name of the three sections he accused Vergniaud and his friends as accomplices of Dumourier, and demanded their punishment.

When the terror which they attempted to spread by means of the people of the faubourgs failed in its effect, measures were immediately taken to make Marat's acquittal, on which they reckoned with certainty, (because Fouquier Tinville already held the office of public prosecutor, and both judges and jury were thorough jacobins,) the signal for a grand attack upon the moderate deputies on the 28th. Fouquier Tinville, one of the very worst of those bankrupt lawyers who sought to make their fortunes by violent jacobin opinions, and to whom murder was an amusement, so framed the questions which he was obliged to put to Marat in open court, as to enable him in his answers to describe his accusers as the real enemies of the state, and that in the presence of the wild and savage masses who filled the hall, as well as all the streets and squares in the neighbourhood of the court, and who had been organized and sent thither by the commune and the jacobin club. One of the jury even went so far as afterwards to pronounce a formal eulogy on Marat, who was unanimously acquitted, and carried in triumph to the convention by the mob, who worshiped him as their idol. The whole of this immense and angry procession then marched through the hall, and an orator, who was altogether worthy of Marat, and had been one of the rude turnkeys of the unfortunate king, delivered a speech on the occasion.

Robespierre and others who remained in the back-ground, and coolly managed the machinery, willingly enough conceded to Marat, who was nevertheless despised by them, the honour of being the idol of the mob. They used him merely as an instrument to destroy such of their colleagues as were not to be restrained by terror. The rest of the cowardly assembly afterwards bowed with fear beneath their yoke, or like Barrère and Cambacérès, the lawyers, even joined their ranks for money and good living. We must not dwell on these scenes, to which especially

Danton's friends gave occasion almost every day in April and May, in order to destroy their opponents, the moderates; we shall merely remark in general, that they laid upon them the whole blame of the prevailing anarchy, and alleged that their speeches and resistance rendered unity of government a thing impossible. Almost every day during the months of April and May was distinguished by some extraordinary scene in the streets or in the hall of the convention. One while a scene of public pillage was exhibited; at another, an absurd law was passed against the rich and aristocrats; and again, attempts were made to fix a maximum price for corn or other goods. Some new taxes were to be extorted exclusively from the wealthy, and finally, patriotism was to be made compulsory. It might be supposed that this savage demagoguery and dreadful anarchy were the fruits of such minds as those of Marat, Chaumette and Hébert, but these low and hateful men were the mere tools of Danton and his better companions. These men, who, properly speaking, merely wished to protect themselves against the vengeance of the outraged laws which their colleagues were eager to put in force against them, at the same time saved their country, founded a new species of freedom, and completely rooted out the principles of the middle ages, which split the inhabitants of Europe into castes. We cannot allow ourselves either here or elsewhere to go into details, because we are not writing the special history of the French revolution*; we shall therefore merely observe, that from the beginning of April till the end of May, a struggle for life or death was carried on between the two parties in the convention.

The great object of the Gironde was to inflict merited punishment on those robbers and murderers who had brought disgrace upon freedom and the revolution by their cruelties and their crimes. They pursued their object with impassioned earnestness, looked for help to the convention, and relied on the support of all just and intelligent men: the band, which was called the Mountain, therefore employed the commune against the convention, and the mob, with which every large city abounds, against the respectable citizens. In order to assist the jacobins,

* The author, who must condense his materials as much as possible, in order to close his work with the succeeding volume, feels it the less necessary to go largely into particulars, as he can confidently refer his readers to Wachsmuth's well-known work. Funk's contributions may be also profitably consulted.

revolutionary committees were organized in the different sections, which either consisted of the men of September 1792, or of their accomplices, and who could at any moment, on the slightest hint, set all the desperadoes of their sections in motion. Each of these committees consisted of twelve persons, and as the sections amounted to forty-eight in number, there was thus an organization of five hundred and seventy-six men, who in an instant could call out in their respective quarters the whole fanatical and savage masses, which were at once hated and dreaded by all the respectable classes of citizens. By means of a cunningly devised connexion with the commune of Paris, this insurrectionary institution became a species of public authority. On every occasion when those frequent tumults took place, the council of the commune strengthened its numbers by calling in members of these committees, in order, as it was said, to consult upon the means to be taken for the safety of the nation; these meetings were also joined by some of the leading members of the jacobin and cordelier clubs, who came uninvited; and the mayor was not ashamed to preside over such assemblies.

In addition to this assembly of the friends and defenders of the Mountain, which held its sittings in the Hotel de Ville, there was still another which availed itself of the necessities of the moment, and the difficulty of providing for the care of the capital in such circumstances, in order to devise the most dreadful plans. The latter held its sittings in the *évêché*. Whatever was resolved upon by this assembly and the revolutionary committees was afterwards confirmed by the commune of Paris, and then those members of the convention, who were in fact the originators of the whole, tormented their colleagues, until the convention decreed what the commune of Paris wished. In this way they succeeded on the 3rd of May in having a maximum price fixed for corn for a definite period. In the same manner a forced loan was decreed, and the regular troops, which the convention might have been able to employ against the populace, all removed from Paris. An army, consisting of September murderers and other desperadoes, was raised, under the pretence of being sent into La Vendée, under Westermann, Rossignol and Ronsin, but properly speaking to let loose those tigers whom they wished to remove from the capital upon the country people, who did not wish to renounce and forsake either their religion or their king.

During these dreadful disturbances, the energy of the oligarchical government, which neither shrunk from any crime nor showed any mercy, became always greater and more terrible. The committee of public welfare and the deputies with the armies and in the departments had taken revenge on every act of disobedience by dismissal or impeachment, before Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just became all-powerful. The members of the committee of public welfare, who were only appointed for a month, because, properly speaking, the whole committee had been at first nominated only for the same time, succeeded on the 11th of May in having their former powers renewed and confirmed. On the days immediately succeeding, the measures devised by the commune and the sections for overawing the convention were commenced, in order to force it to expel the moderate members. The tumults in the streets and around the hall of the convention continued almost uninterruptedly from the 12th till the 17th of May. The raising of two jacobin armies was extorted from their fears, one of which, as it was said, was intended to keep the aristocrats in the city in order, and the other to be sent to La Vendée and the frontiers of the kingdom. The lives of the deputies, which were threatened by the minority of their colleagues and by the populace of Paris, were exposed to constant and imminent danger.

The deputies threatened by the jacobins at last turned for protection to their electors and the departments, and for a long time things assumed an appearance as if the unity of the government was really threatened. Rouen, Brest and Bordeaux offered to send an armed force to Paris for the protection of their representatives; the Marseillaise opposed the mischief which the jacobins at the instigation of the Parisians began to perpetrate in their city, and the Lyonese were revolted at the horrible cruelties of a Charier, who, as it was said, had sent about 1500 men to prison. The convention was at that time still superior to the violent jacobins. It praised the letter of the Bordelese, who promised to rise *en masse*, and to march partly to La Vendée and partly to Paris, to act as a guard to their deputies and to annihilate the anarchists. In reference moreover to the revolutionary tribunals erected in Marseilles and Lyons, the convention decreed that all those citizens who were threatened to be placed before such a tribunal were justified in offering resistance by force. This caused a fearful struggle, and it now became

obvious, however melancholy it might be, that the unity of the government could only be maintained, and the royalists in La Vendée and the enemies on the northern and eastern frontiers could only be conquered, by the annihilation of one portion of the deputies. The tribunes resounded with savage clamours, in the hall itself the members proceeded almost to violence, and Danton's friend, Legendre, the butcher, who was stronger with the fist than in eloquence or argument, was ready at any moment to strike; Guadet however did not suffer himself to be deterred. He depicted in such strong colours the dreadful immoralities, the contempt for all shame and for every honourable principle which his colleagues who visited the cordeliers,—such men as Legendre the butcher, Lacroix the swindler, and Danton the criminal,—exhibited, that he thought himself able to carry two decrees in consequence of the feelings of horror which he had excited, and which would have saved both him and his friends, had not Barrère proved himself a traitor. Barrère at that time belonged to the girondists as he had formerly done to the constitutionalists, but, like Talleyrand, Dumourier and Fouché, he had always the instinct to foretel the issue of a party struggle; and he therefore sought to secure himself a place among the conquering Mountain. Guadet proposed a decree by virtue of which the existing council of the commune should be cashiered, and a new one formed as soon as possible from the presidents of the sections. To this proposal he added that of a second decree, by virtue of which the convention was to appoint a number of substitutes for its members, who in case the present power was put under constraint, might form a new convention in Bourges.

Barrère warded off this blow from the terrorists, without first breaking with the Gironde, who had still the majority in the convention, and for this service he afterwards received a seat among the oligarchy of terrorists, in company with Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just*. He came hypocritically forward according to his custom, and in the name of the committee of public welfare, in whose name he also afterwards made many reports of murders and assassinations in the same sweet and polished style to which he was indebted for the nickname of the Anacreon of the guillotine, and made a proposal which was to reconcile the parties and meet the views of both. He proposed that a committee

* There is not a word said of this in his 'Memoirs,' and merely some very weak observations respecting the 31st of May.

of twelve should be appointed, who should be called *Hall-inspectors*, and be clothed with especial powers for the protection of the assembly; that to them it should be referred to examine the resolutions which had been passed by the council of the commune during the last month, and to report the result to the convention. This commission could neither induce the minister Garat, Pache the mayor, Chaumette the *procureur*, nor Hébert his substitute, to promote or facilitate their inquiries; they discovered however that the tools of the jacobins were preparing a new insurrection. On their command, D'Opsen, president of a section, Varlet, the Septemberist, and Hébert, the pure-minded substitute of the *procureur* and the editor of the coarsest, most indecent and profligate of journals (*Le Père Duchesne*), were arrested.

Hébert's arrest became the signal for a long-prepared rising of the masses, who had been in a condition of restlessness ever since 1791. As early as the 26th there were tumults in all the streets, and on the 27th the hall of the convention was filled with numbers of audacious men, who mixed with the members and even voted as if they were deputies. On the subsequent day the chair of the assembly was taken by Isnard, one of the girondists; but on the evening of the same day, after ten o'clock, Hérault de Séchelles, one of Danton's creatures, obtained the presidency*; and when the timid portion of the convention had yielded to the alarming tone and threats of the jacobins, he ventured to propose to the meeting to pass the decrees which the tumultuous and insurrectionary mob had demanded†. It was resolved that the prisoners should be set at liberty, and the committee of twelve be called to give an account of their conduct. It was said, it is true, that the abolition of the commission was at that time also decreed, and it was believed to be the fact; Meillan however denies it‡, and for the same reason which

* Meillan (*Mémoires*, ed. 1823) says, p. 57: " . . . Hérault de Séchelles, qu'on portait momentanément à la présidence chaque fois qu'il y avait quelque scène difficile à jouer."

† Barrère, *Mém.* vol. ii. p. 92, in speaking of the scenes of the 31st of May, says, what is equally true of those of the 25th,—“ Malheureusement Hérault de Séchelles, dénué de caractère et obéissant à l'influence de Danton, étoit président à cette époque."

‡ *Mémoires de Meillan* (ed. 1823), p. 44 :—" . . . La Montagne recourut aux grands moyens. Elle fit arriver cinq à six cents pétitionnaires, presque tous en armes, qui se répandirent dans la salle et dont une partie se mêlant avec nous, vint audacieusement partager nos fonctions. S'il y eût décret ce sont eux qui le rendirent. Je suis néanmoins fondé à croire qu'ils ne s'en donnèrent pas la peine."

Lanjuinais established the next day in the assembly. He says, there were persons not belonging to the convention who were present at its sittings and voted with its members, and it was therefore expressly declared on the 28th that the commission was still in existence. From this moment the jacobins and the council of the commune had recourse to the use of the same means against the Gironde which they had formerly employed with such success against the monarchy. We shall not therefore dwell upon the disgraceful scenes and processions, the colours, emblems, and other peculiarities of vulgar mischief and passion, but merely touch briefly upon the manner in which the dregs of the populace and the offscourings of the wine-shops for a time represented the sovereign people.

In order to keep all respectable citizens away from that decisive assembly of the sections on the 30th of May, which represented the sovereign people, the assembly was not opened till after ten o'clock in the evening, the time at which it should have closed. Resolutions were then easily carried, that the people were in a state of insurrection, and that for the deliverance of the country, all the power committed to the existing authorities should be recalled. The magistrates were therefore suspended from their functions, and an announcement made to the council of the commune that the sovereign people had established an insurrectionary council, whose sittings were to be held in the *évêché*. D'Opsen, who had been previously arrested, was named chairman of this new council; Pache and Chaumette, who ought to have resisted in the name of the existing order of things, acknowledged the new authority, after Chaumette, for appearance sake, had examined their powers. This sovereign insurrectionary committee next caused the alarm-bells to be rung in the night between the 30th and 31st of May, having first however appointed a new commander-in-chief of the national guard instead of Santerre, who had gone into La Vendée with a portion of the revolutionary army. The new commander-in-chief was selected from among the most desperate class. Henriot, upon whom this post was conferred, which was regarded as the highest honour by a man like Lafayette, had been originally a footman, afterwards became a smuggler, then a toll-collector at the gates, and finally a police spy. During the time in which he was engaged in these various employments, he had been several times subjected to criminal punishments, but the conspicuous character which he

had played in the September massacres now recommended him to the enemies of the Gironde. The committee of public welfare, which had first received its dreadful unity in June, but was then composed of very mixed elements, wished, it is true, to adopt some very energetic measures on the motion of some of its members, but Danton's friend Lacroix found means effectually to obstruct their intentions. It succeeded however in preventing the alarm-guns from being fired, which were stationed on the Pont Neuf. This however did not prove sufficient to divert the insurrectionary committee from its course, and on the 31st of May, the whole of Paris was in movement against the convention.

It is clear that it was merely the hired and servile mob,—everything base, corrupt and wicked which a great city contains, that proceeded to the siege of the convention on the 31st of May, because the western sections of Paris, inhabited by the most respectable and wealthy citizens (those of *du Mail*, *Butte des Moulins*, *Lepelletier* and *Champs Elysées*), offered their assistance to the convention and formed in military order with their artillery at the Théâtre Français. The people in the streets also remained perfectly quiet till a report was put in circulation that the force of the sections at the Palais Royal consisted of royalists, or at least were commanded by royalist officers, when some thousand well-armed combatants from the faubourgs St. Marceau and St. Antoine immediately marched against them. The people of the faubourgs under Henriot no sooner came in presence of the adverse sections, than they pointed their cannon against their ranks and prepared for an instant discharge. It was found necessary, in order to spare bloodshed, to mediate a reconciliation. Both parties promised to desist, and by that step the convention was delivered into the hands of its enemies, for Henriot was then left at liberty to march whithersoever he pleased.

The faubourgers, and together with them the whole body of the people, marched to the Tuileries, and defiled through the hall of the convention: their standard was a red cap, with other blood-coloured insignia; 'the rights of man' covered with crape was dragged behind them, and during the whole of the procession the clamorers, who occupied the tribunes of the closely-blockaded convention, filled the hall with their threatening denunciations. The insurrectionary committee had sent commissioners even into the various departments, and particularly into those of the north-east. After this dreadful prelude, the deputies of those

sections which had previously declared themselves in a state of insurrection appeared at the bar. The new council of the commune, the *procureur syndic* of the department, attended by the whole council of administration, and supported by the bellowing of the tribunes, unanimously demanded that the commission of twelve hall-inspectors should be abolished, and that the deputies who were objects of suspicion to the commune should be excluded from the convention. L'Huillier the shoemaker, who in the character of *procureur syndic* addressed the assembly on this evening, must be acknowledged to have spoken much better and more to the point than Legendre the butcher had ever done in the convention.

The commission nevertheless would not have been abolished, because the clamorers would not have ventured to have recourse to force, had not the originators of the tumult come to an understanding with Barrère, and had not he betrayed his former friends into the hands of their enemies. Two members of the convention rose at the same time, Rabaut St. Etienne to read a report, suggesting means for the suppression of the tumult, and Barrère, with serpent-like cunning, to mediate between things irreconcilable, and to secure a momentary calm, although he well knew that this would be of no permanent value. Rabaut was not suffered to proceed, whilst Barrère, in a smooth and hypocritical speech, proposed the abolition of the commission; the result of this was, to deprive the convention of all protection from the police. The proclamation respecting this matter which Barrère caused to be issued on the following day proves what a master of sophistry Barrère was, and what a brazen forehead he possessed. In this proclamation he represents all those acts of folly and madness, which only a few days before he had denounced and prosecuted, as admirable actions, and the promoters and perpetrators of them as noble-minded patriots. What was there now to prevent those noble-minded patriots, to whom the convention was given up, from proceeding further? According to Meillan's account of the scenes of the 1st and 2nd of June, a new insurrection of the people against the most eloquent and noblest members of the convention was organized and caused by the committee of public welfare itself. Marat, who as usual was nothing more than a mere tool, was the man who called upon the council of malcontents to urge on the people to the murder of his colleagues, and Lelièvre the chemist, in order to make

his name dreadful, was his faithful assistant on this occasion,—the same who after his journey in Germany was called (*Hassenfratz*) *the imp of hatred*.

Public quiet remained undisturbed till the evening of the 1st of June, although the drums beat to arms in the faubourgs: at nine o'clock in the evening Marat was again active. He appeared in the town-council, called upon its members immediately to place themselves at the head of the people, again to blockade the convention, and not suffer its members to depart till those deputies who were suspected by the commune were impeached. He next proceeded to the tower and sounded the alarm-bell, and the ruffians whose services were required had been already taken into pay. Under the pretence of being constituted into a revolutionary army, each man received two francs a day from the public treasury; and provision had even been made for their sustenance, in order that the mob might not become weary of the siege or suffer from hunger. At the commencement of the blockade on the night between the 1st and 2nd of June, the members under the ban were not present in the convention, and the whole number of those in attendance was not sufficient to form a quorum. The siege however was prolonged, even after the members had separated at midnight. The commune arranged their forces around the hall, in the gardens of the Tuileries, and on the Place Vendôme; in all these places the mob was abundantly supplied with bread, wine, and other provisions.

On the 2nd of June, which was a Sunday, the majority of the suspected deputies did not venture to appear in their places; Lanjuinais alone, who came forward on all occasions which demanded courage and noble sacrifices in the cause of morality and justice, was not to be deterred on this occasion also from performing his duty. His eloquence so put the miserable and desperate originators of the disorders to shame, that they had recourse to physical force. Legendre and Drouet presented their pistols at the breast of their colleague, and drove him from the tribune. Henriot had collected all his vagabonds together, in the name of the commune put in requisition a battalion of newly-recruited soldiers, and stood with his cannon and cannoneers ready for action at the chief entrance to the hall. Barrère again played the character of a hypocrite, but was exposed by Lanjuinais and held up to scorn, as he deserved to be. He

perceived that his colleagues hesitated, and were ashamed to deliver up the most honourable defenders of the rights of the people into the hands of such men as Marat, his accomplices, and the mob; and he therefore now proposed on the 2nd, that *the suspected deputies, for the sake of peace, should withdraw of their own accord*. Lanjuinais replied to the proposal in the way which its meanness deserved. On this occasion Marat played the character which Lacroix, Barrère, and particularly Hérault de Séchelles, who was always made president in such cases, did not venture to play, because they had still some honour to lose; Marat however had none. The former pretended to leave nothing undone to protect and save the accused; Marat, on the contrary, went continually out and in; sometimes encouraged Henriot, sometimes stimulated and cheered on the populace, and sometimes had recourse to threats within the hall. At length the whole convention went in procession from one door to another to prove that they were really in a state of siege, and indulged in all sorts of speeches and declamation; all this however we must pass over, together with the numerous anecdotes, phrases and witticisms with which the French histories abound. The convention, after having been kept for twelve hours in captivity, at length yielded to the demands of the jacobins, and passed a decree which one of them proposed.

Couthon, who brought forward the decree, in virtue of which he and his accomplices became absolute rulers in France, had the audacity to allege that it was the result of free deliberation, although every one knew that two-thirds of the deputies refused to vote, and that many persons not belonging to the convention were mixed up with those who gave their suffrages. The decree which was passed on Couthon's proposal was to this effect:—That the twenty-two deputies mentioned in the decree, and together with them Clavière, minister of finance, and Lebrun, minister of foreign affairs, should be placed under arrest in their own houses, and therefore under the surveillance of the *gens d'armes*. The names of the twelve hall-inspectors were added to those of the twenty-two deputies who had been so long objects of popular dislike, so that, properly speaking, thirty-four deputies in all were subjected to this infamous decree. All the friends of those persecuted individuals met with the same fate, particularly as the departments, whose representatives had been expelled, began to prepare for war instead of proceeding to new elections,

and seventy-three other deputies withdrew from the assembly, because speech was no longer free nor life safe. These seventy-three even protested against all the decrees which had been passed in their absence, and thus fulfilled the wishes of the jacobins, as it was undoubtedly a crime against the nation to place the country in a condition in which it could no longer pass binding laws. These seventy-three deputies were therefore also arrested, by virtue of a decree of the 3rd of October 1793. A part of them escaped death through Robespierre, because he wished to spare them as a counterpoise to Danton, whom he then became desirous of destroying*.

As Meillan informs us, the thirty-four deputies who were expelled on the 2nd of June held a conference among themselves, and resolved to send some of the boldest among them into the departments, some of which had previously shown an inclination to take up arms in their favour. Several of them in this way escaped an immediate persecution in Paris, of whom Pétion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Gorsas and Henri Larivière first hastened to Caen, to organize an insurrection in Normandy against the tyranny of Paris, for the commercial cities of the south had already taken up arms. Lyons, Marseilles and Toulon had declared themselves ready to oppose, with force of arms, the municipality of Paris, which was tyrannizing over the convention; Bordeaux had followed their example; Meillan and Duchatel went to Rennes, in order to rouse the towns of Brittany to action. The Gironde in this manner furnished the jacobins with the much-desired pretence of being able to accuse them of federalism and of weakening the national power, and thus justifying all the cruelties perpetrated upon them.

Meillan endeavoured to make Rennes the centre of an insurrection of all the citizens of Brittany, because Nantes, in the difficulties of the peasants of La Vendée and the royalist nobility, could do nothing more than promise assistance in money

* We do not give the names of these deputies, because we are not writing a special history; they will be found however in the appendix to the 'Mémoires de Louvet' (ed. 1823). In pp. 321-326, the names are first given of "ceux, qui pendant la deuxième année de la république furent assassinés par les tribunaux des décemvirs ou reçurent la mort en résistant à leurs agens, ou réduits à la dernière extrémité se tuèrent eux-mêmes." Then, p. 327, follow the names of "ceux qui échappèrent à la proscription prononcée contre eux soit à l'époque du 2 Juin, soit au 28 Juillet, soit au 3 Octobre 1793, et qui furent rappelés dans le sein de la convention par les décrets des 17 Frimaire, 18 Ventose et Germinal. Hélas! ils ne sont que vingt-quatre."

and their friendly sympathy. There appeared also in Rennes plenipotentiaries from Maine, Morbihan and Finisterre; Meillan however clearly admits, that at last the whole reaction to which they succeeded in giving life was confined to Marseilles, Bordeaux, and seven or eight departments of Normandy and Brittany, because the insurrection in Lyons, from the very first, assumed a royalist character. We subjoin Meillan's words in a note, merely for the purpose of showing that Caen was the centre of the preparations which were made in the departments of Eure, Finisterre and Calvados against the Parisians*. The armed national guards were to march to Paris, but unfortunately two officers were chosen as commanders, one of whom belonged to the old *régime* and the other to the constitutional monarchists. These were Wimpfen, who had previously been a member of the national constituent assembly, and Puisaye, who had served in the royal army. The nomination of these two men to the chief command was quite enough to awaken mistrust in the minds of the citizens in these times of universal suspicion, and to take away all desire on their part to risk their lives in a cause already become suspected. The consequent and practical men therefore, who insisted first of all upon the destruction of the whole former system, necessarily prevailed over the philosophers, who were desirous of erecting a new edifice before the time out of the heterogeneous mass of existing materials.

The army which Wimpfen was to lead from Caen to Paris, where there were at that time no troops of the line, was approaching the capital from the 13th till the 15th of July, and had reached Vernon, when it became obvious, that neither the deputies who had raised the insurrection, nor the commander,

* Meillan, pp. 74-76. "La montagne étoit en place. Elle commandait aux ministres, elle disposait des finances, elle se couvrait du simulacre de la Convention. Avec ces moyens réunis, elle pouvait ordonner, séduire, épouvanter, corrompre et tromper : et nous n'avions que les moyens de persuasion. Aussi la plupart des départemens se bornèrent-ils bientôt à des vœux stériles. Chacun voulut attendre le succès des premières tentatives avant de donner suite aux arrêtés qu'ils avaient pris dans le premier moment. Bientôt il ne resta plus en activité que Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux et sept à huit départemens normands ou bretons. Encore Lyon n'agissoit-il pas dans les mêmes vues, quoiqu'il agit dans le même sens. Biroteau, mon collègue, qui fut pris et décapité en Octobre à Bordeaux, me dit peu de jours avant sa mort, qu'étant allé à Lyon avec que Chasset, dans la persuasion que cette ville n'armait que pour la liberté, ils n'avaient pas tardé à découvrir que les meneurs avaient d'autres vues et qu'en conséquence ils s'étaient tous deux empressés d'en sortir."

could place reliance on the national guards. The Parisians had despatched only a few gens d'armes and national guards to meet and oppose the insurgents at Vernon; these latter however did not wait for a serious attack, but fell into disorder and were scattered on the first fire. Only a single battalion from Brest retired in military order; the others indeed were afterwards collected at Evreux and Caen, but it was found impossible to keep them together. Wimpfen concealed himself in Bayeux and escaped persecution; Barbaroux, Louvet, Salles, Bergoing, Lesage, Cussy, Giroust and Meillan, after a thousand dangers and adventures, reached Quimper, where their friends provided them with a small vessel to convey them to Bordeaux. Buzot, Guadet and Pétion did not venture to trust themselves to the frail bark, and therefore lost their lives in a melancholy manner. The men of the Mountain availed themselves of this unfortunate attempt on the part of the republicans, and harassed and persecuted them from the Seine to the Loire, and from Paris to the extremities of Brittany, as they persecuted and destroyed the royalists on the farther side of the Loire. They sent commissioners into these departments, who at first subjected hundreds and afterwards thousands to judicial murder. Just at the right time, Robespierre and his adherents got rid of their instrument Marat, who would soon have become burthensome to them. They feigned sorrow for his death, and idolized him as a martyr, and thus furnished the people, who were now deprived of all religious fêtes, with the opportunity of holding one in honour of Marat.

A young and beautiful girl in Caen, named Charlotte Corday d'Armans, had become so rapturously inspired by Barbaroux in favour of his ideal republic, and at the same time so charmed with the beauty of his features, and impressed by his declamations against the dreadful Marat and the hell-hounds of whom he was the organ, that she resolved, at the sacrifice of her life, to rid the world of this inhuman monster. According to Meillan's account, this young woman, without being previously known or giving any account of her design, presented herself before the deputies who had fled to Caen, and obtained a note from Barbaroux to a friend in Paris. Had he suspected her intentions, he would have undoubtedly warned her of the folly of her enthusiasm, and of the ruin which her plan would entail upon the good cause. She hastened to Paris, was admitted to an interview by

Marat, although he was in the bath, and was there stabbed to the heart by this republican heroine on the 13th of July. On her trial and at her execution (on the 17th of July), she displayed a degree of presence of mind and of republican enthusiasm to which we cannot refuse our admiration, but which we can scarcely venture to praise. The wicked and irreligious adherents of Marat afterwards exhibited the most blasphemous scenes; they bore his contemptible carcase to the Pantheon; David, with a degree of horrible sympathy with his subject and power of execution, painted the scene of his murder, and the cruel murderers of their fellow-citizens caused this picture to be hung in the convention, the scene of their blasphemous and wicked consultations.

We shall refer only to the most important of the disturbances excited by the republicans in other districts besides Normandy and Brittany, and that very summarily. In Lyons, even before the end of May, the public had refused obedience to the commissioners from the convention; on the 9th of June, Marseilles and Bordeaux declared themselves against the faction which was tyrannizing in the convention, and immediately afterwards united respecting a common expedition to be undertaken for the relief of the city of Lyons, which was severely oppressed by that faction. In this city, the workmen and the poor were the only adherents to the cause of jacobinical republicanism; the great manufacturers and the rich citizens in general were identified in their interests with the nobility, and collected around them a number of clients, who willingly adopted their cause and defended them against the rude masses, because they were the sources of their comfort and prosperity. The mob were under the guidance of a Piedmontese named Chalier, who was a Lyonnese Marat. Chalier had been first a priest, then a tradesman, and finally became president of the jacobin club, and in this character he was not ashamed to point out to the people, whose idol he was, by means of placards on the walls, the names of those citizens of all classes who were to be put to death from feelings of patriotism. In his correspondence with Marat he informs him, that Legendre, Bazire and Rovère, who had been sent by the convention to Lyons, were by far too moderate, and expresses his dissatisfaction because they were too sparing of blood. These deputies, chosen from among the most violent members of the convention, had been sent to Lyons in February, because the citizens, who had become embittered against jaco-

binism and its emissaries, had dispersed the central club, torn their papers and scattered them to the winds, burnt down the tree of liberty, and sent away the bust of Rousseau. This occurred on the 4th of February. What had been commenced on the 4th was completed on the 18th, because it had been discovered that Chalier and his fanatics had devised a plan for the murder and pillage of their opponents. In order to anticipate the wicked design of the jacobins, the departmental council organized a regular battalion of respectable citizens to oppose and put down Chalier and his sans-culottes, and the three deputies considered it advisable not to provoke a civil war.

The members of the Lyons club expected at that time, from the personal characters of the deputies sent to them, some measures of dreadful severity to be put in force against the moderate party; the deputies however merely reinstated the jacobin club and established its correspondence with Paris, without perpetrating any of those bloody cruelties on their opponents which Chalier so eagerly desired. The consequence was that he succeeded, through the influence of Robespierre and Marat, in obtaining their recall. This occurred at the time in which four deputies, among whom were Dubois Crancé and Albitte, were sent to the army of the Alps; and those deputies received a commission from the convention incidentally to give a fresh impulse to the cause of jacobinism in Lyons. They there commenced a violent contest with the departmental administration, were anxious to erect a revolutionary tribunal, and to set on foot what was called a revolutionary army. This contest, which was carried on at the same time as the life and death struggle in Paris, led to a formal civil war, because the deputies ordered soldiers to be sent from the army, and the department organized regular battalions of citizens. The citizens and jacobins came into armed collision in the city of Lyons on the 29th of May; after a great deal of bloodshed the jacobins were defeated, their protectors driven out of the city, and the originators of the cruelties practised against the citizens called to a strict account.

This reaction in Lyons against the jacobins assumed a royalist character; and although the strife in this city was contemporaneous with the expulsion of the deputies from the convention, none of the flying deputies made common cause with the Lyonnese. The latter however took a bloody revenge on the jacobins, but regulated their vengeance according to the judgements and

law of their courts of ordinary criminal judicature. Chalier was condemned to death on the grounds of the murderous plot of the 6th of February, the bloodshed of the 29th of May, and particularly of the inhuman and merciless placards which he had caused to be posted on the walls*, and was executed on the 16th of July. This event occurred at the very moment therefore when the dreadful faction, which had ruled with unlimited dominion in the convention from the beginning of July, was filled with the most savage and murderous rage against their opponents after the victory gained at Vernon. As early as the 11th, the convention had issued a decree† respecting the disturbances in Lyons, which had been hitherto quite unparalleled, and Dubois Crancé, who was a notorious drunkard, received commands to lead a portion of the army of the Alps against the devoted city.

Under these circumstances, there was nothing left to the Lyonnese but the last means of despair‡. Fréron and his companions threatened Marseilles and the whole of Provence with the same cruel visitation as Dubois Crancé did Lyons; the consequence was, that all the cities of the south accused of federalism united to lend assistance to Lyons. According to a plan quickly devised, the armed forces of Bordeaux, Limoges and Clermont were to form a junction in Perigueux, and from thence proceed to Bourges, where they were to be joined by the bat-

* We shall here quote the words of a republican, who says of him,—“ Probe dans sa vie privée et brigand dans sa vie publique, il prêche le meurtre et le pillage; impose des taxes arbitraires et laisse les exécuteurs de ses volontés en recueillir les fruits sans y prendre part lui-même.” He accompanies this with an account of his behaviour towards the sections which were hostile to his mob. “ Il ne parloit que d’égorger 20,000 citoyens. La liste des 800 habitants de cette ville qui, le 9 Mars 1793, avaient demandé aux commissaires de la convention des assemblées des sections, fut affichée par ordre de Chalier sous le titre de *Boussole des patriotes, pour les diriger sur la mer du civisme*, il fit placarder une autre liste de 82 pères de famille, négocians, épiciers, fauanciers, forblantiers, boulangers, cordonniers, cabaretiers, en accompagnant chaque nom des épithètes les plus injurieuses. Il ne poursuivait pas seulement les nobles et les prêtres; les modérés, les accapareurs, les usuriers, les avoués, les gens de loi étoient aussi des aristocrates à ses yeux.”

† This decree, almost in so many words, invites and encourages those who have nothing to fall upon and plunder the rich; it runs as follows:—“ Sont constitués et déclarés traîtres à la patrie tous fonctionnaires de cette ville coupable, &c. &c. Tous les biens des conspirateurs seront séquestrés; et aussitôt que la confiscation voulue par la loi sera prononcée par le tribunal révolutionnaire, la répartition en sera faite entre les patriotes indigens et opprimés. Tous payemens des sommes dues à la ville ou aux habitans demeurent provisoirement suspendus.”

‡ Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.

talions from Marseilles, Nismes, Montpellier and Avignon, which were previously to be collected in the last-mentioned city. In Arles also the jacobins, stimulated by the deputies of the convention, had committed gross acts of oppression against the citizens, and the Marseillaise wished to render them also incidental help, but they were so long detained, that the troops of the convention anticipated them by taking possession of Avignon. This circumstance proved decisive of the civil war. Cartaux, the leader of the convention troops, gained on this occasion a momentary reputation; but it afterwards appeared that Buonaparte was quite right, when he declared, in spite of the capture of Marseilles, that Cartaux, from being a bad painter, had shown himself to be a much worse general. By the occupation of Avignon, the western departments were completely insulated, the whole department of Gard again became subject to the convention, Bordeaux was left to its fate, and the dreadful emissaries of the faction domineering in Paris were furnished with the wished-for pretence for shedding torrents of blood and changing the whole state of affairs.

In Marseilles, as well as elsewhere, the hesitation and tenderness of all the opponents of Danton and Robespierre, who followed an indefinite object, showed their insufficiency to cope with the dreadful unity and energy of the ruling faction. The different sections of the city of Marseilles were absolutely engaged in struggles with one another in the streets, at the very time in which the army equipped by the city under Villeneuve had taken possession of the heights of Gavote, Sabragoule, Septème and Roquevaire, in order to prevent the army of the convention from advancing through the passes between these hills. Cartaux, who was followed by whole crowds of jacobins like birds of prey, had at first only some 1500 men belonging to the army of the Alps under his command; Poulitier and Albitte however, as commissioners from the convention, soon ordered 6000 men from this army, with whom they advanced rapidly against the heights occupied by Villeneuve's forces. From this time Marseilles suffered from this army, the continual contests carried on between the sections in the city, and from oppressive want, because both Toulon and Marseilles were closely blockaded by an English fleet. The Marseillaise sent repeatedly to the English admiral to declare that they too, as well as the English admiral, were at war with the convention; they could however

obtain nothing, because they could not make up their minds, as the people of Toulon did a few days after, to give up their port as a pledge into the hands of the English.

Shortly before, the rage of the demagogues in Marseilles had been greatly increased, in consequence of a defeat which they had suffered in the streets and the squares of the city. On the 23rd of August, the army of the Marseillaise sans-culottes fell upon the battalions of respectable citizens; both prepared for action on the *Place des Prêcheurs*, and a formal encounter took place. The jacobins were defeated, and blood flowed in streams during the whole night in the streets. Two days afterwards, on the 25th, Cartaux made an attack upon the Marseillaise army under Villeneuve, which was posted on the heights of Septème and Sabragoule. The cannoneers in Villeneuve's army, on whom everything on this occasion depended, were selected, as was usually the case, from the lower classes, who had an entirely different interest from the higher; they therefore not only forsook their guns, but actually hurled them down into the passes which they were intended to protect. The citizen army dispersed, and Villeneuve was compelled to surrender the town to the troops of the convention, but saved himself and 1500 men by taking refuge in Toulon. Many of the most distinguished people of Marseilles also fled to that city, and contributed in no small degree to persuade the Toulonnese to secure the assistance of the English and Spaniards, who were then blockading both Marseilles and Toulon by sea, by placing their harbour and arsenal in the power of their allies.

Juan de Langara, the Spanish admiral, and Hood with his English fleet, who had hitherto cruised with their combined forces before Toulon, took possession of the city and port on the 28th of August; Hood however alleged, as the English are accustomed to do, that negotiations had been carried on with him alone, and therefore seized upon all the ships in the harbour and the naval stores in Toulon. The convention and the jacobins gained far more with the whole nation, in consequence of the declaration of the English that they took possession of Toulon in the name of a person wholly unknown to the people, Louis XVII., than by the victory at Septème. We shall not dwell on the cruelties practised in Marseilles and elsewhere by the victorious faction longer than is necessary in order to point out the measures adopted by the convention at different times to anni-

hilate every remnant of the old *régime*, and to change the whole order and condition of things. Poultier and Albitte commenced those scenes of murder, robbery and destruction in Marseilles, which were carried on and completed by Fréron and Barras. Fréron erected a revolutionary tribunal without a jury in Marseilles, and selected the refuse of humanity for his judges,—criminals who had been condemned to the galleys on account of their transgressions. The very men whom Fréron appointed as judges in his revolutionary tribunal had been shortly before guilty of putting multitudes of innocent people to death during the contests in the city, impelled merely by their cannibal appetite for blood and murder. It almost appeared as if the commissioners of the convention would annihilate the city itself and even the harbour. Executions were of daily occurrence, and the destruction of buildings continued for months, whilst Fréron dated his reports to the convention, according to the savage style of his times, not from Marseilles, but from *commune unnamed*.

The insurrection in Lyons against the convention was regarded as a royalist movement, although the majority of the brave and persevering men who defended the city from June till October unquestionably did not belong to the adherents of the old system. The chief leaders and the most of the officers had certainly served under the royal government and were favourable to the monarchy. General Précý commanded the whole, and Chenelette, a very experienced engineer-officer, prepared the plans of the trenches and other works which were hastily thrown up for defence; both had very able officers under them. Dubois expected to be able to reduce the town either by a simple blockade, or by promoting disunion and strife among the royalists, republicans and jacobins within its walls; he however soon found himself deceived, and saw that he must have recourse to a regular siege. For this purpose Kellermann was ordered to march to Lyons with a division of the army of the Alps, and Dubois Crancé himself undertook the direction of the artillery. He, as well as his brother (both of whom belonged to the old nobility), was a skilful engineer, when his love of intoxicating liquors and his jacobinism did not render him inaccessible to reason. His brother, who was neither addicted to drunkenness nor a jacobin, had rendered most important services to Dumourier, and is often mentioned by him in terms of strong approbation.

Dubois Crancé directed his fire expressly against that portion of the city which he called the aristocratic quarter, because he could thus assail and destroy palaces and houses, streets and squares celebrated for their beauty and magnificence throughout the whole of Europe. His shells destroyed the quarters of *St. Clair* and *Bellecour*, the harbour *du Temple*, and the streets *Mercière* and *Turpin*. He was recalled from his command; but the four deputies by whom he was replaced, after the taking of the city, conducted themselves in a still more incredible manner than he had behaved before its reduction, when there was at least some excuse for the destruction which he perpetrated, because he wished to get possession of the place. Lyons was no sooner taken than Barrère proposed in the convention that the city and its inhabitants should be annihilated; and if this was not really done, the name at least was completely changed. Immediately afterwards the paralytic Couthon caused whole rows of houses to be pulled down and the people to be shot in masses. Collot d'Herbois, Laporte and Fouché, who were Couthon's successors and instruments of the vengeance of the convention, tyrannized and raged like their predecessor. Some idea may be formed of the destruction which was perpetrated and of the multitudes who were massacred, when it is known that the executions, the fusillades, and the destruction of public edifices and private buildings were continued till April 1794. We shall hereafter have occasion again to refer to the cruelties which were exercised by such monsters as Carrier, Tallien and Lebon upon the inhabitants of the south, west and north of the kingdom, to avenge the disturbances which had been raised by those who were filled with horror and indignation at the dreadful events which took place in Paris in the commencement of June. Carrier gave full scope to his passions of cruelty and revenge in Nantes, and Tallien in Bordeaux; Lebon in Arras, and Maignet in the department of Vaucluse, attempted to follow the same course. The latter caused the village of Bedoin to be reduced to ashes, and forbade any one even to visit its ruins under the penalty of death. In Orange he appointed a committee of the people, as it was called, whose sole object seemed to be to root out and destroy every individual or family, except such as belonged to the very lowest classes.

Even Toulon, which was supported by the naval force of the English, experienced the dreadful energy of the revolutionary government of a warlike people, now moving freely in their

might, and was again united to the kingdom. Two circumstances attach an unusual interest to the reconquest of Toulon : the first is, that Napoleon Buonaparte on this occasion gave the first remarkable evidence of his great military capacity, and made his name known throughout all Europe ; and the second, that after the taking of Toulon, the fortune of war changed in favour of the existing government in other places also, and from that time forward, with few exceptions, remained true to the republican armies. On the reduction of Marseilles, the convention ordered Cartaux to blockade Toulon from the west, whilst Brunet, who was in command of the army of Italy, was directed to send a division to invest the city on the east. Brunet despatched Lapoype on this service, and his threatening march to Solliés had the effect of driving whole multitudes of men into the city : this increased the want within the walls, and was the chief cause of the surrender of the harbour and fortress into the hands of the English and Spaniards on the 27th of August. The English, who from this time conducted the defence, kept the republicans from approaching Toulon till September, by strongly fortifying the narrow pass of Oullioules. The capture of this pass has always been regarded as one of the most celebrated deeds of the times of the revolution and has been usually ascribed to Cartaux : this general however can hardly have contributed much to the successful result of this enterprise, because he proved himself to be wholly incapable, when at the head of the army of Italy in the year 1794. In January of this year Brunet had been brought to Paris as a political delinquent, and the command of the army devolved for a short time upon Cartaux. He had only been in service since 1789, and was previously a painter of very moderate pretensions ; but on this occasion he had among his officers, in addition to the young Corsican, Napoleon Buonaparte, such men as Dammartin, Laborde, Almeras, Vautrin and Dupas, who conducted the attack upon what were supposed to be the impregnable works at Oullioules in such a masterly manner, that the English were obliged to retire completely within the fortress on the 8th of September.

During the attack on the post of Oullioules, Dammartin, who was in command of the artillery, was wounded, and Buonaparte was entrusted with the further conduct of that service. From that time Toulon was closely invested, for Lapoype had advanced through Solliés and his troops formed the left wing of the

besieging army, whilst Cartaux was at the head of the right. In the direction of the artillery of the army of the convention, Buonaparte exhibited the same talents and the same energetic determination, combined with quickness of perception and a rapid judgement of what the nature of the case demanded, which afterwards made him master of Europe. The plans which Cartaux was to execute had been sent from Paris, where Carnot was then at the head of the war department. These plans were drawn up by the celebrated D'Arçon, but more than six weeks elapsed before Cartaux could effectually complete his junction with Lapoype. According to the plans sent from Paris and the system of a regular siege, from which Cartaux did not wish to deviate, a speedy reduction of the fortress was not to be expected; Buonaparte devised other means. From the commander-in-chief he turned to the all-powerful deputies of the convention, and in their case displayed a talent by which he stood pre-eminent above all his contemporaries,—the power of his mind and character in bringing high and low into subjection. He proved to the deputies that the speedy reduction of Toulon could only be effected by the means which he pointed out, and they assisted him in their execution. Cartaux, who did not appear bold enough, was honourably removed from the command, and Doppet also, who did not enter into Buonaparte's views, was politely transferred to another place. Dugommier adopted the plan, and Toulon fell on the 19th of December.

The capture of the city was ascribed, not merely by reports, or by the newspapers which spread reports, but even by the deputies of the convention, Ricord, Salicetti, the younger Robespierre, and Barras, who were present at the siege, much more to Buonaparte, then twenty-three years old, than to the brave and able Dugommier, the commander-in-chief. Before the English surrendered the city, the defence of which they had undertaken, they first shamefully robbed it of all the ships and naval stores which had been entrusted by the kingdom to the city, and which the latter had only put into the hands of the English as a pledge*. The English had no sooner withdrawn, than Barras and Fréron entered upon the horrible execution of those laws which the com-

* When the English found themselves obliged to surrender Toulon, which they had not *conquered*, but merely taken possession of at the request of the *French*, and for *their use*, they burnt the arsenal and stores, twenty vessels of war, among which were eleven ships of the line and six frigates, and took fifteen others with them; only thirty-two were left behind.

mittee of public welfare at that time wrote in characters of blood. The whole body of the citizens of property were allured to an assembly upon the Champ de Mars, when a concealed battery was suddenly unmasked and the inhuman tyrants fired upon them with chain-shot. As to the following executions, Fréron himself, in the excuses which he afterwards made against the complaints of his numerous accusers, most bitterly laments that of 10,000 persons, he had only caused 800 to be executed.

The bloodshed in Toulon, Marseilles and Lyons very far exceeded that which Tallien caused in Bordeaux, although he there condemned and executed more than 150 heads of families. Maignet, who, as we have already stated, had established one of these murderous commissions in Orange, being afterwards called to account, the executioner who had been chiefly employed declared before the court, that more than 318 persons had been beheaded in this small place. The terror which Fréron spread in Toulon was so great, that the population, which, as appears from documentary proofs, had shortly before amounted to 28,400 souls, sunk to 7000, because all had fled who could make their escape. The tone of the times and the spirit by which all these murders were dictated may be best learned from Barras's letters to his colleagues in the convention; from a man therefore who was descended from one of the oldest families of the south, afterwards became a director, and as such one of the rulers of France, and who afterwards sold himself to the Bourbons. He writes, "*I have found no respectable people (honnêtes gens) in Toulon, except the galley-slaves.*" We regard this as the most convenient place to give a summary account of the civil war which had been raging in La Vendée since the month of March 1793.

In La Vendée the jacobins, who were consequent after their fashion, found that they had a class of persons to deal with very different from the sentimental visionaries, and from the artisans and shopkeepers of the towns anxious about their lives and properties; they found that they had to contend, not with enthusiastic and unpractical Platonists, but with the unity of fanaticism, the courage of despair, and the energy of irremediable prejudice*.

* We refer to the events of this war as cursorily as to the still less important disputes which followed the struggle in Paris from the 31st of May till the 2nd of June, for reasons previously assigned. The accounts contained in the 'Collection des Mémoires sur la Révolution,' to which innumerable others might be added, are the following: first, the 'Mémoires de Madame de Bon-

The movement in La Vendée originated in the flat country of the former Poitou, covered with hedges and underwood, and in the whole district near the mouth of the Loire. In this country the peasants as well as the landowners were thoroughly dissatisfied with all that had taken place in Paris, because, according to the nature of their tenures (as *Metayer*), the peasants shared the produce of the soil with the landlords, and enjoyed precisely the same description of education as they did, because there was here no court nobility, but the simplicity of ancient times. Both the nobles and peasants therefore were warmly attached to their priests and their worship. Moreover, when the peasants were afterwards obliged to institute communal administrations, the seigneurs were universally chosen as mayors, and when a general arming was commanded, the same persons were appointed chiefs of the national guards. The first sign of their resistance to the Parisians was exhibited on receiving a law from Paris, by virtue of which the distinct and honourable seats in church occupied by the seigneurs and their families were ordered to be removed; this law however was not carried into execution. None of those priests who had taken the oath to obey the civil constitution of the clergy (*constitution civile du clergé*) were admitted into their churches, and as early as August 1792, forty parishes were disposed to take up arms. The execution of the king increased these feelings of hatred and indignation, and the conscription of the sons of the peasants for the defence of the nation, after the abolition of the former method of recruiting, converted dissatisfaction and hatred into civil war.

The republicans wished to compel the peasants to obey the law, and the consequence was resistance, and the peasants having made themselves masters of the cannon of the republicans planted against them, at two places widely distant from one another, on the 11th of March 1793, a general insurrection ensued. Charette, a licentious naval officer, acted on this occasion as leader of one part of the insurgents, and conducted himself like a hero, till he again sank into degrading indulgences; the peasants in Lower Poitou on the contrary compelled monsieur de Bonchamp, one of their seigneurs, to place himself at their head.

champ,' completely royalist; the '*Mémoires de Madame de la Rochejacquelin*,' of the same character; and the '*Mémoires de Madame de Sapinaud*.' There are others in the *colle-tive* which are moderate in their spirit and well-sustained. The '*Mémoires du Général Turreau*' are thoroughly jacobinical.

The war was carried on amidst all the difficulties of a country intersected by numerous hedges and ditches, with roads almost impassable and very small fields; and in the very commencement of the war, two persons of humble condition exhibited such distinguished abilities, that they shared the command with men of the first houses in La Vendée.

D'Elbée, Bonchamp and Larochejacquelin, three of the chief leaders, belonged to the old nobility of the country; of the two others, Cathelineau was a rich peasant and carrier, and Stofflet, of German descent, had been formerly forester to a monsieur de Maulevrier. The two individuals last-mentioned raised the spirit and courage of the peasants from the 11th till the 15th of March, by the seizure of artillery and ammunition and the capture of Chollet. Immediately afterwards the national guard of Fontenay, consisting of townsmen, who were everywhere favourable to the revolution, was defeated. These had previously plundered Chantonay in the department of La Vendée. The whole of La Vendée, Loire Inférieure, and Maine and Loire, now renounced obedience to the convention. Carra and Auguis, the deputies of the convention, attempted to restore obedience by recourse to force; but their unreasonable cruelty and tyranny produced merely a state of despair.

As early as April 1793, we find D'Elbée acting as generalissimo of a catholic and royalist army as it was called, at the head of a very considerable force, and the country of the malcontents partitioned out into military divisions. Commandants were named to take charge of these military sections; Larochejacquelin, D'Antichamp, Bonchamp, Domagué, Cathelineau, and Stofflet were allotted to Anjou and Upper Poitou; Lescure, Talmont, Duhoux and D'Auterive ruled in the interior; and Charette, Savin, Joli, &c. in the Bocage or Lower Poitou. These officers possessed a great advantage over the republicans in being thoroughly acquainted with the country and always remaining in command, whilst the republican generals were unacquainted with this extremely intricate district and were perpetually changed. Witenkoff, Menou, Berruyer, were recalled one after another, and with good reason. Quétineau was taken prisoner on the 3rd of May by the royalists, who surprised the town of Thouars and succeeded in capturing twelve pieces of cannon. They did all in their power to prevail upon Quétineau to join their ranks, but found it impossible to induce him to for-

sake the republicans; notwithstanding this, he was afterwards executed in Paris. The republican generals already named were succeeded by Boulard, Baudry, Canclaux and Beysser, who were somewhat more fortunate than their predecessors. When Charette attempted to advance, he was completely defeated at Fontenay on the 14th of May, and lost the whole of his artillery; he avenged himself however upon his conquerors nine days afterwards. Bonchamp, Larochejacquelin and Lescure had hastened to his aid, and with these reinforcements he made a new attack upon the republicans, took Fontenay, and on this occasion obtained possession of forty pieces of cannon. On the 10th of June the royalists gained a new victory. Larochejacquelin, Domagué, Cathelineau and Stofflet defeated 20,000 republicans, under the command of Santerre and Menou, at Saumur, and crowned their splendid victory by the capture of the castle. The capitulation of Saumur brought 3000 prisoners, 80 pieces of cannon and very considerable magazines into the hands of the royalists, who unhappily were encouraged by their brilliant successes to entertain the unfortunate idea of making an attempt to reduce the city of Nantes, the chief seat of republicanism in the west of France.

These ill-armed and badly-equipped peasants of the districts west of the Loire, who marched under Cathelineau, D'Elbée, Bonchamp and Charette, were heroes in their own country; but they were indisposed to go far from their homes, and were neither fit to encounter regularly disciplined troops in the field, nor to besiege a populous town, even although unprotected by walls. When this peasant army, 40,000 strong, passed the Loire, Cathelineau was chosen commander-in-chief; D'Elbée, Bonchamp and Charette served under his orders; on this occasion, however, the last of these generals displayed the envy and malice of a vulgar and contemptible mind. The citizens of Nantes were inspired with the same feelings of fanatical devotedness *in favour* of the republic, with which the nobility and peasants who attacked them were filled *against it*; general Canclaux, who had the command of the city, was an able officer, and succeeded in frustrating the mad and desperate attacks which were repeatedly made on it from the 27th till the 29th of June. The royalists suffered great losses, Cathelineau was killed, and the total destruction of the assailants appeared unavoidable, because they could not reach their villages again, and one portion of them

was driven to Niort and another to Ancenis. The chief reason which has been assigned for this defeat is, that Charette, from a feeling of envy towards D'Elbée, remained quietly on the left bank of the Loire.

Had not people like Menou, an officer of the olden times, Santerre, owner of a brewery in the faubourg St. Antoine, and even Biron, who was at that time at the head of these republican masses, been persons wholly unfit for their office, and had not Danton's friend, Westermann, who in one year had risen from the rank of a sergeant to that of a general, spread universal despair by his cruel devastations and executions, the cause of the royalists would at that time have been completely lost. They did not however yield to despair, and as soon after as the 17th, the republicans under Biron were attacked and defeated by them at Vihiers. Biron was immediately recalled by the ruling men of terror; but the general who was sent to occupy his place was, both in a military and moral point of view, equally unfit and unworthy. Ronsin, who had made shipwreck as a writer of miserable tragedies, and had, in intimate connexion with Danton and Marat, first rendered important services to jacobinism during the September massacre, had then been appointed chief plundering military commissioner in the Netherlands and assistant to the minister of war. At a time when murderers were regarded as pre-eminently qualified for public offices, and revolutionary energy was in demand, this man was appointed general of a revolutionary army, and as such sent into La Vendée. He there not only ravened like a tiger for the blood of his enemies, but he also recommended the appointment of Rossignol, the journeyman goldsmith, who boasted that in the September massacres he had cut down a considerable number of prisoners with his own hand, to the command of a division of the revolutionary army instead of Biron. Even general Turreau, whose memoirs are important as regards the history of the war in La Vendée, by furnishing a jacobinical source to compare with so many of an opposite character and tendency, and who calls himself, even at the time of his transportation in 1800, a sincere friend of the fanatical and raving republican Rossignol, is obliged to admit, that his friend Rossignol was of no use whatever.

Rossignol brought with him the very dregs of Paris, dignified with the name of a revolutionary army; it was sent into La

Vendée, precisely on the same principle as locusts or wolves might be let loose upon a country abounding in vegetation and flocks. The rulers in Paris wished to be rid of this ferocious band in the capital. Rossignol, Ronsin, and the atrocious Parisian vagabonds by whom they were surrounded, perpetrated burning, murder, and cruelties of all kinds whithersoever they went. Turreau and Westermann, of whose military talents no doubt can be entertained, infused such a universal feeling of despair, by what was called their hellish columns, which desolated the whole country by fire and sword, that the royalists would have been finally victorious but for the arrival of practised and disciplined armies, commanded by experienced and able generals. The republican armies and generals, which completely changed the whole state of affairs in La Vendée, consisted of the numerous garrisons of Mayence and Valenciennes, which had been surrendered to the allies by capitulation; but their garrisons were allowed to go free, without having any conditions imposed either as to their employment against the allies, or against the royalists in the interior of the kingdom. The allies were compelled to pay dearly for their neglect, for Carnot was now enabled, without any breach of the agreement, to withdraw all the bad troops from La Vendée and to send them to the frontiers, where, mixed up with others, and placed under new and better generals, they did good service; the hardy and disciplined garrison troops marched into La Vendée.

Even whilst Rossignol continued to enjoy the chief command, the garrison and troops, and especially such men as generals Aubert Dubayet, Kleber, Haxo and Saint Suzanne, gave a completely new turn to the war, and would have infallibly brought it to a conclusion by a friendly agreement with those who were conquered by them in 1793, had not the ruling faction in Paris selected only such men for the chief command as insisted upon a system of vandal desolation. Ronsin and Rossignol were indeed recalled, because their inability to discharge their duties was obvious, but Westermann was appointed in October 1793 in their stead. This general caused all the cruel and unparalleled laws* of the convention to be most brutally carried into

* On the 1st of August, when the garrison of Mayence was sent to the Loire, the convention decreed: "1. Il sera envoyé dans La Vendée par le ministre de la guerre des matières combustibles de toute espèce pour incendier les bois, les taillis, les genêts. Les forêts seront abattues, les repaires des

execution, and by this means embittered the minds even of that part of the population which had hitherto remained neutral, or as general Turreau expresses it, *lukewarm*. Notwithstanding all the burning and desolation practised by the republicans, the royalists were quite safe, protected by their impenetrable under-wood, and entrenched behind the hedges and ditches by which the country was traversed in all directions, till they suffered themselves to be persuaded to give ear to a man of distinction, who led them to their ruin.

The self-conceited, but wholly inexperienced prince de Talmont conceived the idea that a union with the English, and with those emigrants who had put themselves under the protection of England, would prove the safety and deliverance of the peasants, which never could have been the case; and the peasants allowed themselves to be persuaded. The protection of England is an excellent preservative for English people, but it certainly never has proved advantageous to others. Women, children, and the whole power of La Vendée crossed the Loire, in order to make themselves masters of some harbour in Brittany, and from thence to maintain a union and intercourse with the English. This was the more foolish, as they had very shortly before been discouraged by two defeats, and could only hope to find protection behind the cover of their hedges and ditches, whilst in the open field they must fall a prey to their opponents. The royalists had been completely beaten on the 15th of October at Tremblaye, and on the 16th at Chollet; and instead of the deliverance which they foolishly hoped to obtain by crossing the Loire, this necessarily resulted in their discomfiture, because they thereby openly gave themselves into the hands of their enemies. Bonchamp and D'Elbée, the latter of whom had done all in his power to prevent this ruinous resolution, were both wounded, the former mortally and the latter

rebelles seront détruits; les récoltes seront coupées par des compagnies d'ouvriers pour être portées sur les derrières de l'armée, et les bestiaux seront saisis; les femmes, les enfans et les vieillards seront conduits dans l'intérieur." Turreau, who speaks of all these measures as admirable, admits, that the whole country was encompassed by a girdle of fire; that fire, terror and death preceded the army on its march; that as the columns advanced, cities, towns, villages, single houses, castles and huts fell a prey to the flames; and that the woods and forests were destroyed by fire. But all this did the royalists little injury. Their army principally consisted of peasants, the only part of whose possessions which could be destroyed was that which lay on the road of the army: for farther the republicans could not venture.

dangerously, in the succession of contests which took place on the 17th, 18th and 19th of October, when this unfortunate multitude of brave and honourable men, by passing the river, exposed themselves to the attack of an enemy in every respect their superior. Those with arms in their hands fell bravely fighting; the unfortunate women, children, and unarmed men, who had joined their companions in arms, were mercilessly cut down. The remnant, wholly cut off from their homes, were either slain at the attack on Angers on the 13th of December, or cut to pieces near and in Ancenis on the 23rd and 24th of December 1793. Only a few hundreds succeeded in recrossing the Loire and reaching their homes. From that time, what had previously been a determined civil war assumed a completely altered form; and from being a contest for monarchy and catholicism, which the convention was desirous of extirpating in the west, it became merely a plundering foray.

Bonchamp, D'Elbée, and Larochejacquelin were properly speaking the heroes of the old principles and customs and of the ancient monarchy; the first fell in the passage over the Loire; the virulent enemies of royalism caused the second to be shot, although he was confined to bed by a mortal wound; the war was afterwards carried on by Charette and Stofflet after their own fashion. All ideas of knightly gallantry and magnanimity now disappeared from both sides. These officers had formal bands under their authority, and by their courage and perseverance very often reduced the disciplined armies and able generals which had been sent against them since August 1793 to a state of great perplexity. General Haxo shot himself when he found there was no hope of escape from being taken prisoner; but general Turreau, who succeeded him in the command, continued to burn and to destroy till the tyranny of the committee of public welfare came to an end, and a milder system obtained the sway in Paris.

Those to whom the government was entrusted after the revolution of the 9th Thermidor, conferred the chief command of the army upon general Canclaux, and sent deputies from the convention, not to destroy, but to adopt measures of reconciliation, and to endeavour to gain the minds of the people by kindness. We shall hereafter refer to the manner in which this reconciliation was prevented, and the peace broken by the cunning devices of the English ministry and the folly of the emi-

grants, when we come to speak of the landing in the bay of Quiberon in June 1795.

The system which was pursued in France from the 2nd of June, if we only consider its effects, was the most admirable which could have been conceived to create a new generation of men, firmly to establish new customs, institutions and laws, and to give new France the dominion over decayed and rotten Europe; but when we think of the means which were used and of the men who employed them, this system was the most accursed and wicked of which the history of the world can furnish any example. The whole power of the government was concentrated in the committee of public welfare, from the time in which every man who could offer any resistance to the two combined parties of jacobins was either expelled, annihilated, or so completely terrified as to acquiesce in everything which was commanded by the reigning faction.

The committee of public welfare was confirmed in its functions for the fourth time on the 10th of July, but at the same time it was on this occasion completely renewed. Shortly before this time the committee had been increased by the addition of three members; it was now however reduced to its original number of nine, or rather, as this was only momentary, to ten. The chief instrument of government under this committee was the revolutionary tribunal. The committee of general safety also had in reality only a subordinate character, for it was not called to give counsel, but merely to receive commands. The convention itself had lost one-third of its members, and no one was now suffered to speak of filling up the vacancies by the election of new ones. The meetings of the convention were of no importance, because their only business was to give the form of laws to the decrees recommended and proposed by the committee of public welfare. The committee ruled public opinion with despotic power, issued commands to the commune of Paris, organized and conducted the system of demagoguery indispensable to this description of government; and the reports which it submitted to the convention, in order apparently to comply with the law, were very summary. Before the 27th of July 1793 there were some differences of opinion in the committee, but from the day on which Danton took his seat, and Robespierre afterwards entered on the 27th and continued to maintain his ground, Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just became the unquestionable rulers of France.

The only man who could have dared to offer any resistance was Carnot, who became a member of the committee on the 13th of August; but they judiciously left to this estimable and able man the whole conduct of the war department, by which his mind was so fully occupied and so completely withdrawn from other affairs, that it was too late before he became aware of the abuse which his colleagues were making of the power with which they were entrusted. Carnot and the three men of terror were constantly members of the committee from the 27th of July; the others, whose names are given in a note*, were also members from December 1793 till July 1794, but only alternately with others who belonged to Robespierre's faction.

It was necessary that the revolutionary tribunal should also be composed of men as energetic as the members of the committee, and for this purpose people were always found who belonged to the old *régime*; for all the horrors of the revolution were perpetrated by men trained in the *old* schools, and not by the populace or people of the new age; the people served merely as a hammer or sword. Such old servants of ministerial despotism were quite accustomed to the use of every species of injustice and to the invention of language fitted for the deeds. Montané, the first president of the revolutionary tribunal, was removed, because he could not resolve to condemn general Custine, whom he believed to be innocent. He was succeeded by D'Opsent, whom we have already mentioned as a companion of Marat; then followed Herrmann, and after him Coffinhal; these men were all jurists. The next in order was Dumas, a theologian, and formerly a monk of the order of St. Bernard. Fouquier, who was *procureur* to the Parisian criminal court called Châtelet, has rendered his name infamous to all posterity by his conduct as public prosecutor before the revolutionary tribunal. His substitutes or deputies were Rouyer, who had previously been a priest, and Naulin, a jurist. The marquis, or more properly speaking, chevalier d'Antonelle, formerly a captain in the regiment 'Bassigny,' was the permanent foreman of the bloody jury, each member of which received a daily allowance of eighteen francs. As we cannot go into the particulars of these affairs, and do not wish to confine ourselves to strict

* From August 1793, the following members were re-elected from month to month: Maximilian Robespierre, Barrère, Billaud Varennes, Carnot, Collet d'Herbois, Prieur, Lindet, Couthon, St. Just, and Jean Bon de St. André.

chronological order in referring to these scandalous deeds of murder, we shall satisfy ourselves with stating the number of executions which took place during a series of months in Paris, from which a conclusion may be drawn of the extent to which this horrible practice was carried in the rest of the kingdom. From March 1793 till June 1794, 576 persons were condemned and executed in Paris; and in the two months of June and July, 1285 underwent the same fate. The jurors also, like the convention, were ruled by terror, for according to the law of the 26th of June, which enforced open voting, they were either obliged to condemn the accused, or to place their own lives in jeopardy.

Whilst civil war was raging throughout the whole kingdom in June 1793, it was thought necessary to deceive the people with the hope of obtaining from the free will of the convention what the expelled deputies had endeavoured in vain to obtain by force; for this purpose recourse was had to a shameless and obvious trick, which however was attended with complete success. The convention declared that it would now at length promulgate the democratic constitution, whose completion had been hitherto obstructed by the deputies of the Gironde.

For this purpose, the draft of a most absurdly democratic and thoroughly impracticable constitution, which Condorcet had made in February, was again brought forward, and a commission was named to prepare, with as much expedition as possible, a new constitution, of which this draft was to form the basis. The head of this commission was the same lawyer, Hérault de Séchelles, who was uniformly placed in the chair of the convention when any unworthy and degrading resolution was to be adopted. It has been alleged, that the one hundred and twenty-four articles of which this constitution of the first year of the republic consists, but which was never brought to life, were for the most part drawn up in a coffee-house, which may very probably be true, from the haste with which the whole affair was executed. As early as the 10th of June, the new constitution was communicated to the convention; fourteen days afterwards it was examined and approved; as early as the 24th of June it was taken into the departments by commissioners named for the purpose, in order to be laid before the primary assemblies for their acceptance. An examination of constitutions, or even a minute account of their contents, does not belong to this work; we shall

therefore merely state how the farce, which Hérault de Séchelles and his fellow-actors played with and for the French people, ended. As may be easily supposed, the constitution was accepted in the primary assemblies, and was to be proclaimed on the 10th of August. For this purpose the celebration of a grand fête was arranged for the above-mentioned day, in the *Place de la Bastille*, such as we have now seen every month, for a few years past in Germany, and as pompous in form and destitute of inward truth as these usually are.

Ducis the poet, at the command of the convention, composed for the occasion an ode, which was printed at the public expense. This ode was in fact a song, which was much better suited for blood-thirsty cannibals than for educated Frenchmen. Statues of Nature and of various other allegorical beings, of colossal size and formed of pasteboard, were publicly exhibited at the fête, and Hérault de Séchelles delivered a speech in poetical prose, which was admirably in keeping with the pasteboard statues. The theatrical mummary which followed as festivities was completely in character with this beginning. Of the constitution, on account of which all this parade and absurdity had been got up, not a single word was spoken, as the committee of public welfare found themselves secured in their tyranny by the reduction of Lyons. This city was taken from the 9th till the 10th of October, and on the 11th the convention brought to light those decrees which had been long prepared by the revolutionary government. The decree in which the constitution is declared to be *in obedience and adjourned* till peace was concluded, was passed at a sitting at which there were scarcely eighty members present!! Its terms were as follows:—

“The provisional government of France is to continue *revolutionary* till a peace. The provisional *executive council*, the ministers, generals, and all the public constituted bodies, are placed under the superintendence of the committee of public welfare, which shall be accountable to the convention. The commander-in-chief of the armies shall also be appointed by the same committee.” This decree proceeded neither from a Hérault de Séchelles, a Robespierre, nor a Barrère, of whom the former of the two last-mentioned concealed his envy and pride, and the latter his mean thoughts under a mass of verbiage and phrases, but from St. Just, who was driven on in his course by *genuine* republican fanaticism, and an enthusiastic admiration of

Rousseau. Like Danton and Camille Desmoulins, St. Just preached, from conviction, the doctrine, that in a revolution the principle must be maintained, that *everything is to be gained by bold and adventurous action*. He expressed this doctrine with such fearful clearness and energy in the introduction or the report by which the proposal of the decree is preceded, that it is only necessary to quote a single phrase in order to give a correct idea of the material contents of the whole*. With such a government everything was possible. Everything old was thoroughly eradicated; Buonaparte and the restoration may have brought back the appearance of the old *régime*, but the essence and spirit were gone; and Louis Philippe and the jesuits will never be able to re-establish it. If we merely refer cursorily to some of the laws enacted by that government, it will immediately become obvious whither the energy exhibited at that time must necessarily lead. This spirit has been imitated in our own times by the Russians in Poland, because they had precisely the same objects in view which Robespierre, St. Just and Couthon so eagerly followed in France.

Among these, the law respecting the prosecution of suspected persons, and the numerous class of persons who were included in this category, first claims our attention†. This decree was issued on the 17th of December, and on the 3rd of October it was followed by another, wherein it is expressly said, that political offenders were not to be regularly tried, but as a rule were merely to be placed before the court. This was succeeded by another, in virtue of which, a great number of the noblest defenders of moderate freedom, the best portion of the convention, then the duke of Orleans, and finally queen Marie Antoinette, who

* He says to his colleagues in the convention, “Vous n'avez plus rien à ménager, contre les ennemis du nouvel ordre des choses, et la liberté doit vaincre à tel prix que ce soit.”

† “Immédiatement après la publication du présent décret, tous les gens suspects qui se trouvent sur le territoire de la république, et qui sont encore en liberté, seront mis en état d'arrestation. Sont réputés suspects ceux qui, soit par leur conduite, soit par leurs relations, soit par leurs propres écrits, se sont montrés les partisans de la tyrannie ou du fédéralisme, et ennemis de la liberté; ceux qui ne peuvent justifier de l'acquit de leurs devoirs civiques, ceux à qui il a été refusé des certificats de civisme, ceux des ci-devant nobles, ensemble les maris, les femmes, pères, mères, fils ou filles, frères ou sœurs, et agens d'émigrés, qui n'ont pas constamment manifesté leur attachement à la révolution. Les tribunaux civils et criminels pourront faire retenir en état d'arrestation comme gens suspects et envoyer dans les maisons de détention ci-dessus énoncées les prévenus à l'égard desquels il serait déclaré n'y avoir pas lieu à accusation ou qui seraient acquittés de celles portées contre eux.”

had been tormented by a long imprisonment, although completely innocent of all political crimes, were to be placed before the court*. The queen's trial was commenced as early as the 12th of October, on the 15th she was condemned to death, and executed on the 16th. On the 31st of the same month, twenty-one republican deputies were executed. The duke of Orleans, as it was said, fell a sacrifice to the separation between the two parties of jacobins which was then taking place. It was said that Robespierre's adherents would willingly have saved the queen, had they not been prevented by Danton's party; and that in revenge the former insisted upon the execution of the duke of Orleans as eagerly as he was protected by Danton and his clique. The duke was beheaded as early as the 6th of November. In November the form of government, which had hitherto been called *interim* or *revolutionary*, was also reduced to a system. The system of terror, which was maintained in France till August 1794, was reduced to the form of an ordinance by Billaud Varennes, and on the 3rd of December approved by the convention on the motion of Bazire. When this took place, the number of political prisoners in Paris amounted to 4830.

From this time the convention itself was of no further use than merely to pass decrees, and to form a theatre for the exhibition of scenes and speeches, which were calculated to produce an effect in the newspapers; the real power of the state was completely in the hands of the committees. The com-

* We shall quote the decree respecting condemnation, which was also passed on the 3rd of October, word for word; that respecting those who were to be condemned, only partially. "En cas de partage d'opinion," it is said in the former, "dans les procès sur les délits révolutionnaires, l'avis le plus doux ne doit pas prévaloir. En conséquence, toutes les fois que les juges d'un tribunal criminel seront partagés, ils seront tenus d'appeler un cinquième juge pour les départager." The other decree first charges twenty-one deputies with "conspiration contre l'unité et l'indivisibilité de la république contre la liberté et la sûreté du peuple Français." The accused were not confined to such men as Brissot and Verguiau, but contained among them reckless democrats, such as Carra and Fauchet. There were also subtle systematizers, such as Condorcet, and finally Philippe Egalité and his extravagant companion, Sillery-Gendis. These forty-one persons were to be placed before the revolutionary tribunal. In addition to these, the decree affects twenty-one others, who had been previously declared traitors to their country. Among these, together with Pétion, Buzot and Gorsas, was such a blameless man as Lanjuinais. Moreover the seventy-four deputies who had secretly protested against the resolutions of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, were arrested, so that 136 deputies were at once affected by this decree of condemnation. On the same 3rd of October, the convention ordained by another decree, that the queen's trial should be commenced without delay and carried on without intermission.

mittees of public welfare and of public safety governed in a revolutionary manner; the committee of diplomacy managed foreign affairs; and in the legislative committee the whole business of drawing up laws, which afterwards formed the basis of the Code Napoléon, was the more willingly delegated to the great jurists, Cambacérès and Merlin, as they were both at that time fanatical jacobins. Every town and village had its clubs in imitation of Paris; the deputies of the convention, who were scattered over the whole country, oppressed the distinguished and the rich in order to elevate the lower classes, or rather to avail themselves of their services and support for a time. These classes, or as they were called, the *sans-culottes*, assembled in the sections of Paris, where they received forty sous daily for their attendance, and assumed the name of the "sovereign people." In order to give a very brief view of the subject, we shall compress into a few short sentences a description of the government established by the decree of the 4th of December.

Ten individuals now ruled France with absolute power: they were chosen by the convention, and had the unlimited disposal of the lives, properties and liberties of their fellow-citizens. In the execution of their measures, they enjoyed the aid of a tribunal which decided upon life and property without trial, without appeal, or even the permission of defence to the accused. On the command of these ten individuals, every citizen was compelled to take up arms, and under the penalty of death to perform all those services which were required, and at a remuneration fixed by the government. Whenever a plenipotentiary of the convention, or a member of one of the committees appeared, the power of all other authorities for the moment ceased, and the law was silent, or in other words, the will of the individual became the only law. By virtue of the law against suspected persons, to which another was afterwards added, all those who were either suspected or connected with suspected persons were to be extirpated without distinction of age or sex, and among these were to be considered all those who had any attachment to the old condition of the kingdom, to the priesthood, or to the nobility. In this way, all persons of wealth and ability who did not unconditionally acquiesce in the new order of things were doomed to death. Suspicion was enough, and legal proof by no means requisite. In order however to leave no possible doubt as to the object of the government, this general damna-

tory rule was given: *all enemies of the nation must be put to death.*

In this way the extirpation of the old order of things was indeed effectually accomplished, but in such a manner as was found very difficult to remedy when people returned to their senses. Attempts were afterwards made to restore what was old, but things could now no longer be or become old; and when it was restored, it brought down upon France the same evils from which Germany and England are now suffering. Religion entirely disappeared; but superstition, fanaticism and christian fetichism, on the contrary, took deep and immoveable root among the high and low vulgar. The respectable Gallican church fell, and papistical jesuitism occupied its place. Coats of arms and all the memorials of past ages, when all these were in place and suited to the habits of life, were destroyed with more than vandal barbarism. Attempts are now made to restore them in our times, to which they are no longer suitable, which exhibit the mere silly and ridiculous *rococo* of a pitiful generation. The academies to which Europe was unspeakably indebted were destroyed, and were at a later period restored, as mere honorary names and personal decorations. The sepulchres of the ancient kings were desecrated and torn to pieces; and at a later period a comedy was played with the ashes of Napoleon by Thiers and the pupil of Dumourier and Genlis, in which the same people strutted in ermine who had formerly danced as *sans-culottes* round the tree of liberty. By the abolition of all the provincial divisions, the constituent assembly had already laid the foundation of national unity; by new geographical names of the departments sent the old to oblivion, and brought the whole country into connexion with the new; the convention too were anxious to extend this principle to all the relations of ordinary life.

The calendar, weights, measures, names of the days, commencement of the year, and names of the weeks and months, were all changed. Instead of christian names and divisions, others founded upon astronomy and natural history were introduced, and the era of the republic established. The months were divided into decades, the completion of which was made up by the addition of what were called five complementary days. The new year commenced on the 22nd of September 1793, and was called year 11. of the republic. The celebration of Sundays and

holidays was forbidden, and, on the contrary, that of the decade or tenth day enjoined by law. The ten democratic despots went on the ancient principle of all despots and ministers,—that it is only necessary to command in order to *create* religion, customs and public opinion, and either to introduce or root out popular usages; and they were therefore foolish enough, on the 29th of September 1793, to renew an ordinance of the convention of the 4th of May, the impracticability of which had been long obvious. They attempted anew to fix a maximum price for all the necessities of life. The people endured all this tyranny, partly because opportunity was thus afforded them of paying the higher classes with like for like, and partly because they found compensation for their christian holidays in the wicked and revolting scenes and processions prepared by Danton's friends; and amusements and indulgences were thus furnished well-suited to the rude and vulgar tastes of the masses. For the celebration of these scandalous and disgraceful ceremonies, instituted by such men as Cloots, Hébert and Chaumette, people were employed to exhibit for money, as was the case in the processions and ceremonies of the monks; they were not indeed, like the latter, paid from ecclesiastical funds, but as long as the committee of public welfare needed the services of such men, were remunerated from the treasury of the state.

It is obvious, from a decree of the convention of the 15th of November, that the men who guided the counsels of the committee of public welfare were well-aware, that such deep-rooted abuses were only to be eradicated by the same means as the pious eradicators of pharisaism were accustomed to employ. In this decree, which was signed by Robespierre, Carnot, Billaud Varennes and Robert Lindet, it is declared, that popular societies are indispensable for the dissemination of good principles, and that a sum of 100,000 francs should be dedicated to this object. We leave to the writers of special histories of this period the enumeration and account of all these ridiculous, scandalous and blasphemous scenes, which were got up under the direction of Cloots, Momoro, Chaumette, and others, who, by means of the very dregs of a people long demoralized by the gross immoralities of all ranks, high and low, laboured so to degrade and pollute every high and holy principle and ordinance, that they could never again be looked upon with reverence by the people; we shall only refer to a few particulars of what

the three tyrants afterwards alleged as a crime against Danton's friends. After September 1793, Danton's friends, and especially Chaumette, who had great influence in the common-council of Paris, had begun not only to rave in revolting language against priestcraft, but against christianity itself. For this purpose they enacted such scandalous and wicked scenes in the churches, in the streets, and in the hall of the convention itself, that even Robespierre and his friends looked upon the offence and scandal to common sense and decency as too gross. The leader in all these things was Chaumette, the *procureur-général*, ably assisted by his deputy, Hébert, and Momoro, who was a printer and writer on typography. The prophet and apostle of this blasphemous crew was the identical baron Cloots, who since July 1790 had played so many comedies in the hall of the convention.

Cloots belonged to the most dangerous class of vain fools, and played the character of Herostratus. He was full of the idea of a universal republic and a universal religion, or rather universal atheism*. As he was a very rich man, he himself paid the people whom he employed to enact his farces. This he had done when he conducted the ambassadors of all nations to offer their congratulations to the constituent assembly; and he did the same now, when he, Momoro, Chaumette, Hébert, L'Huillier, and Julien, who had previously been a protestant clergyman, not only constantly declaimed against christianity, but by their bands disturbed those who wished to be allowed to worship God. They organized scandalous processions, desecrated the churches and sacred vessels, and exhibited theatrical scenes in the divine temples, in which common prostitutes (Momoro's wife

* Cloots, in his speech, which was extremely applauded by himself, says, "Paris régénéré étoit le poste de l'orateur du genre humain." Respecting religion: "Citoyens, la religion est le plus grand obstacle à mon *utopie*." He dedicated a work to the convention, in which, according to his opinion, he had proved the absurdity of all religion, and the convention decreed: "Anacharsis Cloots, député à la convention, ayant fait hommage d'un de ses ouvrages, intitulé *Certitude des Preuves du Mahométisme*, ouvrage, qui constate la nullité de toutes les religions, l'assemblée accepte cet hommage, en ordonne la mention honorable et l'insertion au bulletin, et renvoie le livre au comité d'instruction publique. La convention renvoie à son comité d'instruction publique la proposition faite par le même membre d'ériger une statue à Jean Meslier, curé de L'Étrépy et de Ponce en Champagne, le premier prêtre qui ait eu le courage et la bonne foi d'abjurer les erreurs religieuses. La convention ordonne l'impression et l'envoi à tous les départemens du discours dont Anacharsis Cloots a fait précéder son offrande." (Moniteur 29 Brumaire, an III.)

and others) represented allegorical personages or goddesses of Reason. They carried the thing at length so far, that in reliance on their friends in the convention, they enacted scenes of blasphemy, which even at that time excited the indignation of Robespierre and his adherents, and were taken advantage of by them in order to destroy Danton.

As early as the 3rd of September, Thuriot had brought the jacobin club to resolve upon the necessity of importuning the convention to put an end to what Thuriot called the imposture of a priesthood. The convention, which was at that time the mere creature of the jacobin club and the common-council, obeyed. It called upon the whole body of the priests, and especially upon those who were members of the convention, to relinquish their diplomas of ordination, and a register to record the names of those who were thus unpriested (*déprétrisés*) was opened at the municipality. From this time one scene of contempt for and desecration of christianity followed another, till at length a crowning scandal was solemnly exhibited in the city of Paris and in the hall of the convention. The churches were deprived of their decorations, furniture, sacred vessels and robes; all these, for the purpose of exciting contempt, were thrown in party-coloured confusion and without any covering on the backs of asses and mules, and conveyed through the streets of Paris in ludicrous procession to the convention. This procession was commenced by a drunken and hired multitude, and the whole was concluded in the convention in a manner altogether worthy of its beginning.

The scene in the convention was prepared by Chaumette; whilst Hébert, Cloots, L'Huillier, and Gobet*, the constitutional bishop of Paris, played the leading characters on the occasion. Great injustice however has been done to Gobet, who was the victim of his fears, by alleging that he declared himself to be a renegade; he only appeared before the bar of the convention in order to make a solemn declaration that he would never more exercise any priestly functions. His vicars afterwards made the same declaration; several other bishops followed his example, as well as Julien, who was a protestant clergyman; and among all these cowardly souls, there was only Grégoire

* We have very great doubts whether he received 300,000 francs for his renunciation of christianity, as is stated in many books.

who had the courage to set at naught the threats of destruction and death. Siéyès, who at other times remained perfectly silent during the whole period of the reign of terror, loudly declared, that he rejoiced extremely at this signal victory of reason over superstition and fanaticism; Grégoire, on the contrary, boldly and contemptuously averred, that he could and would after, as well as before, be and remain a catholic and a priest. After this offensive scene, the convention made itself ridiculous by passing a decree, that an entirely new system of religion should be established instead of the catholic faith, which belonged to the whole race of men and not to the French nation alone, in the same manner as the French republic had been substituted for the ancient monarchy*. From this moment, Cloots and his associates indulged so madly in their farces and profane processions, the enemies of christianity so wearied and harassed the convention with their nonsense delivered from the tribune and at the bar, and written defences of blasphemy and apostasy became so numerous, that at length Danton as well as Robespierre grew weary of their intolerance and clamour. A decree was issued, declaring that all such scenes and effusions in future were forbidden by the convention, and that those who promoted them must submit what they had to say to the committee of public instruction. In this committee however, intelligent men, such as Grégoire and Thibaudeau, possessed the chief influence.

The scandalous scenes which were enacted by Danton's friends, the impostures and knavery with which another part of his adherents were chargeable, the shameless offences, cynicism and audacious impiety of the criminals, of whose services Danton availed himself on the 10th of August and in September 1792, furnished Robespierre with the long-sought opportunity and pretence for ridding himself of the proper founder of the republic. Danton was good-humoured, although audaciously impious; Robespierre malicious and sneaking: Danton and his associates spoke and acted impiously and contemptuously; Robespierre spoke of nothing but virtue, whilst in his own sneaking way he caused thousands to be brought to the block. The multitude, who are easily deceived by soft words, did him homage as the incor-

* The convention decreed: "Le culte catholique sera remplacé par le culte de la Raison." The church of *Notre Dame* was appropriated to the worship of this new god—, whilst other churches were assigned to other allegorical duties, such as freedom, youth, conjugal love, &c. &c.

ruptible, who had never enriched himself, whilst they were dissatisfied with Danton and his extravagant companions, because they made no secret of their plunder and licentious indulgences. Danton was indolent, and had embraced Mirabeau's notion, that France might be made free by unlimited boldness alone, and he had reached his object; France was made free; he had enriched himself, then wished peacefully to enjoy the fruits of his spoliation, and therefore fell. At the decisive moment he withdrew from the centre of business; Robespierre, on the contrary, was incessantly active and always in the midst of his followers; he courted the favour of the multitude, whilst Danton utterly despised public opinion. Robespierre long crept after Danton like a snake, and bit one of the dreadful adherents of the audacious infidel after another before he sprang upon the leader himself; Danton suffered all this to occur. In Arcis sur Aube, his native city, he forgot all the cabals of Paris for a time in the society of a young and charming wife, whom he had just married; when he returned he was lost beyond remedy.

The schism between the two clubs of jacobins, the parent club ruled by Robespierre and that of the cordeliers which yielded obedience to Danton, became a matter of notoriety at the close of the year 1793; at the commencement of the year 1794, Camille Desmoulins formally proclaimed war against the three individuals who reigned in and through the committee of public welfare, as well as against the system of terror which they brought into operation. He very wittily selected some passages from the annals of Tacitus, in which a description is given in very lively colours of the cruelty and despotism of the emperor Tiberius, and translated and transferred them to his journal (*'Le vieux Cordelier'*) in such a pertinent manner, that no one could fail to recognise the conduct of the triumvirate in the description of that of Tiberius. At the same time as this occurred, some of the most conspicuous of the blasphemers drew down upon themselves the hatred of the public by remarkable instances of corruption, and some of the deputies who usually voted with Danton were guilty of frauds, which, at any time and under any government, would have entitled them to be sent to the house of correction. As to the blasphemers, Momoro, Ronsin and Vincent, who were at the head of the mob called the revolutionary army, they carried their mischief and wickedness so far, that their own friends thought it advisable to sacrifice them. Robespierre took advantage of these

things, to lay all this scandal and disgrace to their account, as soon as he perceived that their open and daring atheism had made an unfavourable impression. He studied to identify all his opponents with atheism, and he himself professed to return to belief in the existence of a God. Moreover, Hébert, one of the most scandalous and conspicuous blasphemers, had exposed himself and his party to contempt and hatred by receiving 120,000 francs from the minister of war for copies of his indecent and revoltingly vulgar journal '*Père Duchesne*,' under the pretence that they were to be sent to the armies, in order to keep alive the sans-culottism of the soldiers. The history of those friends of Danton, who by their open frauds furnished Robespierre with an opportunity of showing himself to be the incorruptible friend of virtue, and of holding up Danton and his adherents to the hatred of the people as the defenders of every vice, deserves to be detailed at somewhat greater length.

Delanay of Angers, and Julien, a clergyman from Toulouse, had long drawn public attention to themselves by their intercourse with the countess de Beaufort and an actress named Descoings, because they indulged in an expenditure which bore no proportion whatever to their visible means. Before they resorted to the forgery of public documents, they had been accused of a species of fraud than which nothing is at present more common. Whilst they were members of the committee of finance, they entered into arrangements with Frey's banking-house, in order to make usurious speculations on the stock-exchange, in which their colleagues Chabot, formerly a capuchin, and Fabre d'Eglantine, took part; Danton was accused of having participated in the advantages of the speculation, and Dumourier's knavish contractor, the abbé d'Espagnac, was also active on the occasion. Danton had no concern in the criminal negotiations with the directors of the East India Company, which were carried on through the banking-house of baron de Batz, nor had Fabre d'Eglantine, at least in their commencement; but Delanay and Julien managed the affair, and at a later period drew Bazire and Fabre d'Eglantine into a share in the enterprise.

The speculating deputies were members of the finance committee, at the time in which it was called upon to make a report to the convention respecting the abolition of the East India Company, which however was to be preceded by a liquidation of the claims against it; the directors of the company offered half

a million to the deputies above referred to, if they could succeed in having this liquidation left to the company itself. This would naturally have led to a long delay in the abolition of the company. Chabot, Delaunay and Julien accepted the offer, but proved unable to fulfil their promise, because Cambon, their colleague, who was justly regarded as an oracle in all questions of finance, opposed their views in the convention, as did also Fabre d'Eglantine, who was not yet won over to their cause. The support of Thuriot and Bazire was of very little advantage to the other three, because the former long since had been accused of various frauds. The convention therefore resolved, that the state should take charge of the liquidation; but because the preparation of all decrees affecting their departments belonged to the respective committees as executive authorities, it left the drawing up of this decree to the committee. The sharpeners among the members of the committee, who had now won over Fabre to their cause, had recourse to forgery to help them out. They first drew up the decree exactly as the convention had resolved, and in this form caused it to be signed by Cambon and all those who were not in their secret; but before they themselves attached their signatures, a few sentences were inserted which served their views. The affair could not remain concealed, and came to light at the very time in which Robespierre was devising means to destroy Danton's adherents, to whom they belonged, in a similar manner to that in which he and Danton had annihilated the Gironde.

Robespierre proceeded very slowly in his movements against Danton, because he knew right well that Danton's adherents were much more dreadful than his own; he glided onward like a snake, or crept like a tiger, which never makes a decisive spring till he is sure of his prey. In October he had availed himself of the prosecution of the girondists in order to abolish the law, which granted to every deputy, before he was accused, the right of being heard in the convention; in November he profited by the scandal which Cloots and his associates had caused, to destroy the reckless and demoralized portion of the cordeliers, and then by the frauds to which we have referred, to ruin another portion of the same club. Amar, an advocate from Grenoble, who was used as an instrument on such occasions, was required by Robespierre to move, on the 18th of November, for the arrest of persons whom no one could protect, for the blow fell upon Bazire, Delaunay, Chabot and Julien. The last saved himself by

flight; Bazire may have been innocent of the forgery, but he as well as Thuriot was accused of other frauds. With great prudence, Fabre d'Eglantine was at that time still spared, and first arrested on the 13th of January 1794; for in January matters had gone so far, that Vadier could venture to denounce both him and other friends of Danton in the convention as pensioners of Pitt.

The friends and adherents of the arrested impostors were so numerous and powerful, that the two committees of government were obliged to unite in order to effect their purpose. Robespierre therefore sought to avail himself of the better portion of his colleagues and of the people against their most powerful friends. Their audacious impiety furnished him with the pretence of announcing their downfall to them also. Just two days after the arrest of the forgers (on the 20th), Cloots and his companions exhibited the disgraceful procession with the sacred vessels and vestments taken by force from the churches, in the streets and in the hall of the convention; the crouching tyrant referred to the circumstance on the very next day in the jacobin club, and turned it to their disadvantage. On the 21st, at the meeting of the club, he declared himself a believer in the doctrine of the existence of a God, declaimed against atheism and denounced it as *aristocratic*. By this means Danton's adherents were exposed to great hatred, and Robespierre appeared to the vast majority of oppressed and undemoralized Frenchmen as their only refuge. Robespierre no sooner declared himself on this subject than the deputies, who had hitherto remained silent from constraint and fear, saw that they might speak out; the convention declared that it had never thought of doing *violence* to religious freedom, and forbade any further seizures of church-plate to be made, as the treasury did not require such extraordinary aids. From this moment the sword was suspended over the necks of the cordeliers, whose chief, Danton, first tarried in Arcis sur Aube, and then indulged the pleasures of indolence and prosperity, even when he returned and took his place in the convention in the month of February 1794.

The struggle between Robespierre and Danton's partisans was at its height at the very moment in which Danton was spending his time in ease and indulgence in Arcis sur Aube, and his attention was at first roused by the expulsion of his friends from the jacobin club, which was always the prelude to the downfall of a party. He was powerful enough, but indolence and pa-

triotism restrained him from causing a schism among the patriots. Hébert, who was a faithful partisan, in the meantime spoke in the cordeliers against the jacobin club, which was not only obliged to listen daily to dissertations upon virtue from Robespierre, but also showed by its acts, that it was ready and willing to destroy its former friends. On the 15th of December 1793, they expelled from the club the leaders of the ultra-revolutionists, in the persons of Duhem and Cloots. These expulsions fell upon one of the cordeliers after another, till Fabre was also involved in February. Whilst the orators of the two clubs were declaiming against each other from their respective tribunes, Camille Desmoulins published the article already referred to in the 'Vieux Cordelier.' It was therefore now time for the triumvirate to break loose; true to their method and principles, the first object was to involve the whole body of Danton's friends in a conspiracy. This was the practice which they uniformly pursued, when a multitude of very different persons, without being a powerful party, was to be at once destroyed. St. Just was to find out the elements of this conspiracy, and to draw up a report to be submitted to the convention. Couthon presided, and Robespierre and his clients were industrious in throwing out and scattering abroad, either from the tribune of the convention or the jacobin club, all sorts of innuendos and allusions, and in the expression of their anxiety for the public safety and freedom.

At the close of February the plan of the triumvirate was complete; their accusations were so numerous, that Hébert, on the 9th of March 1794, made the most violent attack upon the charges which were put into circulation in innumerable papers by the jacobins against their friends. In the most vehement of all his speeches, delivered in the club of the cordeliers on the 9th, he attempted to show that his companions in the club were falsely accused by persons who were desirous of destroying the national representatives, and causing a schism between the jacobins and cordeliers. But all his violence and argument proved vain; he was unable to avert the mortal blow which was impending over his associates in crime, murder and robbery, whom St. Just had more immediately in his eye.

On the 13th of March, the committees of general safety and of public welfare were summoned to a united consultation, in order to prove that something important and dangerous was to be un-

dertaken respecting the impending conspiracy. St. Just's object was, to be enabled to propose to the convention, in the name of the united committees, that decree which was afterwards brought forward and passed in one and the same sitting. All previous decrees of this description had been aimed and directed against royalists, aristocrats or hierarchs, but the present embraced the cases of three classes of republican traitors. St. Just, in his long report, drawn up with all that sophistry and skill peculiar to himself, dwells at great length upon the cases of the first two classes, the former comprising the degraded and corrupt, and the latter the ultra-revolutionary party; the third, or moderate party is only incidentally mentioned. We shall merely quote one passage of the report, in order to show how far St. Just excelled all the lawyers of our days whose services the prosecutors of political agitators employ, in the clear and able combination of all kinds of accusations, even of the most contradictory description, in one common indictment. It will be seen that he far outstripped all the monarchical Mephistopheleses in blackening the reputations of those whom they wished to destroy*. The law itself condemns in very general terms as traitors to the country:—

“All those who are convicted of having promoted *in any way whatsoever* any plan or plans for bribing or seducing the citizens of the state, destroying any of the existing authorities, or effecting any change of the prevailing public opinion; all those who have in any way prevented the importation of goods by the apprehensions which they may have excited, received emigrants into their houses, or tried to procure the liberation of prisoners, are comprehended under this class. To these are to be added all such as have caused troops to be brought into the city to murder the people and deprive them of their freedom; and finally, all those who have made attempts either to alter or change the republican form of government.” In order to bring as many persons as possible within the scope of the conspiracy, all those were marked out as criminals who gave shelter or protection in their

* In this report he says,—“Il y a dans la république une conjuration ourdie par l'étranger, dont le but est d'empêcher par la corruption que la liberté ne s'établisse. Le but de l'étranger est de créer des conjurés de tous les hommes mécontents et de nous avilir s'il étoit possible dans l'univers par les scandales de l'intrigue. On commet des atrocités pour en accuser le peuple et la révolution. C'est encore la tyrannie qui fait tous les maux que l'on voit, et c'est elle qui en accuse la liberté. L'étranger corrompt tout.”

houses to any persons accused of conspiracy, or who had been outlawed.

Amar was the person again employed to bring forward the accusation in the name of the committee of general safety and to move for the arrest of the parties impeached. With respect to the first class, whom no one pitied, or could seriously defend, this took place on the 16th of March. Who indeed could feel any pity for men who had been leaders in the September massacres, like Vincent, the secretary at war, or Ronsin, general of the revolutionary army, or Proly, Dubuisson, Deffieux and Pereira, who had been fraudulent stock-jobbers and spies of foreign powers, and the very men who had found out and sold Dumourier? On the 24th of March nineteen of the ultra-revolutionary class were executed, men at whose downfall every man rejoiced, because their execution seemed to furnish the only possible hope of putting an end to their senseless and dangerous clamours. That such was really the case will be obvious from the fact that Ronsin, Momoro, Cloots, Vincent and Hébert were executed together with a few less-known, infamous, or contemptible men. Those who were called the corrupt or the convicted sharpers and impostors among the deputies were spared from malicious cunning, in order to make Danton an object of greater public odium, by bringing his execution into near connexion with theirs. Pache, the mayor, who belonged to the same category, was spared on this occasion, and Réal, who was reckoned one of the party, lived long enough in our century to become one of the most distinguished men of the French empire. Chaumette was spared in order to be executed along with Gobet and other originators of and actors in the scandalous, blasphemous and ridiculous scenes, which were enacted at the festivals of the goddess of Reason. The tyrants moreover deprived themselves of the means of retaining their dominion, which was based wholly upon the physical strength of the lower classes. In case of necessity, there was no longer any one left who could put himself at the head of this physical strength. The whole foundation of their dominion was destroyed, for Ronsin's execution necessarily led to the disbanding of the revolutionary army of *sans-culottes*.

After the 16th of March, every one became aware that the measures devised were aimed at Danton, and the chief of those men who by their abilities and power had founded the new republic; it would not therefore have been difficult for Danton to

have summoned his hellish bands for his protection; he could at least have sold his life dear, but from magnanimity and patriotism he scorned to have recourse to these means. Westermann offered to put himself at the head of the faubourgers and of the soldiers whom he had commanded in La Vendée, and to deliver him from the power of his enemies, but he refused the offer. This is considered the more surprising, because mankind is disposed to regard one man as unconditionally *good*, and another as unexceptionably *bad*, although history as well as daily experience of life contradicts this mode of judging and condemning our fellow-men. Was not the author of this history determined to exclude everything in the form of anecdotes from his pages, he could mention many circumstances derived from personal intercourse with those who were daily in Danton's society, which would prove that generous feelings and lofty thoughts were no strangers to the breast of a man, whose crimes no one can excuse or defend. An individual who afterwards filled an important military post under Buonaparte, but who was commander of a battalion of national guards at the time of Danton's arrest, has often related to the author with a deep emotion, the manner in which Danton prevented him from showing the slightest sign of good feeling towards him on that occasion.

Danton moreover deceived himself when he imagined they would not dare to lay hands on him. Things had now gone so far, that either he and Camille, or the ruling men of the committee of public welfare, must fall; and St. Just therefore was commissioned to prepare another murderous report. The persons who were on this occasion to be attacked were so important, and the number of persons who must either be executed or removed from office on their account was so considerable, that a union of the three great committees was deemed advisable or necessary in order to attack them. The triumvirate proved victorious; but Danton's partisans within and without the convention, who in fear and trembling were compelled to acquiesce in that which they could not prevent, succeeded afterwards in overthrowing this triumvirate in the month of July. St. Just called together the numerous legislative committee, the committee of general safety and that of public welfare as one body, and secured their consent and approbation before he brought forward the motion for the arrest of the accused on the 31st of March in the convention. This

step was no doubt both prudent and necessary, considering that these men had been at the helm of public affairs. The convention, as usual, decreed what was submitted to them by their masters, although the majority of the deputies were much better-disposed towards the accused party than towards their enemies. On the 31st of March, Camille Desmoulins, Héroult de Séchelles, Danton, Philippeaux and Lacroix were impeached, for having participated in the political crimes of the duke of Orleans, general Dumourier and Fabre d'Eglantine. These individuals were immediately arrested, and on the very next day placed before the revolutionary tribunal. The accused, by their bearing, struck fear into the hearts even of the infernal judges before whose tribunal they were summoned. Amidst the clamour and threats of the populace, which was devoted to them, they authoritatively and contemptuously demanded that their accusers should be confronted with them at the bar of public justice; and a more dreadful battle-array of audacious offenders, who felt themselves unjustly arraigned, because their accusers were more guilty than themselves, was never drawn up in the presence of any tribunal.

There were fifteen of the accused; for such a man as Philippeaux, who had so little in common with his fellow-prisoners, that he was the very man who had brought to light the cruelties and wickedness in La Vendée, and demanded punishment on the offenders, and besides him, such men as Westermann, Camille Desmoulins and Héroult de Séchelles, together with convicted cheats, such as Chabot, Bazire, Fabre, Delaunay, Junius and Emanuel Frey, D'Espagnac, Gusman the Spaniard, and Diedrichs the Dane, were placed at the same time before the court, as if the charges against them all, their characters and crimes, were precisely of the same description. The court held two stormy sittings, and Fouquier Tinville, who in other respects condemned the accused *en masse* without hearing them, became alarmed in the third sitting (on the 3rd of April), and wrote to the committee of public welfare that it would be impossible to bring the trial to a successful issue without the aid of an immediate law passed by the convention to meet the difficulties of this particular case*. Such a miserable wretch as Laflotte had pre-

* Rapport au nom de la Commission des Vingt et un, &c. Pièces indiquées dans le Rapport, ou servant à l'appui des faits qui y sont développés, No. 71. p. 245 : Lettre du président et de l'accusateur public du tribunal révolutionnaire au sujet de la demande faite par Danton et autres d'entendre des députés

viously been imprisoned with the accused to act as a spy upon their words and actions. Laflotte reported to his employers that Dillon had said, *they could easily be set at liberty by an insurrection*. St. Just immediately turned this information to account in the report which he drew up in the name of the committee of public welfare, and presented to the convention. The *hearsay* of a spy was converted from a *possibility* into a direct proof of a conspiracy, and on the motion of St. Just the convention resolved, "That the court shall forthwith, in the present sitting (*sans désemparer*), pronounce judgement upon Danton and his fellow-prisoners; and it is hereby fully empowered to send every one to the scaffold without further delay (*mettre hors des débats*) who shall not conduct himself with becoming respect towards the court, or cause or occasion any disturbance or tumult."

This decree was issued by the convention: all the accused had risen up and made an earnest appeal in the court against the conduct of their judges and accusers, and were attempting to excite a scene of terror and tumult both within and without the precincts of the court. The decree was immediately prepared and carried by two deputies into the clamorous assembly. The accused were removed, and at the sitting of the court on the following day (April the 4th) the prisoners were summarily condemned, in accordance with the decree of the preceding day. They were executed as early as the 5th. The triumvirate appeared to have conquered, but they had in fact only commenced a hopeless struggle in the convention and in the departments with the partisans of the fallen, who became more fearful by the accession of all the royalists and republicans, and in short, of all the opponents of the jacobins in the assembly, who now joined Danton's party, after the fall of its leaders, because they could only hope to conquer by their aid and instrumentality.

en témoignage, Paris ce 15 Germinal de l'an deuxième de la république Française une et indivisible. "Citoyens représentans! Un orage horrible gronde depuis que la séance est commencée, les accusés en forcenés réclament l'audition à décharge des citoyens députés, Simon, Courtois, Laignelot, Freron, Paris, Landot, Calon, Merlin de Donay, Gossuin, Legendre, Robert Lindet, Robin, Goupillon de Montaigu, Lecointre de Versailles, Brivat et Merlin de Thionville; ils en appellent au peuple du refus qu'ils prétendent éprouver; malgré la fermeté du président et du tribunal entier, leurs réclamations multipliées troublent la séance, et ils annoncent hautement, qu'ils ne se tairont pas que leurs témoins ne soient entendus. Sans un décret nous ne savons que faire; nous vous invitons à nous tracer définitivement notre règle de conduite sur cette réclamation: l'ordre judiciaire ne nous fournissant aucuns moyens de motiver ce refus. A. Q. Fouquet et Hermann, président."

This combination led to the perpetration of an incredible increase of cruelties and wickedness. Robespierre became unendurable; for though, in consequence of the avoidance of all avarice, luxury and affected cynicism, he was the idol of the populace, all the higher classes, and particularly his colleagues, as early as May, became outraged and indignant at his pride, ambition, presumption and envy. On the 1st of May, the number of political prisoners in Paris amounted to 8000, and was daily increasing, although from the beginning a dozen, then two, afterwards three, and finally four dozen or more were daily brought to the scaffold and executed. We should therefore regard it as lost time, as even Mignet does, to entertain our readers with any remarks on Robespierre's *principles*, or to say a single word upon that system of *social philosophy* with which St. Just seasoned the reports, which he drew up almost every week and caused to be printed at the expense of the state. We follow the facts.

After Danton's fall, the government certainly exercised redoubled energy and acted with complete unity. The various ministerial departments were abolished, and the twelve commissioners appointed in their stead were in reality nothing else than so many chancery officers, by whom the various orders determined on by the ten were drawn up, and through whom they were issued. Robespierre proved himself on all occasions so powerful, that all the places in the committee of public welfare, and even the lives of his colleagues, depended upon him alone. On his disagreement in December 1793 with Robert Lindet and Héroult de Séchelles, who up till this time always had seats in the committee, they not only lost their places, but Héroult, in consequence of his expulsion, was condemned to death, and the sentence executed on the 5th of April. From this time till the 27th of July 1794, the committee of public welfare was composed of the same ten individuals, who were regularly re-elected every three months. These were, Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, Carnot, Barrère, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Prieur, Vadier, and Jean Bon de St. André. Each had his department in this tyrannical dominion. Robespierre was entrusted with the management of the high police and the guidance of public opinion. St. Just watched the malcontents, and discovered conspiracies when it was found necessary to remove dangerous or impracticable men out of the way. Couthon brought forward

the most dreadful proposals, to which he understood the method of giving as great an appearance of necessity or propriety as Pitt, or any German diplomatist or lawyer. Billaud and Collot superintended the missions of deputies into the departments; Carnot was completely occupied with the war department, which he managed with as much pre-eminent ability as Cambon did the finances. The two Prieurs, in connexion with some other deputies, superintended the administration of the home department. Barrère was daily employed in clothing scenes of murder and slaughter in French tinsel, by the copious use of academical phrases and sophistical expressions, and by his ability in this way well entitled himself to the name of the Anacreon of the guillotine.

The man who afterwards became Buonaparte's first jurist, duke and high chancellor, aided the bloody triumvirate in the preparation of those laws which their cruel government needed and demanded. Cambacérès was therefore the man, who, in the name of the legislative committee, afterwards united with that of general safety, and brought forward some of the dreadful laws which were passed during the reign of terror. The sitting of the committees took place on the 16th of April 1794, and on the following day the proposed laws were passed. It was first decreed, that all persons accused of *any species* of conspiracy whatsoever, to whatever part of the kingdom they might belong, should be brought to Paris and tried before the revolutionary tribunal in that city. After this, a residence in Paris, in any fortified town or sea-port, was strictly forbidden to all who had previously belonged to the nobility, and to foreigners who might be natives of any of those countries which were at war with France. It was further stated in this law, that its penalties and restrictions should be regarded as equally applicable to all those who had at any time either bought or assumed titles and privileges.

Almost at the same moment as the persevering and envious destroyer of all true freedom caused madame Elizabeth, the sister of Louis XVI., a lady who was distinguished for the mildness and benevolence of her character, and who was really a pattern of all female virtues, to be executed, it occurred to him to put himself forward as the prophet of an unchristian God. As early as the end of April, Robespierre began to feel his power unstable, and that the most corrupt and degraded

among his friends, the rump of the cordeliers, and particularly Barrère, Fouché, Tallien and Billaud Varennes, were lying in wait for him, and he therefore sought for support against these unprincipled and reckless enemies in the aid and co-operation of those who were anxiously longing after a return to the principles of morality and religion. By this step he indeed neither deceived nor gained the good opinion of any one, but after having been long an object of hatred, now made himself ridiculous.

On the 7th of May 1794, Robespierre delivered a tedious and pompous speech in the convention respecting the connexion of religion and morality with republican principles, which in his mouth was in the highest degree ridiculous; in the same address he praised himself as such people are accustomed to do, and proposed a decree which was accepted and passed by the convention, and was to the following effect: "*The national convention acknowledges the truth of the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul.*" From this moment attempts were made to found a new species of republican religion, and the 8th of June was appointed for the observance of a solemn festival, which was called the festival of *the Most High*, and at which Robespierre was to appear as high priest. His friend David the painter invented the theatrical decorations and scenic effect for this solemn festival, by which the victory of the crouching and sneaking wisdom of Robespierre's legal finesse over the giant audacity of his enemies was, symbolically, extremely well represented. David caused pasteboard images of Atheism, Egotism and Strife to be erected, which during the exhibition were set on fire, and out of their ashes sprang up the incense-breathing statue of *Wisdom*, which however was not very splendid.

On the 6th of June the convention expressly elected Robespierre for its president, in order to confer upon him the honour of heading the convention, delivering the address, and with a magnificent nosegay in his hand, in the character of high priest, announcing to the people the new religion at this grand assembly which was to be held in the garden of the Tuileries. The pride which he exhibited on this occasion, as well as the whole ceremony, at which, mounted on an elevated platform in the garden of the Tuileries, he delivered a long declamatory speech*, which was followed by music and singing, excited the murmurs and

* Thiers, vol. vi. p. 261, speaks of Robespierre's speech as not only tolerable, but good. We are of a different opinion, but this is of small consequence.

contempt of his colleagues. Although the number of executions which daily took place in Paris had increased to forty or fifty, the decree by which the convention acknowledged the existence of a God, and at the same time appointed the Decadis to be observed as the festivals of different allegorical beings, was immediately placarded on all the walls of Paris. Robespierre's dry practical understanding wished to adopt St. Just's ideal of a natural and national religion, and this led him into a field of theoretical speculation altogether foreign to the tendencies and powers of his mind. The practical man was anxious to become a visionary, and gazed upwards instead of looking before his feet; he therefore missed his path, became ridiculous to his purely practical companions, and fell.

He appointed four great national festivals, which were to be celebrated on the 21st of January, the 10th of August, the 31st of May, and the 14th of July. On the Decadis were to be observed and solemnized the festivals of the Supreme Being, the human race, the French people, the benefactors of mankind, the martyrs of freedom, liberty and equality, hatred of tyrants and traitors, good faith, heroism, love, &c. &c. The hypocrisy of these poetical fancies and sentimentality excited strong feelings of disgust, at the very time in which the inhabitants of several streets in the city were loud in their complaints, that the carts rolling past their houses laden with victims for the guillotine had become unendurable to their eyes and ears. The extent to which the ruling lawyers pushed their audacity in their sophistical and rhetorical speeches and writings, may be best seen from Couthon's introductory report to the motion which he made in the convention on the 10th of June, and which was passed by that assembly. He proposed that all judicial forms should be dispensed with in prosecutions for political offences, and on this occasion says, after his sententious fashion: "It is absurd, immoral and imprudent to give a legal defender to traitors; for the jury is the best defender of patriots, whilst conspirators need none." According to this new law, passed on Couthon's recommendation, the murderous tribunals were hereafter to consist of a senate, with a president, vice-president and twelve judges, of which each subdivision was to consist of three judges and nine paid jurors, who were to be constantly in service. The whole body therefore was thus to be divided into four courts, which would enable them, by continuing to hold daily sittings, to do

what really happened, to send forty, fifty, and at last as many as sixty of their convicted enemies to the scaffold every day.

We give the text of the law in a note*, because its discussion first brought to light the new division among the jacobins, and made it apparent that the enemies of the triumvirate were determined to make an attempt to undermine and shake off their dominion. The law was passed indeed in one day, but on the second Merlin succeeded in having a clause appended, which removed all the deputies from the jurisdiction of the tribunal. The triumvirate however was powerful enough to have this clause rescinded on the third day; its members perceived that their power was broken, and became immediately after conscious that the majority in the committee of public welfare, and in that also of general safety, were no longer disposed to yield unconditional obedience to their will. Among the clients of the triumvirate, it was impossible to reckon upon such a man as Barrère; for some modern French sophists, such as the publishers of his memoirs, blinded by their republican zeal, will never convince us, that all that his contemporaries said to his face of his licentious and sybarite life, and caused to be printed also, and all that Fréron admitted into his journal (*'Orateur du Peuple,'* No. 26.), were mere inventions†. Another friend of the trium-

* “Le tribunal révolutionnaire se divisera par sections, composées de douze membres, savoir, trois juges et neuf jurés, lesquels ne pourront juger en moindre nombre que celui de sept. Le tribunal révolutionnaire est institué pour punir les ennemis du peuple. Les ennemis du peuple sont ceux, qui cherchent à avilir la convention et le gouvernement révolutionnaire dont elle est le centre, à égarer l'opinion et empêcher l'instruction du peuple, à dépraver les mœurs et à corrompre la conscience du peuple; enfin à altérer la pureté des principes révolutionnaires. La peine portée contre tous les délits dont la connoissance appartient au tribunal révolutionnaire est la mort. La preuve pour condamner les ennemis du peuple est toute espèce de documens, soit matérielle, soit morale, soit verbale, soit écrite, qui peut naturellement obtenir l'assentiment de tout esprit juste et raisonnable. La règle des jugemens est la conscience des jurés éclairés par l'amour de la patrie; leur but, le triomphe de la république et la ruine de ses ennemis; la procédure, les moyens simples que le bon sens indique pour parvenir à la connoissance de la vérité dans les formes que la loi détermine. Tout citoyen a le droit de saisir et de traduire devant les magistrats les conspirateurs et les contre-révolutionnaires. Il est tenu de les dénoncer, dès qu'il les connaît. Nul ne pourra traduire personne au tribunal révolutionnaire, si ce n'est la convention, les comités de salut public et de sûreté générale, les représentans du peuple, commissaires de la convention et l'accusateur public du tribunal révolutionnaire. L'accusé sera interrogé à l'audience et en public, *la formalité de l'interrogatoire qui procède est supprimée comme superflue.* S'il existe des preuves soit matérielles, soit morales, il ne sera point entendu de témoins. Toutes les dépositions seront faites en public et verbalement.”

† Mignet alleges, I know not on what authority, that “*ses mœurs étoient*

virate was also for some time admitted to the conversation and pleasures of one of those ladies whose saloons in Paris were open even during the reign of terror; he was therefore transformed from a *sans-culotte* into a man of elegance and fashion.

Tallien, to whom we refer, was at that time one of the most conspicuous characters of the day: he had perpetrated murders in Bordeaux as Carrier had done in Nantes, but afterwards married mademoiselle Fontenay Cabarus, who was extremely rich, being the daughter of a Franco-Spanish banker and director of the Charles-bank, afterwards created a count and appointed Spanish minister to the congress of Rastadt; the lady was delivered by Tallien from prison, and she called him her husband as long as it answered her purpose. He became therefore a convert to aristocracy, and, as converts usually are, was very zealous for his new convictions, which merely continued till it suited his wife's convenience to dismiss him. At a later period he sank completely in the world, and was obliged to petition Buonaparte for a miserable place; he was however, in July 1794, one of the chief promoters of the downfall of the triumvirate. Fréron also, who had given full scope to his fanaticism and cruelty in Marseilles and Toulon, was at that time desirous of placing himself at the head of the vigorous sons of the wealthy and the noble, in order to form a counteracting power to that of the populace. Fouché, who in July, like the ghost in Hamlet, snuffed the morning air, attempted to bury in oblivion everything connected with his mad career of cruelty and blood in Lyons; he worked however with perfect quietness and secrecy, as he and Talleyrand were always afterwards accustomed to do. Bourdon, Thuriot and Legendre at length began to see the way opening for taking vengeance on the murderers of Danton and his friends, and Merlin de Thionville joined in their views.

Barrère, Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, who shared the dominion of the triumvirate, in their characters of members of the ruling committee, remained perfectly quiet, till allusions began to be made to them in the jacobin club, and then they became aware that they were threatened. Collot and Billaud roused themselves to action on becoming conscious of their position, whilst Barrère still remained in ambush, in order to profit by the favourable moment. It was necessary to take the tri-
douce (that is, sybaritic, *sa vie privée irréprochable*.) It would not be worth the trouble here to prove the contrary.

umvirate by surprise, for it was all-powerful in Paris, where there were no troops. Fleuriot filled the office of mayor; the revolutionary tribunal belonged to the jacobins; the public prosecutor, Dumas the president, and Coffinhal the vice-president, were all Robespierre's creatures; Henriot was at the head of that dreadful militia called the national guard, and was life and soul devoted to a faction which had raised him from being a branded criminal to be the leader of the national guard of Paris. Robespierre no sooner perceived that it was impossible for him any longer unconditionally to carry through his measures in either of the committees, and that he met with resistance in the convention, than he began to avail himself of his supremacy in the jacobin club, and by expulsion from the club to mark out those amongst the number of his former friends whom he was anxious to destroy. Dubois Crancé and Fouché were the most distinguished amongst those whom he caused to be expelled, and others were grossly insulted.

Carnot also, who had hitherto been completely absorbed in the affairs of his department, and kept perfect silence respecting the general administration, at length awakened to a knowledge of the circumstances; the majority of the committee was now opposed to the three, and when St. Just found it necessary to make another journey to the army, Robespierre thought it advisable to absent himself from the committee of public welfare for four entire weeks after the middle of June. On St. Just's return, an attempt was made to involve all the enemies of the triumvirate in a new conspiracy. St. Just immediately began to plan and to work out the report, and the preparation of the assembly on this occasion was not entrusted to Couthon, as was usually the case, but reserved for Robespierre himself; in consequence of this plan, on the 8th Thermidor he made one of his usual speeches, which were so well known as the precursors of some deadly mischief. The essential contents of this speech, or more properly speaking, a number of passages selected from it, will be found in Thiers's 'History,' a work now so universally diffused, both in the original and translations, that we may safely refer our readers to that work for particulars, and confine ourselves to a very brief notice of those important points which led to the scenes of the following day.

Every one perceived that this was nothing else than the sound of preparation for a new act of violence against a considerable

number of the opponents of the triumvirate, which St. Just was about to develope on the following day; it was therefore received with murmurs by one portion of the deputies and with silence by the other, and could with difficulty be brought to a conclusion, in consequence of the interruptions. Couthon then attempted to terrify the servile and obsequious deputies into acquiescence, as he had so frequently done before, by having recourse to violent language and distant threats. He could not fail however to perceive, by the language with which Fréron interrupted him during his speech, that the rats were beginning to leave the tottering house of the republicans*. The influence of the chiefs of the Mountain still continued for a time to preponderate, for they succeeded in carrying a resolution that the speech should be printed; when however it was attempted to add a clause directing it to be sent into the departments, this clause was not only rejected, but it was decreed, that before being sent to the press it should be sent for examination to the very committees against which, properly speaking, it was directed.

Now at length Barrère gained courage. On the day, and still more on the evening of the 8th, he spoke in the committee of public welfare with openness and determination against the triumvirate: the author, who was personally acquainted with Thibaudeau, and was indebted to him for various information concerning these events, and on whom he places more confidence than on any of the other real or pretended writers of memoirs, has always felt great surprise at his declaration, that the majority of the convention had no suspicion of what took place on the 9th Thermidor†. Robespierre's loss of influence in the convention and in his own committee was doubly compensated by his increasing power in the jacobin club and the common-council of Paris. He read in the club the speech which had been so strongly blamed in the convention and the committees; it was loudly applauded, and praised as the very ideal of a genuine republican oration; Collot, who was also present in the club, was

* Fréron interrupted him in the following language: "Jusqu'à quand un petit nombre de députés, se regardant comme les maîtres de la convention, se font-ils l'aulx, sur des accusations vagues de conduire leurs collègues à l'échafaud sans même donner les entendre? Vous ne pouvez connaître la vérité sans étaler la liberté des opinions dans cette enceinte. Parlera-t-on librement, si l'on craint d'être arrêté en sortant de l'assemblée?"

† Thibaudeau, *Mémoires*, vol. i. chap. viii. p. 82. "Mais le 9 Thermidor, la grande majorité de la convention ne s'attendait point à ce qui arriva."

abused, threatened, and finally contemptuously expelled: he was driven out by the jacobins, because they alleged he came there as a mere listener or spy, on behalf of the committees of general safety and public welfare, both of which were hostile to them, and were at that time assembled. When he returned to the meeting of the committees and informed them of what had just taken place in the jacobin club, he prevailed upon them to require St. Just to make them acquainted with the document which he was then drawing up at his own desk, apart from the rest of the members. This document was in fact the murderous report which St. Just proposed to submit to the convention on the ensuing morning, and which he therefore refused to communicate to his colleagues. This led to a tavern broil in the midst of the committees. Collot d'Herbois had recourse to the strongest language and denunciations; Barrère became so virulent and bold as to call the triumvirate *pigmies*, and to denounce them individually, Robespierre as a *scoundrel*, Couthon as a *paralytic* fellow, and St. Just as a *child*.

On the morning of the 9th Thermidor (July 27th) St. Just crept out with his report, which he was desirous of submitting to the convention in the name of the committees without having made them acquainted with its contents, or giving them any further notice than by a note. He had proceeded some length in reading his report before the other members of the committee, who also brought a report with them, were prepared. The very introduction of the report was directed against the committees; it became therefore a question of life or death, and the whole body of the assembly looked upon it as a crisis in their affairs. The boldest among the deputies had united and elected Thuriot, a man with a brazen countenance, for the president of the day; he had long been a well-known enemy of Robespierre. The members of the committees, on their part, had availed themselves of St. Just's withdrawal from their meeting to prepare a report for his ruin. In the note above referred to, St. Just had informed them he would commence reading his report at ten o'clock, and Couthon appeared in the midst of them and commenced a fearful strife of mutual recrimination, but notwithstanding they were ready with their report at twelve o'clock. In their report they proposed to the convention to cause Henriot and all the other commanders of the national guards to be deposed and arrested, Robespierre and his accomplices to be impeached, and a procla-

mation to be issued announcing a new organization of the national guard.

The members of the committees no sooner appeared in the assembly, than St. Just's long and tedious report was interrupted and he was unable to proceed. Robespierre placed his reliance on Henriot and the jacobins, who had sent people into the hall among the deputies in order to determine the moment when the assistance of the physical power of the jacobins was demanded; but as he was anxious to lend his aid to St. Just, he endeavoured in vain to obtain a hearing. The two men of terror were cried down, and all the fists were clenched of which Danton had often availed himself with success. Robespierre made vast efforts, but in vain; with a mouth foaming with passion, he claimed and demanded a right to be heard; he was however insultingly shouted down by the exclamation, which his friend Fouquier Tinville usually addressed to those whom he accused, *You cannot be heard*. He was obliged to yield to the ringing of the president's bell, and Tallien succeeded in obtaining the privilege which was denied to Robespierre. The jacobin spies were obliged to leave the assembly, for Bourdon seized one of them by the collar and threw him out of the door. During the tumult which now commenced in the convention, all the cowards became brave and the victory was secured. In the passage which we subjoin* Thibaudeau has admirably described the joy which was experienced by himself and all moderate men, when, to their surprise and astonishment, they saw that effected by knaves, felons and rascals which honourable men could never have accomplished.

Barrère officiously pressed forward for the third time to give the death-blow to a party of which he had been one of the most

* Thibaudeau, i. p. 82. "Depuis quelque tems Robespierre menaçait Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Tallien, &c., ses émules et ses complices. La convention étoit aussi indifférente à leurs dangers qu'elle l'avoit été à la mort de Danton, et il est probable qu'ils eussent succombé si Robespierre eût proposé leur proscription. Mais le sentiment de leurs propres périls leur donna l'audace de le prévenir, et, comme je l'ai déjà dit, la victoire étoit toujours du côté de l'attaque. Tallien se lança le premier, les autres le suivirent, et la convention se souleva tout entière. Ce fut une commotion électrique. Robespierre pâle, défait, veut parler; il menace, il conjure, il supplie. Son frère, Saint Just, essaient en vain de le défendre et de se justifier eux-mêmes. Un cri unanime, un seul cri, *à bas le tyran!* se fait entendre et couvre leur voix. Et le tyran qui la veille encore repandait l'effroi et l'épouvante est enchaîné et conduit dans une de ces prisons remplies de ses propres victimes. O quelles douces émotions, quelles sensations délicieuses éprouvèrent alors nos âmes si long-tems opprimées!"

zealous; he rang the knell of the terrorists in the same way as he had done that of his friends the constitutionalists and the girondists. He proposed the adoption of the report of the committees, by virtue of which the dreadful triumvirate, together with Lebas, who had voluntarily joined them, Henriot, Payan, the younger Robespierre, and others whose names we do not think it necessary to mention, were arrested. The proclamation to the people, announcing a new organization of the national guard, was also decreed. The arrests were effected, the prisoners were to be sent to different places of confinement, and the committee of government was fortunate enough to succeed in arresting Henriot at the very moment when he was dashing through the streets to call the people to arms. The convention had adjourned their meeting till the evening, but at five o'clock everything assumed a new appearance. The friends and partisans of the Mountain had appealed to the sections, and the common-council of the city was active in their favour; Coffinhal had set Henriot at liberty, and the latter, at the head of his mob, marched into the court of the Tuileries, where the convention had again assembled. Fortunately Henriot, who had brought cannon with him, was intoxicated, and unable to prevail upon his cannoneers to fire, however fierce they and the classes from which they were chosen were; he therefore withdrew and his people raised a clamour and tumult in the streets, whereby the convention gained time to adopt the measures necessary for the occasion.

Robespierre was to have been conveyed to the palace of the Luxemburg, which then served as a prison; but his client Wilstrich, the cobbler, was commissary of police, and paid no attention to the commands of the committees, but rather contributed to have Robespierre and his partisans brought to the Hotel de Ville, and co-operated with their friends. Thibaudeau is of opinion, that if Robespierre immediately after his liberation had not lost time in consultations at the Hotel de Ville, but acted with courage and rapidity, he would have proved victorious. It is true he caused the men of the Mountain who had been arrested with him to be set at liberty; the convention however gained time by his delay to denounce him and his accomplices as outlaws. Whilst the decree was whispered about and announced among the multitude of revolutionary men who had formerly been servile creatures, but were now enemies of Robespierre, the citizens of property and respectability were at the same time

called to arms to oppose and put down Henriot's rabble followers. The sections advanced towards the *Place de la Grève*, where the people were collected in crowds, and waited till their leader had at length adopted his resolution in the Hotel de Ville. As early as eleven o'clock, the convention, on the recommendation of the united committees, conferred the command of the whole armed force upon Barras, one of the deputies, who, because he belonged to one of the most ancient noble families, had formerly served as a lieutenant in the regiment Pondichéry; a number of other deputies were however associated with him.

On every recurrence of disturbances afterwards in the city, Barras was again appointed commander-in-chief; he however always employed persons as inferior commanders who had more military experience than himself. The deputies associated with him exercised for this one night the absolute power which the deputies possessed over the armies, and as they rode through the streets they made themselves known to the citizens by wearing plumes and scarfs, as insignia of their rank. The deputies who were appointed on this occasion were Ferrand, Fréron, Rovère, Delmas, Bolletti, Leonard Bourdon and Bourdon de l'Oise. They divided the city amongst them, organized the battalions of the sections which were hostile to the jacobins, and from all sides advanced against the *Place de la Grève*, in front of the Hotel de Ville. This occurred about three o'clock in the morning, when the triumvirate were still engaged in consultation. Alarming reports of some apprehended fatality, which were carefully spread, and the sentence of outlawry decreed by the convention, which was proclaimed aloud, caused Henriot's army suddenly to disperse; the square was left empty, and the gens d'armes forced their way into the Hotel de Ville, where they found the outlaws concealed in the council-chamber. Henriot and the president of the jacobin club were also in the room.

The whole history of men who had tyrannized over France for two years, and filled the whole of Europe with alarm and dread, was brought to a close at half-past three o'clock in the morning, like the winding-up of a drama. St. Just alone yielded to his fate and suffered himself to be taken prisoner; Lebas shot himself with a pistol; Robespierre made an attempt to do the same, but the shot failed to take effect and merely broke his under-jaw, so that thus horribly disfigured and covered with blood, he was dragged about and afterwards guillotined. The

paralytic Couthon lay down under a table as if dead; Henriot crept into a sewer and was dragged out by a hook, covered with filth. Fouquier Tinville no sooner became aware of the condemnation of his protectors and friends, than, like an able diplomatist, he sought to withdraw himself from their cause; he hastened to the victorious convention and offered them his legal services for renewed and redoubled executions. When his proposals were badly received, he then endeavoured by chicanery to procure some delay in the execution of his jacobins, amongst whom was the whole common-council, and therefore to give them some hope of deliverance by force.

In order that the outlaws might be immediately executed on the 28th of July, the committees declared that the observance of legal forms was unnecessary in the case of those who were beyond the pale of the law, and that all that was required was merely to have them brought before the revolutionary tribunal in order to establish their identity. The persons placed before this court on the 28th of July were, the two Robespierres, Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, Fleuriot, mayor of Paris, Payan, national agent or *procureur* of the commune, Vihier, vice-president of the tribunal, together with twelve others, all outlaws. For the first time in his life, Fouquier Tinville felt some legal scruples; he could find no other means of establishing the identity of the parties, except by the observance of the prescribed forms*; Tallien however helped the convention out of their difficulty respecting St. Just, in the same manner as the latter had lent them his aid in the case of Danton's execution†.

In this way twenty-two persons were executed immediately on the 28th, and on the 29th and 30th seventy-two other jacobins belonging to Robespierre's partisans were guillotined;

* It was necessary, in order legally to establish personal identity, to have the evidence of two of the magistrates of the city. Fouquier alleged, that as all the officers of the city were under arrest, he could not obtain the prescribed testimony.

† Tallien said in the convention: "La convention doit prendre des mesures pour que les conspirateurs soient frappés sans délai; tout délai seroit préjudiciable à la république. Il faut que l'échafaud soit dressé sur le champ, qu'avec les têtes de ses complices tombe aujourd'hui la tête de cet infame Robespierre, qui nous annonçoit, qu'il croyoit à l'être suprême, et qui ne croyoit qu'à la force du crime. Il faut, que le sol de la république soit purgé d'un monstre, qui étoit en mesure, pour se faire proclamer roi. Je demande que le tribunal se retire par devant le comité de sûreté générale pour prendre ses ordres et qu'il retourne à son poste."

among those who fell a sacrifice on this occasion were most of the common-council of Paris. During a few weeks following the 9th Thermidor, it appeared as if the system of terror would be increased instead of diminished, for those who were called Thermidoreans, or conquerors of Robespierre, constituted the rump of the old Dantonist party. People without conscience or principle, such as Fouché, Barras, Fréron, Legendre and Tallien, were worse than Couthon and St. Just, because they were not visionaries or enthusiasts, but made a cool calculation both of the amount and objects of their crimes. These men however had lost their support and irreconcilably offended the populace, who alone could protect them against the vengeance of the better class of the citizens; the moderates, or *indulgents* as they were called, re-collected their energies and vigour, and their vengeance speedily overtook Fouquier Tinville, Carrier and Lebon. Thibaudeau, in the passage quoted in the note*, informs us of the manner in which the peaceful and intelligent friends of freedom at that time acquired courage. We prefer the brief judgements of those eye-witnesses respecting the events of the 9th Thermidor to all the declamations of French and German rhetoricians†.

§ III.

EUROPEAN COALITION TO PROMOTE THE OBJECTS OF THE ENGLISH PLUTOCRACY TILL THE END OF 1794.

From the 4th of August 1789, the French revolution took a direction which seemed more dangerous to the English aristocracy and hierarchy, the offspring of the middle ages, and which since the sixteenth century has been strengthened by the plutocracy, than to any of the strictly monarchical thrones in Europe. The monarchs had nothing to fear, for every intelligent man saw that France could never stand as a republic. The anxiety and

* Thibaudeau, Mémoires, i. p. 59: "Comme le commun de l'assemblée, j'étais sous la foule et ne la dirigeais pas. Il m'importait donc peu qu'elle fût dans les mains de Danton ou dans celles de Robespierre; dans ces combats je ne voyais qu'un changement de tyrans, et non la fin de la tyrannie."

† Thibaudeau, l. c. p. 86: "Le 9 Thermidor fut donc l'effet du hasard, comme la plupart des grands événements dans l'histoire. Sont ils funestes, l'homme ne manque pas d'en accuser le sort; sont ils heureux, il les attribue à sa prévoyance et à sa sagesse. Après la victoire chacun se disputait l'honneur d'y avoir plus ou moins concouru."

dread of the English aristocracy were also unfounded; appearances of danger may have deceived Burke and some radicals waiting for an opportunity of change, but they did not deceive Pitt. Pitt and every genuine Englishman well knew that his people were like those of Rome in the time of Cæsar. The aristocracy was corrupt, but not physically enervated, and possessed all the practical pre-eminence of the Romans of that period; for we are now speaking only of what has influence and power in life. National pride, national glory, contempt for every one who is not an Englishman (a foreigner, that is *barbarus*), compensates John Bull, as similar feelings formerly did the Romulidæ, for the insolence and pride of the aristocracy, which swallows up his wealth, but is also able and equal to everything. Every one believes himself to possess some share in the prosperity of the country and in the extension of its dominion, even although millions are starving: although the poor are treated like criminals and worse, yet no one doubts himself to be a citizen of the first nation in the world. Pitt and his party knew this well; a party which admirably understood how to guide and use public opinion. All those persons who from generation to generation support one another, for appearance sake are divided into two parties, and laugh in their sleeve at the ignorance or easiness of the people, remained perfectly unmoved as to any danger to themselves, even when Burke was already raving and pouring out the vials of his wrath against the French republicans. In the disputes and contests among the French, as they did then and do now in the corruption and meanness of the Indian rajahs, they merely saw a means of extending the dominion of England, or of increasing her trade and navigation. The English never thought of war, till war appeared to be favourable to their speculations.

The English ministry, the aristocracy, king George III., whom Pitt was obliged to keep in good humour, whilst they appeared publicly impartial, did all in their power to forward the views of the French aristocracy, and to stimulate the exertions of the monarchical courts and ministries of the continent. All the plans devised by the king, the queen, the princes and the foreign courts were secretly supported by the English aristocracy and the court of St. James's; the noble emigrants and bishops found an asylum; and although England publicly denied all participation in the resolutions of the congress of Pilnitz, it escaped the attention of

no one who had any opportunity of making himself acquainted with the course of the passing intrigues, that the English ministry fully concurred in its determinations. The manner in which Burke afterwards, as an orator and writer, contrived to kindle into a flame of fanaticism the attachment of the people in favour of what is called church and king, as well as for the maintenance of their own comforts, has been already stated; their attachment to their nobility, clergy, jurists and capitalists, who use them as an estate, was also increased. From the time of Burke's crusade and the speeches by which he recommended it, which were published in the newspapers, re-touched and extended as the necessity of the case might require, the moderate party among the people soon almost disappeared, or was everywhere subjected to abuse and persecution. The whole of Europe soon became conscious, that every Englishman is as firmly wedded to his ancient customs, prejudices and traditions, as an Italian, old Bavarian, Westphalian, a native of Treves, or as one of the old Swiss was and is attached to the pope and the jesuits. The societies formed in England and Ireland to promote the principles of the revolution, the approbation which some of the people of England bestowed on Paine's 'Rights of Man,' the embassy which was sent by the Constitutional Society of London to Paris in 1791, in order to congratulate the president and members of the national assembly on the events which had taken place, were all objects not only favourable to, but earnestly desired by the tories; they extremely facilitated Pitt's labour in inspiring both the king and the people with fanaticism. George III. and his people, who were equally filled with prejudices and animated by an instinct for their own advantage, abhorred everything which was not "church and king"; even Talleyrand Périgord, who was a master in hypocrisy and the very model of diplomatists, for this reason completely failed in his attempt to win over the English ministry in favour of the politics of the visitors of madame de Staël's saloons.

The adherents and partisans of the first untenable French constitution were threatened, at the end of the year 1791, by the republicans from within and by the continental powers from without; they therefore sent Talleyrand, bishop of Autun and friend of Mirabeau, who had died in the winter of 1791, to England. He was commissioned by the unfortunate Delessart to endeavour to prevail upon Pitt to withdraw from all connexion with the con-

spiracies of the princes, emigrants, the emperor, and the king of Prussia. The whole embassy was the production of those saloon and cabinet intrigues which were looked upon as crimes by the jacobins of the old government and by those distinguished men who were called constitutionalists. Talleyrand could not assume the character of an ambassador, because, according to a law of the constituent assembly, any one who had been a member of that body was forbidden to accept any political office from the executive authorities till after the expiration of four years from the termination of its sittings; he was therefore obliged to put forward another individual as nominal ambassador. The title was conferred upon the young and fashionable marquis de Chauvelin, whom Louis XVI. wished to remove from court, because, as *maître de la garde-robe*, he was in the way. The duc de Biron, who, as well as Talleyrand, belonged to the liberal party, accompanied him to London in January 1792, in order to deliver a pretended confidential letter from Louis XVI. to the king; king Louis however had long before given a hint that he had no confidence whatever either in Talleyrand or Biron. This embassy and its results are the best proofs that the jacobins were right, when they alleged, that the whole state must speedily fall to ruin unless a single party soon gained the upper hand. Talleyrand moreover had at that time very different instructions from those which guided Chauvelin, who was inclined towards the republicans. In this way the constitutionalists, who had sent Talleyrand, frustrated everything which Chauvelin commenced, whilst king Louis would hear nothing of the services or plans of either the one or the other. This was altered as soon as Dumourier obtained the ministry.

Under Dumourier, Talleyrand was very active in London; but he was unable to prevent Pitt from entering into secret negotiations with Austria and Prussia. On the breaking out of the war, Dumourier even offered to submit the whole question between Austria and Prussia on the one hand and France on the other, to the mediation of England. This indeed Pitt declined; he however gave an assurance that England would remain neutral in the war, for he did not find it advantageous to take part till there was some appearance of booty to be shared. In September Talleyrand again returned to London with a mission and a passport from Danton, which enabled him to withdraw from the scene of the September massacre, and there intrigued for a

long time with success; but he had both the republicans in Paris and the emigrants in London against him. After the 10th of August England had declared against the republicans, recalled their ambassador (lord Gower) from Paris, and informed Chauvelin that he could no longer be officially received; he however at first remained for a time in London as a private man. Talleyrand continued to pursue his intrigues till the occupation of Belgium and the expedition against Holland compelled Pitt to throw off the mask. Immediately after the victory gained by the French at Jemappes, Pitt offered assistance to the Dutch; Van Spiegel, who at that time was at the helm of affairs in Holland, at first declined the offer, in order first to be able to make some preparations for the war; but Dumourier immediately attacked Holland after the conquest of Belgium. He caused the navigation of the Scheldt to be proclaimed free, made an incursion into the United Provinces, and suffered the enemies of the stadtholder, who had taken refuge in France and Belgium, to organise an insurrection. At the close of the year therefore, Holland was obliged to appeal to England for assistance and protection.

In England and Ireland various patriotic societies had sent addresses to the national convention; Pitt availed himself of this circumstance to unite all the English of the old school by means of loyal associations into a description of fanatical league against all innovation or change. In all the towns and villages of the kingdom, the majority of persons of property, who began to be apprehensive for their wealth, formed themselves into societies for the maintenance and support of everything old, or as they termed it, of church and state, and the ministry was soon able to rely with certainty upon this, that every species of opposition to the measures of the government would be regarded as high treason. Almost at the same time as the English made the first proposals for a coalition in Vienna, the national convention furnished the desired pretence for inducing the continental powers, by the liberal employment of English money, to assail France by land, whilst England destroyed her naval force, deprived her of her colonies and wrested away her trade. The English proposals were made in Vienna on the 25th of November 1792, and on the 29th the national convention committed a gross violation of the well-understood law of nations both against England and other states.

On the 19th of November the national convention issued a decree, promising to all nations which should rise against their governments the sympathy and assistance of the French people; on the 28th the convention appeared as if they meant to realize their promise in the case of England. It not only received a deputation of the English and Irish then residing in Paris, on which occasion numerous declamations were made in the republican style of the day, but it even entered into relations and connected itself with persons who were merely laughed at in England. Pitt undoubtedly was very glad that the convention thus exposed itself to ridicule, and thereby furnished him with an opportunity of using the circumstance as a stimulus to provoke the zeal and encourage the fanaticism of the church-and-king men in England. There was a society formed in England, consisting of persons of very inconsiderable weight, for the purposes of obtaining and circulating *constitutional information*. This society sent John Frost and Joel Barlowe, who were persons of no note at home, on an embassy to Paris, and this very important embassy was honourably received by the convention. They delivered some radical speeches, and Grégoire, who was at that time president, although of somewhat higher condition than John Frost, returned them an answer in his kind, visionary and rhetorical style.

Pitt, whose offer to form a coalition the emperor had accepted, availed himself of this circumstance to urge the old English, from a feeling of anxiety for their comforts and hatred to the French, to make such efforts, even before the declaration of war, as they would with difficulty have consented to even in war, without the assistance of the loyal church-and-king societies. Parliament was summoned to meet in the beginning of January 1793, and a proclamation was issued, such as if those who issued it really believed the existence of English power, the church and monarchy, to be threatened with destruction. It was stated in the midst of peace, that it was the intention of the government to embody a part of the militia of the kingdom. In order to give great importance to the dread, which was just as little felt from the machinations of John Frost, Joel Barlowe and their associates, as from the Irish, troops were marched into the capital, the defences of the Tower strengthened and repaired, double guards placed at the Bank, and the shameless lord Loughborough, who as solicitor-general Wedderburne had displayed

such grossness and vulgarity in his attacks upon Franklin, was elevated to the dignity of lord-chancellor in the room of lord Thurlow, and created English Marats and Frérons. Pitt brought a number of men into parliament, whose particular business was, by absurd, violent and noisy harangues, to work upon the masses and to raise a general feeling of indignation throughout the country, by means of which the minister himself would have been ashamed. These intolerable preachers of fanaticism and hatred to France were afterwards designated by all intelligent persons as the *alarmists*.

Burke was leader of the band, and under him Windham, Elliot, Armstruther and others rendered suit and service according to their abilities; they were therefore well rewarded by the ministry. The proposal of the English ministry to form a coalition against France had been accepted by Austria and Prussia in the beginning of December, and the coalition affair, as far as Prussia was concerned, fell completely into the hands of the diplomatic triumvirate. Haugwitz, who had been hitherto ambassador at the imperial court, was called to form a part of the cabinet in Berlin, and the marquis Lucchesini was sent to Vienna to arrange the terms of the coalition. The negotiations by which Talleyrand frustrated the official labours of the marquis Chauvelin were therefore attended by no results, because the English and Dutch were openly preparing for war, and Lebrun, the French minister of foreign affairs, was compelled to assume another tone, in a note delivered by Chauvelin in December,—a tone which was as little approved of by the minister as by the ambassador. This note was directly in contradiction to all that Talleyrand, in Lebrun's name, had been whispering into the ears of the English. Grenville, who was at that time minister of foreign affairs, replied in a harsh tone, that he could take no cognizance whatever of the French republic, and would carry on no correspondence except with the representative of the sovereign of France. The war would already have broken out in the beginning of January 1793, had it not been delayed for a few weeks by some cabals entered into with two of the French ministers, by Dumourier in Belgium and Talleyrand in London, who were both masters in that art.

Garat, Danton's successor as minister of justice, had come to an understanding with Lebrun, and both with Dumourier and Talleyrand. They had consented to a conference being held in

Antwerp between Dumourier, Van Spiegel, the Dutch minister, and lord Auckland, the English ambassador at the Hague; Pache, Monge and Clavières, and therefore the majority of the ministers, were however afraid of these intriguers, and would not listen to the proposal of Dumourier's journey to London. Notwithstanding Talleyrand's great abilities and skill, he failed in this negotiation, and in consequence of his intimate connexion with Dumourier on this occasion, he was afterwards impeached and was obliged to seek an asylum in America till September 1795. The whole church-and-king party in England was at this time excited to a high pitch of indignation by the king's trial in France, and Pitt and Grenville were obliged to take advantage of the public opinion. The whole body of the aristocracy, and even the opposition, in order to avoid being isolated, besought the ministry to use all their energies in favour of the king; this furnished a pretence for the delay, but it was of no avail, because even the noble-minded application of the king of Spain had proved fruitless. The king of Spain offered to withdraw the whole of his troops from the frontiers; caused his minister Ocariz to promise the strictest neutrality on his part in the war agreed upon by England, Prussia, Austria, Holland and Sardinia with Russia, and even offered to conclude an alliance with new France, provided the life of the king was spared. It was however to no purpose to negotiate with people such as those by whom the convention was ruled; they could not and dare not stand still. Charles IV. even made an attempt through Ocariz to corrupt the leading deputies in the convention by money, and appropriated two millions of francs for that purpose; this was also in vain.

Lebrun and Garat however still entertained some hopes of being at least able to open new negotiations with England, till the moment that Chauvelin and Talleyrand were ordered to leave the country; they therefore sent over Maret (Buonaparte's duke of Bassano); he however was not admitted even to an audience, because on the arrival of the news of Louis XVI.'s execution, Chauvelin received notice to leave London in twenty-four hours and England in eight days. Dumourier, notwithstanding this, continued to carry on his intrigues. Lord Auckland and Van Spiegel, the grand pensionary of Holland, wished to meet him in Moerdyk; but Brissot frustrated all Dumourier's cabals, by proposing a declaration of war in the convention on the 1st

of February 1793, in the name of the committee for the management of foreign affairs, and his proposal met with a favourable reception.

As early as the 11th of February, George III. announced to the parliament that war had been declared on the part of France against England and Holland. It now appeared as if the chief of the European powers would unite all their strength against France. It was arranged that the Prussians should advance from Mayence, the Austrians from Belgium, and that the English and Dutch should make an incursion into that country along the coast of Belgium: Saxons, Hanoverians and Hessians were to serve in the Prussian army, whilst the Bavarians and the imperial contingents from Swabia and Franconia were to join the Austrians. In March and April, England prevailed upon Sardinia, Spain and Portugal to join the European alliance. Pitt came to terms with the Russians, according to which the latter bound themselves to secure certain advantages in trade to the English, and particularly to restrict that of the French; whilst the English on their part were to allow the Russians to take their own course in Poland, and, finally, even consented to the occupation of the free city of Danzig. The newspaper articles of the empress Catharine II., in which she vehemently blames the French and gives assurance to the English that she would send a fleet and 40,000 men to their aid, as soon as they had landed in Belgium, were indeed never fulfilled; but two treaties*, which were concluded in March, in addition to the promise of taking a part in the alliance against France, also contain the assurance of considerable advantages in duties and of restrictions imposed upon the trade with France.

In March and April some of the German princes, and especially those of Hesse and the Bavarian palatinate, received English money; a fixed sum was also secured to the king of Sardinia during the continuance of the war, and even Spain was supported and assisted by money. The contract with Hesse contained a stipulation which must always be a matter of sorrow to German patriots, that the 8000 Hessians which were sold to England, to which 4000 more were afterwards added, were not

* The documents are to be found in part v. of Marten's '*Recueil des Principaux Traités*,' where the five articles of the commercial treaty are given; and then the treaty of alliance, in which the chief points are contained in articles ii. and iii. The same book, pp. 120—123, also contains the documents connected with the taking possession of Danzig.

only to be employed in the Prussian army on the Rhine, but in case of necessity might be ordered by the English government to England or Ireland*. In the treaty of the 25th of April, by which Sardinia entered into the coalition, the English promised to pay a sum of 200,000*l.* yearly. Spain, which had been governed by Charles IV., or rather by his wife and her worthless favourites from the year 1788, was placed by England in a situation to equip a fleet, which was to join that of England and to cruise in the Mediterranean; in this treaty, concluded on the 25th of May, no subsidies were mentioned. On the 12th of July the queen of Naples also was purchased by the English for the coalition, for she also promised, on the terms agreed on, to send 6000 troops to the army of the coalition, four ships of the line, four frigates and four smaller vessels to the fleet.

At the time in which these respective treaties were concluded by the English, they at length hoped to be able completely to weaken France by a partition, because Dampierre, who had received the command of the army of the north, on Dumourier's desertion to the enemy, had been obliged to retreat, and the Prussians were besieging Mayence. In the case of the present however, as in that of all coalitions, there was not only a great want of unity, but there was not one of all the leaders who was fit to conduct a war, which was to be carried on, not against an army of mercenaries, but against the whole body of the warlike people of France. As early as the end of March the English landed 8000 of their own troops and 13,000 Hanoverians; the latter was commanded by field-marshal Freytag, but the chief distinction was conferred on the duke of York, who was the commander of the English. As officers have assured us, who have served in the English army, the duke may have had some capacities for the administration of affairs, of which we cannot judge, but both then and afterwards, on every occasion, he gave abundant proofs that he was wholly useless in the field. His brothers Adolphus and Ernest, who were likewise with the army, were by no means fit for any service whatever in the field, and prince

* This may be deduced from the following clause of the seventh article of the treaty: "If it shall happen, that they *should be employed in Great Britain or Ireland*, as soon as the notification in such case should be made to the serene landgrave," &c. This treaty is dated April the 10th, and on the 23rd of August another agreement was signed in the Prussian head-quarters, in which the landgrave promises, in the terms specified, to furnish 4000 additional troops in three weeks.

Ernest even at that time was universally hated. William Frederick, the eldest son of the hereditary stadtholder, was at the head of 7000 Dutch troops, who were afterwards joined by his brother Frederick with 10,000 more, who were to unite with the English landed at Ostend and to form a junction with Coburg's army.

Some opinion may be formed of the small care which had been taken to adopt the necessary measures in order quickly to profit by the highly unfavourable circumstances of the moment in France by the fact, that the Prussians before Mayence, as well as the Austrians in their attacks upon Condé and Valenciennes, would have been reduced to the greatest difficulties had not the Dutch supplied them with some heavy artillery. The Dutch were obliged to send twenty gun-boats to enable the Prussians to carry on the siege of Mayence, and when the prince of Coburg was desirous of attacking Condé and Valenciennes, the Dutch were obliged to lend him 150 pieces of heavy artillery, which they parted with very unwillingly, because they were afraid, as really happened, that they would be lost. This opinion was publicly expressed by the grand pensionary Van Spiegel, as early as the end of May, when he saw how totally incompetent prince Josias was for the supreme command, how bad and corrupt the whole aristocratic administration of the Austrians and how ruinous the whole system of contracts were, of which highly respectable merchants in Frankfort afterwards related to ourselves things almost beyond credibility. Van Spiegel not only lamented over the apprehended loss of the artillery, but predicted the defeat, and even spoke of withdrawing the army of the Netherlands. The prince of Coburg and his adviser Mack proceeded quite methodically, but just for that reason very slowly, in their attack upon Condé and Valenciennes, and in order to enable them to undertake the siege of the latter, they were obliged to call in the assistance of the duke of York.

After the capture of Frankfort in December 1792, the duke of Brunswick proceeded as methodically as the duke of Coburg in the Netherlands; the French had therefore time to throw 22,000 men under generals D'Oyré and Dubayet into the fortress of Mayence. Under these generals two other heroes of the revolutionary times served, one of whom (Kleber) is known as a rival of Buonaparte, and the other, Dessaix, as one of the few among his generals who did not disgrace themselves by avarice

and meanness*. Merlin of Thionville and Reubel, who were the deputies from the convention, also distinguished themselves during the defence of the fortress, which held out till July 1793, and did not capitulate till want and hunger had reached an incredible extent. The Austrians had sent two divisions to the Prussian army, one under prince Hohenlohe Kirchberg and the other under Wurmser. The prince was afterwards ordered to the Meuse, and Wurmser advanced against Alsace. Wurmser however would not receive any orders from the duke of Brunswick, and at length it was agreed, after long and warm disputes, that all orders for Wurmser should be sent immediately from the king of Prussia himself and not from the duke; and for this reason the duke afterwards annoyed him in every way he could.

The king of Prussia and count Kalkreuth afterwards besieged Mayence with an army of 50,000 men, whilst the duke, in command of a corps of observation, very unwillingly marched to the Queich, in order to support Wurmser, if the latter should advance to the Vosges. On the capitulation of Mayence, the Prussians were guilty of the oversight to which we have already referred; the garrison, it is true, were obliged to agree not to serve against the allies for a year, but among these the French on the Loire were not expressly included, and Dubayet and Kleber were therefore sent against the insurrectionary districts. When the whole of the Prussian army were thus set at liberty to serve in the field, the duke proceeded so systematically, that the committee of public welfare was enabled to get on foot and organize a considerable national force. Immediately on the commencement of its career, the committee had set on foot ten armies, which they continued to keep up to their full numbers, and to maintain, by all the means which the revolutionary condition of France enabled them to command.

The army of the north and that of Ardennes had passed from Dumourier to Dampierre, from the latter to Custine, and afterwards Houchard was appointed to undertake the command. This general had been previously in command of the second army, or that of the Moselle. Alexander Beauharnais was at the head of the army of the Rhine, Kellermann had the command of that of the Alps, whilst those of Italy and the East and West Pyrenees, were respectively entrusted to Brunet, Deflers and Dubousquet.

* Justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris et amantissimus æqui.

The western coast from La Rochelle to the Loire was occupied by an army under Canclaux, another had been stationed on the Channel coast as early as the beginning of 1793, and was commanded by Wimpfen, and Westermann was at the head of the army of the west. All this had been done as early as May, and in June, when the Gironde was overthrown, the warlike energy of the nation was doubled.

Some opinion may be formed of the methodical system according to which prince Josias, as well as the duke of Brunswick, renewed their recollections of the seven years' war, even after the taking of Condé by capitulation on the 11th of July, by examining the minute and official reports contained in the contributions to the Austrian history of the war. The committee of public welfare attached all the blame of the surrender of Condé to Custine. He was accordingly executed, and Houchard appointed in his stead, who however proved unable to deliver Valenciennes, which was besieged by the duke of York. After the fall of Valenciennes, all unity between the prince of Coburg on the one hand and the English and Dutch on the other ceased at the same time, as the disputes between Wurmser and the duke of Brunswick led to very bad consequences in the army of the Rhine. On the taking of Valenciennes, the Austrians showed too clearly their intention of fishing in troubled waters, and offended both the emigrants and the English by taking possession of Condé and Valenciennes as a property, and not as a trust. Van Spiegel drily said on this occasion, *that no time must be lost, in order that each of the powers might also take possession of the portion of the districts previously allotted to them.* The wretched Mack, even at this time full of fear, recommended peace, and was sent away from the army for a time; the duke of York, however, in the spirit of Van Spiegel's idea, laid siege to Dunkirk*, whilst Clairfait invested Quenoy and prince Coburg blockaded Maubeuge, somewhat in the same fashion as he would have done in the seven years' war. The French availed themselves of the determination of their enemies to persevere in the old system to attack them by an entirely new method. The plans pursued by these systematists may be learned from the fact, that the allied armies of 130,000

* The author cannot allow himself to enter into criticisms upon military operations. He therefore refers to the 'Austrian Military Magazine,' second edit., vol. i. part 2, pp. 129, 130 in the note, for an account of the English claims in the siege of Dunkirk.

men were not only completely separated and scattered about in the sieges of Maubeuge, Quesnoy and Dunkirk, but when the king of Prussia recalled his 8000 men under Knobelsdorf from Coburg's army, and sent them instead of 15,000 under Bruglach to Treves, the marching and remarching of these two armies kept 23,000 totally useless for six weeks.

Whilst the Dutch and English, reinforced by 37,000 Austrians under Alvinzy, were suffering great want before Dunkirk, and even the water for drinking was obliged to be brought by sea, Carnot, on his entrance into the committee of public welfare, was entrusted with the war department: he established a system which Suwarrow and Buonaparte always followed, in opposition to the tedious and methodical operations of the seven years' war. The object of the latter system was to spare human life; the former never hesitated to sacrifice thousands for the attainment of any important object. Houchard was now at the head of the army of the north, and in compliance with the new plans sent from Paris, he was to be reinforced by fresh troops sent by post-horses from the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, and to attack the English and Dutch: the allies had taken such bad measures for obtaining information, that they had no suspicion either of his reinforcements or his designs. On the 6th of September, Houchard, with a superior force, fell upon the Hanoverians and Hessian mercenaries at Hondscote, and drove them from their positions. Freytag was wounded in the action and obliged to surrender the command to Wallmoden; prince Adolphus was taken prisoner, but again recovered by the Hanoverians and imperial forces. On the following day the duke of York appeared and a regular engagement took place at Hondscote, in which neither he nor Wallmoden, according to our authorities, displayed any military talents whatever. The allies were beaten on the following day (the 9th of September), obliged to raise the siege, and the besieging army on its retreat suffered all its baggage and heavy artillery (fifty-two pieces) to fall into the hands of the enemy.

When the duke of York separated from the main army, the latter, 45,000 strong, in the middle of August, remained stationary between Denainx and Bettignies, in order to cover the sieges of Maubeuge and Quesnoy. Quesnoy was at length taken on the 11th of September by Clairfait, at the same time as the Dutch and English were hard-pressed by the French. The prince of Coburg

hastened to their relief. Houchard suffered considerable loss, was driven out of Flanders, and he, as well as generals Hedouville and Landrin, paid the penalty of defeat with his life. Jourdan was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the north in his stead. This army was soon extraordinarily reinforced, whilst those of the allies, amounting to 102,000 men, were much scattered. Coburg covered the siege of Maubeuge, which was at length seriously commenced; the duke of York, with his main force, remained in Menin, but the intrigues of the Austrian and Prussian cabinets threw everything into confusion.

About this period, a person was advanced to the head of the Austrian cabinet, who although only the son of a poor boatman, left more money behind him than any minister by whom he had been preceded, which gives a high probability to the reproaches which were made against him, from the time in which he played a character among the Turks till the end of his life. Prince von Kaunitz-Rittberg, the old chancellor of the empire, retired completely from public life; vice-chancellor Cobenzl and baron Spielmann were easily put aside, and the son of *Thunichtgut* (Dono-good), the boatman, whose name Maria Theresa changed into baron Thugut, came to the helm of affairs in the Austrian cabinet. He had commenced his career in Constantinople, where all the arts of treachery, falsehood and corruption have found a home ever since the times of the Byzantine empire. In the negotiations for peace between the Russians and Turks, he was liberally bribed by the Russians, and contrived at the same time that the court of Vienna should retain the millions which the Turks paid for aid which was never given. Frederick II. thoroughly saw through him when he wished to try his little arts upon him in the negotiations of 1778, and his ministers Herzberg and Finkenstein were not deceived in his character. He also proved himself an excellent ambassador at the court of the notorious queen Caroline, who governed in Naples, whilst her husband spent the whole of his time in hunting and fishing. Having left Naples, he entered upon a new field of bribery and intrigues in Warsaw, and afterwards perfected himself in all the arts of diplomatic subtlety among the Russians and Greeks in Moldavia and Wallachia. He was then employed anew in making peace with the Turks, and finally sent to Paris. When there he took charge of affairs, of which count Mercy, who was properly speaking the ambassador, was probably

ashamed. Among the things which he effected in Paris, the reconciliation of Mirabeau with the court is specially mentioned, which was also somewhat profitable to him. He would willingly have remained longer at Paris at that time, but the English and queen Caroline had need of his services in Vienna, and thither the easily-tempted emperor suffered him to come. From that time he became the source of all evil to Austria. He first assisted the prince of Coburg to obtain the post of commander-in-chief, and from March 1793, in the character of director-general of foreign affairs, sold the German empire and the emperor to the highest bidder.

A man of this description, full of all kinds of petty artifices, chicanery and diplomatic tricks, was not in a condition to embrace or adopt any enlarged views at the decisive moment in the month of September 1793. Coburg, at his suggestion, took possession of the French fortresses as Austrian conquests, and thus deeply offended both the allies and the emigrants. At the time when Clairfait at length formed a junction with Coburg before Maubeuge, the allies thought they perceived that Austria wished only to use them in order to extend the boundaries of her own territory. The duke of York remained quiet; the Dutch were long weary of the war; and the Prussians longed to withdraw and became very indolent. The French were determined to rescue Maubeuge at any cost, and the deputies of the convention, who were with the army, urged Jourdan to make the boldest ventures. On the 15th of October, at Watignies, with 40,000 men, he attacked Clairfait, the only Austrian general who reaped any honour or reputation in this campaign. Clairfait, at the head of 18,000 men, maintained his position on the 15th; the French however were strongly reinforced during the night: the duke of York did not quicken his movements, whilst Carnot, as deputy from the convention, on the 16th dismissed a general of division in the sight of the enemy, and took the command in person in the renewed attack upon the heights which commanded Maubeuge. The Austrians gave way, and the French conquered the heights, the occupation of which brought them into connexion with Maubeuge*. Clairfait, as well as

* *Mémoires de Carnot*, p. 57 :—"Carnot, toujours à la tête des troupes, ne tarda pas à s'apercevoir de cette hésitation qui menaçait de devenir funeste; après avoir retiré ces corps de leur position pour les faire mettre en bataille sur un plateau élevé, en vue de toute l'armée, il destitua solennellement le général qui les commandait : mettant alors pied à terre et prenant le fusil d'un grenadier,

Carnot, blamed the prince of Coburg and regarded him as wholly unfit to command, because he retreated immediately after the unsuccessful engagement of the 16th, and thereby gave up the cause of the Austrians as lost. If we compare Carnot's judgement, united with that of another able Frenchman, which we give in a note*, with the report in the Austrian military journals, we shall be able to form some opinion of the manner in which that kind of history is created which is said to be derived from authentic documents. As the Austrian army, as usual, was suffering from want of everything, even provisions and horses, and as the French were anxious to make preparations for a great effort in spring, there was a practical cessation of arms in Belgium from the 10th of November. At that time the committee of public welfare was victorious in all directions. Lyons fell in October, Toulon was taken on the 19th of December, and thereby another turn was given to the war in the Pyrenees, which had hitherto been unsuccessful. On the 22nd of September, the Spaniards were still in possession of St. Elme, Callioure and Port-Vendre, in the department of the Eastern Pyrenees, and of almost the whole department of the West Pyrenees; immediately afterwards, Dugommier, who had reduced Toulon, appeared, and not only drove the Spaniards out of France, but attacked them in their own country.

On the Rhine, the disunion between the Prussians and Austrians, but especially the ill-will of the duke of Brunswick, gave rise to all sorts of diplomatic notes and messages, at a time when

il se mit à la tête de la colonne de droite, tandis qu'un autre de ses collègues, comme lui en costume de représentant, marchait à celle de gauche avec le général en chef Jourdan. Rien ne put alors résister à la valeur et à l'impétuosité de nos troupes; la colonne à la tête de laquelle se trouvait Carnot pénétra bientôt dans le village de Wattignies à travers des chemins creux comblés de cadavres; en vain la cavalerie ennemie tenta plusieurs charges, dont celle qui fut engagée dans un terrain resserré y trouva son tombeau."

* Carnot among other places says, p. 59:—"Les troupes victorieuses restèrent au bivouac toute la nuit pour se mettre le lendemain matin à la poursuite de l'ennemi, achever sa déroute et pénétrer dans la place de Maubeuge, qui étoit encore à deux lieues; mais l'ennemi appréciant la situation critique où il se trouvait, s'il ne repassait la Sambre avant une troisième bataille se hâta," &c. Another French authority says of this affair in general:—"Après quarante jours d'un siège épouvantable, auquel avoient pris part 60,000 hommes, Maubeuge fut enfin délivré par le courage des troupes Françaises qui durant quarante-huit heures se battirent avec l'enthousiasme et l'intrepidité que donne le fanatisme politique et reprirent huit fois l'important village de Wattignies situé à quelques lieues de là. Mais il faut le dire la ville dut encore plus sa délivrance à l'impérissable retraite du prince de Coburg, qui leva le blocus et repassa la Sambre au moment où son armée prête à être renforcée par celle du duc de York pouvoit compter sur une victoire complète."

both parties should have been active in the field. The duke of Brunswick lay with 40,000 men on the Queich, but Wurmser could never obtain either assistance or support from him to enable him to prosecute his undertakings in the Vosges: all was at rest. Prussia complained of the emperor; the extravagance and licentious conduct of the king had exhausted the treasury, and he demanded money from Austria, instead of which the cabinet of Vienna sent counts and princes to negotiate in the Prussian head-quarters. The prince of Waldeck, count Lehrbach and count Ferraris, vice-president of the notorious council of war in Vienna, appeared one after another; the duke of Brunswick however remained inactive till the French defeated the Austrians and began to threaten the Prussians. The French had surprised the Austrian general Piaczewitz, and the duke was therefore obliged to break up his quarters and to march to meet the enemy: on the 14th of September he fell in with an army of 12,000 men at Pirmasens, which he completely defeated. This victory however was followed by no useful results, for about this time the king of Prussia not only sent a great number of troops from the Rhine to Möllendorf in Poland, but he himself left the army and went thither.

After the king's departure, the command devolved upon the duke and count Kalkreuth; both however were of opinion that there was more to be gained for Prussia from the friendship of the French than from that of the Austrians, and every proclamation which they issued gave indications of their determination to make conquests on their own account. Count Kalkreuth moreover may have been a good general, as he was continually with prince Henry during the seven years' war, and fame had whispered in his ear that most of the deeds for which the former obtained credit were really to be ascribed to him; he was, however, indisputably as supple a courtier as the duke himself. When therefore lord Yarmouth, in the name of the English, arrived at head-quarters, in order to prevail upon the Prussians to support Wurmser in his attacks upon the lines of Weissenburg, and when the king gave orders to this effect before his departure, both commanders acquiesced. The duke supported Wurmser, and held a conference with him. The lines between Lauterburg and Weissenburg were successfully assaulted on the 13th of October, and a part of Alsace immediately occupied by Wurmser; but the duke had given him very weak and hesitating support, as both he and Kalkreuth were far from well-

disposed to the war. The duke agreed to a conference with Wurmser, far less with a view of arranging any common plan of operations than really of furthering his own designs and becoming acquainted with Wurmser's intentions. The proclamation issued by Wurmser, who was himself an Alsatian, to his countrymen, furnished the Prussians, who wished to cause a rupture between the king and the emperor, with the very best means of effecting their object. It is true, Wurmser merely called upon the Alsatians in general terms to form a union with Germany, but it was obvious enough that his intention was to imitate the conduct of Coburg in Belgium.

In addition to this, a council of war held in Berlin had already recommended the king to withdraw all his troops from the Rhine, and to send them immediately to Poland, on account of the dangerous condition of things in that country. The courts of Vienna and London, in connexion with that of Petersburg, were obliged to have recourse to all allowable and unallowable means to retain the king in the alliance. As to the means employed, we must confine ourselves to a few indications of their nature and object. On his return from the army the king again sunk into his former degradation; countess Lichtenau again put all her wiles in action, and her obedient servant Haugwitz ruled the cabinet. Lucchesini was despatched with a most extraordinary commission to Vienna,—to require a yearly subsidy of 30,000,000 of florins for the maintenance of the licentious revels in Berlin, as the condition upon which Prussia would continue to form a member of the coalition; and the cession of Austrian Silesia was demanded as a pledge for the regular payment of the money. This was evidence clear enough that Prussia was weary of the war, and the duke of Brunswick acted in the spirit of this feeling, although he had been expressly commanded by the king to give no offence to the Austrians.

Two young French generals, Hoche and Pichegru, opened their splendid career at the head of those numerous hosts, which the committee of public welfare had collected from all quarters to drive Wurmser out of Alsace, and the Prussians to the Rhine. In the course of the months of November and December, within forty days, there took place six and thirty collisions between the armies on both sides. Hoche commenced his attacks in November, and Pichegru in December, the former upon the Prussians, and the latter upon the Austrians. The duke of Brunswick retired at the very moment when Wurmser

had most need of his aid,—reaped, it is true, the fruitless glory of a victory, but on the other hand gave up the Austrians to the enemy. From the 26th till the 29th, Hoche harassed the Prussians by a series of constantly renewed attacks; on the 30th the Prussians proved victorious in the battle of Kaiserslautern, in which Kalkreuth was severely wounded, and the French on their side lost 3000 men. The duke was seriously reproached for not having hurried to the aid of the Austrians immediately after the battle, as they were most severely pressed by their assailants at this very time, from the 1st till the 8th of December.

At this time Pichegru attacked Wurmser with renewed impetuosity within the lines of Weissenburg, till the aged warrior became conscious that he could not maintain his position without the aid of the Prussians, and therefore applied to the duke in order to induce him to form a junction with him. In this case he would have acted on the offensive and attacked Pichegru, instead of awaiting his attacks. On this occasion the duke played the character of a diplomatist and not that of a general. He hesitated, considered, and neither accepted nor rejected the proposal; he was unable to come to any resolution, appeared however ready to march on the 18th of December, when he again put off his decision and acted twice subsequently in the same manner, till the French adopted measures which rendered Wurmser's plans altogether incapable of being carried into effect, which might easily have been done ten days previously. A junction had been formed between the armies of the Saar and the Vosges, and Hoche appointed commander-in-chief of both. This united force attacked the Prussians and Austrians at the same time along the whole lines, and kept up their assaults from the 22nd till the 26th of December. The Austrian lines were broken through; they were obliged to leave to the enemy the lines of Weissenburg, consisting of a chain of field-works and redoubts which had been constructed by Vauban, and complained loudly and publicly that they had been intentionally sacrificed by the duke. We do not venture to decide on the justice of the complaint, but it seems to us established that the position within the lines was rendered untenable, especially by the conduct of the troops of the Bavarian palatinate, which had been sent on the 22nd as auxiliaries to the Austrians, but left their camp without awaiting any serious attack.

In consequence of these events, the Prussian and Austrian commanders separated full of indignation against one another.

The Austrians evacuated the whole left bank of the Rhine, and returned to the right one by Philippsburg and Mannheim. The deputies from the convention who were with the army were too well informed of all the intrigues which were carried on with the Prussians, to follow their army too hotly in its retreat to Worms. As early as the 6th of January the duke of Brunswick demanded his recall, and published a very remarkable paper for his justification in taking this step. In this document the duke expresses himself very strongly respecting the pitiful measures adopted by the allies, both in the cabinet and in the field. He gives it to be understood, that the allied powers, with the limited means of their antiquated monarchies and aristocracies, were in no condition to make head against the colossal democratic energy of the French. This is the real substance of the ducal declaration, if not the actual words. The declaration however would be much more surprising did we not know that they had long been weary of the war in Berlin, and were by no means displeased that the duke should have openly declared against it.

Haugwitz in the meantime prevented the duke from effecting what was, properly speaking, his intention,—to have his resignation refused, and still to be left at the head of the army. He obtained leave to retire, but Möllendorf, who entertained the same political views as the duke, came in his stead. The Prussians were no longer willing to carry on a war at their own cost, in which, as they thought, they were not concerned, although the French were on the Rhine. If however the Prussian armies were inactive, their diplomatists were the very reverse. They travelled hither and thither to Berlin, Brussels and Vienna, and Lucchesini, like a bird of ill-omen, was continually on the wing. At length even Thugut, Colloredo and Lacy, to whom the emperor Francis had given up the helm of the state, came to the singular conclusion of proposing terms of peace to the dreadful decemvirs of terror. The marquis Barthélemy, who in the following year conducted the negotiations for peace with Prussia, because he was a man of the old times and belonging to the ancient nobility, although at the same time republican ambassador in Switzerland, carried the Austrian proposals to the rulers of France, who however were at that time totally disinclined to enter upon the subject.

The English again helped the allies out of their difficulties by money. The Belgian estates were not so willing as the English

parliament to furnish money for bribing princes and their ministers, but the count de Mercy Argenteau hoped to render them better-disposed by the presence of the emperor, who was to come into the Netherlands for that purpose. Everything indicated speedy destruction ; for whilst Carnot was eager to let loose upon Belgium the whole mass of the warlike French nation, intoxicated with victory and inspired with enthusiasm, the incapable leaders of the hired mercenaries were engaged in holding conferences and revels, and their diplomatists in drawing up the details of plans suggested or hewn out by the duke of York and general Mack. At the very moment when this terrific storm was threatening to burst, the emperor himself came to Belgium, and in the person of Mack, again brought with him the bird which always portends shipwreck. Mack was appointed chief of the general staff; he and the duke of York projected the plan of the campaign, which in February 1794 was submitted for consideration to a meeting composed of singular elements. In addition to the two plan-makers, together with the prince of Coburg, the hereditary prince of Orange, and Clairfait, there were invited to the council a great number of subordinate generals, princes and counts, and the multitude of councillors as well as their quality was in itself sufficient to give an ill-omen to the results of such a council of war. The two chiefs took a journey to London with the plan so devised, in order to submit their views to the English ministry, which it was first requisite to consult, before proceeding to carry it into execution. The prince regent and the English cabinet would have done well had they left the whole affair to lord Cornwallis, who had just returned from India, and was called in to advise. The whole scheme was based upon two suppositions assumed by Mack and the prince of Coburg, which the duke of York took for granted ;—first, that a great land force would be organized by the Germans ; and secondly, that this force, in connexion with the troops of the empire, which had no existence, would be in a condition to defend the Rhine frontier, because it was their intention to order Möllendorf to march to Treves and to employ his aid in their undertakings in the Low Countries.

The plan was communicated to Möllendorf, who was already fully aware that Prussia was anxious to renounce the coalition ; he therefore concealed his refusal to march to Treves, under the pretence that both Mack's suppositions were unfounded, and

that it was impossible for him to leave the Rhine, in consequence of the danger which was threatening Mayence*. The danger to which Möllendorf referred in his answer of the 4th of March appeared so imminent to the elector of Mayence, that he again fled to Aschaffenburg. There was so little reason to calculate upon the display of any German patriotism, that in the previous year all the mercenaries, not only those of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and of the Hanoverian aristocracy, but also those of Hesse Darmstadt and Baden, merely shed their blood in return for English money, and were therefore employed precisely as the English pleased. Prussia at that time began to play the game of enlarging her territories at the expense of the German nation, by means of her ruling minister Charles Augustus von Hardenberg, by the acquisition of the principalities of Anspach and Bayreuth; this game received its crowning reward in the peace of Basle. Hardenberg during the months of February and March intrigued at the same time with the German princes and with three commissioners of the committee of public welfare. The latter first came to Mayence on the 16th of February, under the pretence of negotiating for an exchange of prisoners, afterwards proceeded to meet Kalkreuth at Frankfurt, who received them with every demonstration of honour, and thus made it manifest to all Germany that Prussia had changed her policy. These events were connected with the influence which Hardenberg had acquired in Berlin.

Charles Augustus von Hardenberg was in conduct and princi-

* The whole plan, which we shall not venture to criticise, as we confine ourselves wholly to the results, will be found, together with an opinion upon it, in the 'Austrian Military Journal' for 1831, no. 4. pp. 3-18. It is however very obvious how much the parties reckoned without their host in this affair, from the following passage: "So far the plan of operations proceeds from Brussels. On the part of Prussia *no one* was invited to the consultation, because it was undecided whether Prussia would withdraw its armies from the scene of war or not. And it was not till the English minister had given assurance to baron Mack, who was sent from the head-quarters on a mission to London, that they might rely with *moral* certainty, not only on the remaining, but on the increase of the Prussian armies, that the plans of operation were communicated to Möllendorf in Mayence on the 3rd of March, and a day later to Brown, the commander of the army of the Upper Rhine; *but to both—merely such parts as affected themselves*. It will not therefore be wondered at that Möllendorf answered in the following terms on the 4th of March:—"That he was not aware of the share which the court of Berlin had in the plan communicated to him; but that the plan itself contained just ideas, which might be carried into effect: that he himself in the present situation of affairs was exposed to many inconveniences, and *moreover by a march to Treves would expose Mayence to the enemy.*"

ples a distinguished gentleman of the clever court circle of Louis XV. and his contemporaries. This is no reproach, as Kaunitz also belonged to the same circle; he did not however give occasion to public scandals as Hardenberg did. Hardenberg was first active in Brunswick, when the duke had given currency to the principle that chastity was a virtue only obligatory on common people, and he was therefore very welcome at that time in Berlin, and completely suited to the society and court of Frederick William II. At the time in which Hardenberg was recommended to the king of Prussia by the duke of Brunswick, the former was already aware that the loose and extravagant Christian Frederick Charles Alexander, margrave of Anspach and Bayreuth, might probably be induced to surrender his territories, even during his lifetime, to the king of Prussia, to whom they would fall on his death, because he had no children born according to the legal conditions of the empire. The king therefore had cogent reasons for bringing Hardenberg into the service of the margrave. The margrave, as was well-known in his time, had acquired the same sort of celebrity by his subjection to Clairon, a French actress, whom amongst a number of other ladies he honoured by his attentions, which Charles Theodore, the elector of Mayence, the duke of Brunswick, the king of Prussia and many other princes enjoyed. Hardenberg was minister at the very time when Clairon, who had ruled the court, country and people for seventeen years, was obliged to make way for an English lady. This Englishwoman was Elizabeth Berkeley, then widow of lord Craven. She however could only be won by marriage, and the children of their marriage could only be properly provided for by an arrangement with Prussia, which Hardenberg effected to the satisfaction of both parties. At the conferences respecting the cession of Anspach and Bayreuth, there were no parties present with the king and the margrave except Hardenberg and lady Craven. It was agreed that the principalities should be surrendered to the king of Prussia at the end of the year 1791, and as a compensation, the margrave was to receive a large annuity from the king.

The margrave afterwards married lady Craven and went with her to England; Hardenberg returned from Berlin, where all these arrangements had been made, was appointed Prussian minister of state in Bayreuth, took possession of the provinces by an edict dated the 25th of January 1792, and remained to

conduct the administration. In the beginning of 1794 he met von Schulenberg, then minister of war, on the Rhine, not to devise means for defending this German river, but to prevent their adoption. The emperor had at length submitted the proposal of raising a regular imperial army, and the two Prussian ministers went so far to prevent this scheme as to endeavour to persuade the German courts through their intrigues, that it would be much more advisable to subsidize a Prussian army for the defence of the empire. These intrigues were closely connected with the declaration which the king of Prussia caused to be made through his ambassador to the prince of Coburg in Brussels, that the king, of his whole army, would only leave his contingent to the army of the empire, on the Rhine. The allies knew however that Haugwitz and the countess Lichtenau, and even the king himself, were to be had for money; they therefore instructed colonel Mack as early as February to reckon upon Prussia, although the treaty was not concluded with Haugwitz till the 19th of April. By virtue of this treaty, England and Holland, as it was expressed in courtly language, promised a subsidy, but properly speaking they hired a Prussian army for their use. On the same day on which the bargain with Prussia was closed, Holland and England came to an understanding as to the sum which each was to contribute for the payment of the subsidies.

Prussia received 300,000*l.* cash in hand; at the end of the war she was to receive 100,000*l.* more, and 50,000*l.* monthly during its continuance; on her part she stipulated to send an army of 62,400 men wheresoever the allies chose to employ their services. The English however in fact lost their money, for Möllendorf persevered in the determination which he had communicated on the 4th of March, and when he gave any assistance it came too late. The archduke Charles had, it is true, been made commander of the artillery, but neither he nor Clairfait possessed that influence which they ought to have had. Everything was managed by Thugut and the imperial council of war in Vienna, and when the emperor came to Belgium, he brought Thugut, Colloredo, and Trautmannsdorf with him, and they, in connexion with Coburg and Mack, who were not agreed, consulted and intrigued much more than they acted. As long moreover as three distinct French armies were opposed to the allies, the latter were successful, and even obtained some splendid victories;

but they had no skill in quickly profiting by their advantages, and afterwards were completely beaten by the masses of an army united under one general, which was let loose upon them. The Austrian accounts estimate the united forces in the Netherlands, including the reserve under the hereditary prince of Orange, which before the commencement of the campaign lay between Huy and Maestricht and was 12,000 strong, at 160,000 men; these troops extended from Ghent, the head-quarters of the duke of York, to Treves, and had their centre at Ypres. This vast force was opposed by three French armies, whose chief and also subordinate generals we must mention, because they have all become immortal in the history of military achievements.

Jourdan was between the Saar and the Moselle at the head of the army of the Moselle. Between Philippeville and Charlemont, Charbonnier was commander of the army of Ardennes. The army of the north, under Pichegru, extended from Givet to Dunkirk. Pichegru, as younger in command, afterwards served under Jourdan, who for a time was commander-in-chief of the whole. Under Pichegru served Moreau; under Charbonnier, Kleber, Marceau and Marescot; under Jourdan, Championnet. The French profited by the winter to accustom the raw troops, of which a great part of their army was composed, to some little military training, by employing them in petty engagements; the commencement of the campaign was therefore favourable to the allies. The number of their enemies however increased every day, because the whole nation and all its means were put in requisition against commanders such as Coburg and York, who dreamt of opposing such generals as we have just named with plans upon paper, drawn up and devised by princes and counts! By the numerous consultations and despatches hither and thither from the Austrians to the Prussians, and from the Prussians to the Austrians, the opening of the campaign was delayed till the middle of April, and then it was commenced according to ancient usage by the siege of Landrecies. This fortress was reduced to extremities, when the French, on the 26th of April, made an attack along the whole line from the frontiers of Luxemburg to Flanders. On this occasion the duke of York gained a splendid victory at Cateau and Catillon, took the leader of the enemy prisoner, drove the French back to Cambray, and obtained thirty-seven pieces of cannon. The Austrians in the

centre also repulsed the French, but the allies were threatened with being outflanked on their extreme wings in West Flanders and on the frontiers of Luxemburg.

Whilst Chapuis made his attack at Landrecies, the two generals had been successful upon the extreme wings, Jourdan against Beaulieu at Arlon, and Pichegru in West Flanders against Clairfait. Menin was hard-pressed by Pichegru; Clairfait was anxious to hasten to the relief of the city, but was defeated near Moescron on the 29th, not far from Courtray, at the same time as Landrecies was taken by the allies. This fortress surrendered on the 30th, after having been almost laid in ashes by a bombardment of fifty hours' duration. The French having penetrated far into Flanders, the centre of the allies was exposed to great danger, and the duke of York set out on the 30th of April in great haste for Tournay, where he arrived on the 3rd of May; in the meantime Mack, Coburg, and Thugut were unhappily active. The first insisted upon his plan of marching direct to Paris, which however wholly depended upon covering themselves in West Flanders by cutting the dikes, and in Treves by means of Möllendorf's Prussians; he therefore secured even the support of the emperor, who was in West Flanders, in favour of his plans. On the other hand, Coburg and Thugut intrigued for a different result, because they then secretly thought what they afterwards openly said, that it would be more politic to leave the defence of Belgium to the English and Dutch, than to exhaust Austria for that purpose.

Carnot was anxious to profit by the difference of opinions, views and plans which existed among the allies, and the committee of public welfare approved of his plan of suddenly reinforcing the army of the north, in order to separate the English and Dutch from the Austrians. The victory which Souham and Moreau gained on the 18th of May at Turcoing was the omen of a successful issue for the French, whilst Pichegru had gone to the right wing to devise measures for the junction of the army of the north under his command with the armies of Ardennes and the Sambre. On this occasion the duke of York was particularly unfortunate, for he was completely shut up, lost his artillery (sixty-five pieces), and would have been taken prisoner himself had he not been saved by the swiftness of his horse and the protection of some hundred men belonging to the reserve. The victory at Turcoing however contributed nothing

to decide the struggle, for it soon became obvious that the affair must be determined on the Sambre, because Flanders was lost, as soon as the French were able to maintain themselves on the further side of the Sambre and to take possession of Charleroi. The whole attention of the allies therefore was directed to Charleroi; Pichegru also continued to maintain his ground in Flanders in the neighbourhood of Ypres, although the allies had taken a bloody revenge for the defeat which had been suffered at Turcoing on the 22nd of May. Almost every week an engagement of greater or less importance was fought in Flanders, as well as attempts made to pass the Sambre; the Austrians fought like heroes and made large sacrifices in men. The French received reinforcements almost daily, whilst the allies either received none or to a very inconsiderable amount. The struggle was carried on in Flanders in and around Ypres till the middle of May, and Clairfait as well as Coburg were prevented from marching to the Sambre, because the duke of York needed their assistance in Flanders; it at length appeared that the main body of the French was advancing upon Charleroi. The French were driven back four times across the Sambre,—the fifth time they maintained their ground and invested Charleroi. Whilst the brave soldiers were thus fighting and shedding their blood, and Clairfait was performing almost impossibilities, Coburg and Thugut had come to the conclusion in the cabinet as early as the 24th of May, that it would be more advantageous altogether to evacuate the Low Countries.

This was the result of that notorious military and political council of war which was held by Coburg and Thugut on the 24th of May in Tournay. The whole body there assembled approved of Coburg's and Thugut's opinion, that instead of making new efforts for the maintenance of the Netherlands, it would be much more advantageous to march into Poland, in order to snatch from the Russians and Prussians a share of their booty. This resolution was indeed kept very secret, and the English and Dutch gave themselves unspeakable trouble to induce Möllendorf to appear on the Sambre, when the whole stress of the struggle was concentrated around Charleroi; but all who were acquainted with Thugut, concluded from the quick departure of the emperor on the 9th of June, that it had been determined to relinquish the Netherlands. In order to induce the Prussians to do something for the money which they had

received, lord Malmesbury and the Dutch ambassador importuned Haugwitz, whom they met in Maestricht, to issue commands to this effect to Möllendorf. Haugwitz however declined, had recourse to one of his numerous diplomatic artifices and went to Poland, whither his friend Lucchesini had already preceded him. When the ambassadors applied to Hardenberg, who still lingered on the Rhine, speculating upon a peace with France, they obtained from him the fairest promises in Kirkheim-Polanden, where they met him, and afterwards in Möllendorf's camp; the affair however ended by Möllendorf sending a special messenger to the king in Poland, especially to ask his opinion; before the answer arrived, Belgium was occupied.

In the meantime Jourdan carried out what Carnot had designed. He united the army of the north with those of Ardennes and the Sambre, as well as with 15,000 men whom he had caused to be sent from the army on the Rhine. The army of the Rhine was at that time under the command of Michaud, who had received express orders to limit himself for the present to the defence of the frontiers. Jourdan's army, when it passed the Sambre in order to besiege Charleroi, is stated at 76,000 men, besides the 15,000 which remained under Scherer between Maubeuge and Thonin. About the time in which Jourdan wished to make his main attack, things were in a very bad condition in Flanders, and the duke of York was totally unwilling to acquiesce in the prince of Coburg's marching to the Sambre, because he alleged something must happen, and that the chief object of his government should be the protection of Holland. When the prince afterwards marched, he required Clairfait, who was at Thiel, to advance into his positions, in order that he himself might remain nearer to Holland. Such an exchange could not be effected in the presence of the enemy, and therefore remained unaccomplished; it is easy to be seen however from the demand, how necessary it was to have one bold general, such as Clairfait, among a number of political ones, such as the duke of York, Coburg, Thugut and Wallis were. Moreover, before Coburg left his position to march to the Sambre, the fate of Flanders had been already decided. On the 1st of June the French army had appeared at Ypres, and on the 5th the siege of the city was commenced in due form; the allies were therefore obliged to attempt their utmost to save themselves, because the city of Ypres was no sooner in the hands of

the enemy than they were outflanked on the side towards the sea. Clairfait made this attempt on the 13th of June, but was repulsed with loss by Moreau and Souham, who then commanded under Pichegru, and the town was compelled to surrender by capitulation on the 27th. By the terms of the capitulation, the garrison, consisting of 6400 men, fell into the hands of the French; that however was a thing of inferior moment, the chief advantage being, that at the same moment the allies were outflanked on the west side towards the sea, when Jourdan set the whole success of the game on outflanking them also on the east by Charleroi. By the conquest of Ypres the way was opened for the French as far as Ostend, and at the other end they maintained themselves in their fifth passage over the Sambre, on the further side of the river, and invested Charleroi, which was very imperfectly fortified.

Shortly before, on the day previous to the surrender of Ypres, the allies had been successful in repulsing an attack made by Jourdan, drove him back across the river on his fourth attempt to make the passage, and compelled him to raise the siege of Charleroi. The unsuccessful attack made by the French army under Jourdan upon the allies, or the battle which was fought on the 16th, five hours from Namur, is called the *first battle of Fleurus*, because a second was fought on the same ground ten days afterwards. Jourdan was not in a condition at that time to maintain himself on the further side of the river, and was obliged to relinquish the siege of Charleroi, because, according to the Austrians' accounts in their military journal, he had lost 8000 men in the fourth passage of the river. Had not Coburg been detained at that time in the neighbourhood of the Scheldt, as we have already stated, by the duke of York and his own want of resolution, and had he immediately followed the French across the Sambre, the issue would no doubt have been very different from what it afterwards really was. It was not till Jourdan passed the Sambre for the fifth time and pressed Charleroi closely, that Coburg put his troops in motion. On the 21st of June, the Austrians and Dutch under Coburg separated from the duke of York and hastened to meet Jourdan, in order to offer a decisive engagement; the prince however, according to his custom, delayed the attack till the 26th, when it was too late.

Every one at that time gave utterance to loud complaints respecting the ruinous political intrigues of the prince, Thugut,

and Wallis, president of the imperial council of war, whose speculations regarding Poland prevented a proper supply of reinforcements and materials of war to the army under the brave Clairfait and the archduke Charles in Flanders. We shall not attempt to follow any of these secret intrigues further than reports are justified by well-known facts—and touch therefore very slightly upon what was less certain, dwelling only upon undeniable facts. Among these may be reckoned the fact, that the attack upon the French pretended to be undertaken for the relief of Charleroi was foolish, if the prince, as some say, previously knew that Charleroi had fallen; at all events it was totally unjustifiable, after he had made the attack, to make the report of the fall of Charleroi, as he alleged, an excuse for ordering his army to retreat, as is stated to have been really the case, according to the Austrian accounts. The prince of Orange declared that the second battle, fought on the 26th of June, in which the French lost more men than the allies, was not lost; the prince of Coburg on the contrary, by his orders to retreat, gave the French all the advantages of a victory. The French indeed boast of a complete and splendid victory, which they ascribe less to Jourdan than to Kleber and Bernadotte. If the retreat from the field of Fleurus was not the result of the conference held by Coburg, Wallis and Thugut in Tournay, the cowardly and unpatriotic care for the special interests of Austria was undoubtedly the only reason for declining to fight another decisive battle, when the armies under Coburg, Clairfait and York were still near to one another; Coburg however ordered Clairfait to join the forces under his command; neither tried to defend Flanders or Brussels, left the English and Dutch to take care of themselves as they best could, and marched from Brussels to Tirlemont in order to take refuge behind the Ourthe. Pichegru continued to press the duke of York and Clairfait, whilst Jourdan pursued Coburg; the former took possession of Bruges and Ostend, whilst Moreau besieged and reduced Nieuport and Sluys. From Ghent Pichegru turned to Brussels, where he formed a junction with Jourdan, and on the 11th of July the left wing of the French army rested on Vilvorde, whilst the centre was at Brussels and the right at Namur; on the 17th Pichegru was in Antwerp, and Jourdan pressed forward into the bishopric of Liege. At the end of July the prince of Coburg had retired behind the Meuse, and had it depended wholly on him, he would

on this occasion have immediately evacuated Maestricht. The overthrow of the reigning triumvirate in France was connected with all kinds of diplomatic negotiations, whose dark windings we cannot here follow through all the labyrinths of intrigue into which we should be obliged to venture if we wished to withdraw the veil which conceals them. First of all they effected a species of truce till the month of September; the French turned this period of inactivity in the field to much better account than the allies. During this interval they directed the whole of their forces towards the fortresses of Landrecies, Quesnoy, Valenciennes and Condé, which were still in the hands of the allies; they next sent their troops to the frontiers and laid siege to Luxemburg, whilst the allies employed the time in intrigues and the Germans in consultations. In the reports contained in the Austrian journals, it is really melancholy to read the account of all that the German princes *wished and proposed* to do, and to find afterwards that they actually *did nothing*. The two points of great importance to the allies were, to keep up their communications with the Rhine, and to maintain possession of the high roads to Limburg and Luxemburg, as well as a free intercourse with Holland. For these purposes they had special need of the assistance of the army of Prussian mercenaries under Möllendorf. Long negotiations had been carried on respecting the maintenance of these troops as well as the raising and organizing of an imperial army; the former of these points had given rise to some threatening declarations on the part of the Prussian general, and the second to a multitude of ordinances issued by the German governments, all of which were mere waste paper. The operations on the Rhine were first commenced in April, for in the beginning of the year 1794, Wurmser had given up the command to Browne, and he again to duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, whose military skill was of a very moderate description; Möllendorf also very unwillingly lent his aid in securing Austrian victories. The Austrians and Prussians however at length advanced, when the French in May directed the whole of their forces against the Netherlands; on the 23rd Möllendorf gained a victory at Kaiserslautern, and the enemy were driven beyond the Queich. This was all that took place. From this moment forward no attempts were made to advance, and the allies acted wholly on the defensive till the French had accomplished their object. During this period of inaction some sharp

and angry correspondence took place between duke Albert and Möllendorf. The former first moved his camp from Schwetzingen to Spires on the 3rd of July, and the latter at length sent reinforcements to the entrenchments and field-works which he had formed on the heights near the Saar and Nahe, whilst Michaud again had his army on the Rhine reinforced till it amounted to 60,000 men. Michaud was at that time assisted by Dessaix, who was indisputably superior to all the generals of the allies. During the whole month of June, the French were allowed to pursue all their plans in the Netherlands undisturbed; 34,000 Austrians and 50,000 Prussians were scattered through the extensive lines which stretched from Spires to Treves, and on the 20th of June, at a personal interview, lord Cornwallis endeavoured in vain to persuade Möllendorf to march to the Netherlands. The first attack made by the French on these extensive lines, on the 3rd of July, was attended by no splendid results, but immediately afterwards duke Albert and Möllendorf again fell into disputes, because the latter would not extend his position as far as Neustadt in the Hardt. This was an evil omen for the issue of the struggle, which the French renewed by an attack on the whole lines on the 13th. Möllendorf was at that time compelled to march to Kirkheim-Polanden; duke Albert had despatched all his baggage over the Rhine to Mannheim on the 13th, and he himself hastened to cross the river on the 14th. He and his troops however returned to the left bank; for when the duke again reached his head-quarters in Schwetzingen, Möllendorf was attacked afresh, and a grand council of war summoned and held in his head-quarters. On the 26th of July, the prince of Coburg, the duke of Saxe-Teschen, prince Reuss and colonel von Gravert of the Prussian service all met in Möllendorf's head-quarters, and agreed that the Austrians should again occupy and maintain the left bank of the Rhine as far as and beyond Mayence, and that count Kalkreuth with a Prussian corps should take up a position between the Nahe and Moselle in order to prevent the occupation of Treves.

It was said that Kalkreuth, who at that very time was co-operating with Hardenberg to bring about a negotiation for peace with the French, was rather well-pleased at a hint being given to the French of their intention. It is true that the French really received such a hint, and on the 9th of August anticipated the execution of the agreement by the occupation of

Treves; we must however remark, to the honour of the Prussians, that they maintained an honourable reputation in a great number of battles, and nobly kept their ground at Kaiserslautern and Hundsrück, although Möllendorf had long threatened, that if his master's territories on the Lower Rhine were not defended, he should be obliged to withdraw his army and hasten thither. As early as the 16th of September, the king of Prussia caused a note to be delivered in Vienna, in which he announced his intention of withdrawing his troops from the Rhine, because he had need of their services in Poland; we shall see however that Möllendorf did not cross the Rhine till the 20th and 21st of October, when there was nothing left to defend on the left bank of the river.

However useful we regard the practice of severely blaming the faults of our best friends and our country, which we ardently love, in order to prove to them that we do not aim at wooing their favour by insincerity and flattery, we prefer on this occasion drawing a veil over the melancholy spectacle which Germany at that time presented. Austria *publicly* accused Prussia, and Prussia accused Austria; the diet complained, that although the estates of the empire on the 4th of May and the 14th of June had engaged for and undertaken the payment of the Prussian contingent, the empire was neither defended by the Prussians nor Austrians, whilst Prussia and Austria united in throwing all the blame upon the estates of the empire. The Dutch severely reproached both the emperor and the empire with having done nothing for the money which they received, and Austria threatened to leave the empire to its fate. The threat however was happily averted by the English, who sent lord Spencer with two millions of subsidies, which he promised for two years; the money was too attractive to Thugut, Wallis and others, not to secure their best endeavours to induce the emperor to make the boldest attempts. They were unwillingly obliged to give up their prince of Coburg, who died in 1815, totally forgotten; on the other hand, the English, or rather the duke of York, brought back Mack, who had been previously sent away, although he held no command. On the 10th of September Coburg resigned the chief command of the army to Clairfait, and at the same time Melas undertook the command of the Austrian corps between the Nahe and Moselle. The Prussians still delayed on the Rhine, and general Blucher had an important share in the victory at Kaiserslautern, the consequence of which was, that

the French were obliged to retreat to Pirmasens on the 20th of September.

All the efforts of the combined Austrian and Prussian forces on the Moselle and in the Palatinate were now however of little advantage, because the allies were separated from one another, and Clairfait was unable to maintain himself either on the Meuse or the Roer. Hostilities had been again commenced on the Meuse and Scheldt in the beginning of September with redoubled vigour, and the English had been separated from the Dutch since the 18th of September, because the duke of York, hard-pressed by Pichegru, made a very unskilful retreat on the Lower Meuse, and Herzogenbusch had been invested ever since the 18th of September. At the same time as Pichegru pushed forward between the English and Dutch, Jourdan succeeded in completely cutting off the communications between the Austrians and Dutch, and an auxiliary corps of Austrians alone under Alvinzy formed a weak line of communication on the Rhine. Jourdan's army was increased to 80,000 men; on the 17th he drove the Austrians under Latour over the Ourthe, so that by the loss of their position near Liege, the left wing of the main army on the Meuse was exposed, and Clairfait was therefore obliged to retire behind that river. The French, now superior in numbers, pushed forward with all that eagerness and impetuosity which they always display in victory, and after Jourdan had taken Aix la Chapelle, they reached Juliers on the 22nd, where they found Clairfait posted on the Roer. On the 2nd of October the Austrians were at the same time attacked in all their positions at Aldenhoven, two hours from Juliers; they however maintained their ground on most points, although Jourdan was seconded by Bernadotte, Kleber, Championnet and Marceau, so that Clairfait might have fought a second battle in the following day. He did not however deem it advisable and withdrew behind the Erft. Between the 5th and the 6th the Austrians then crossed the Rhine, and the whole left bank of that river, as far as Mayence, was given up to the enemy. On the 6th of October Jourdan reached Cologne, and Coblenz as early as the 26th. In the night between the 20th and 21st, Mollendorf had crossed the Rhine. Melas continued to defend Mayence against Kleber, who at first successfully invested it, but even in December 1794 found he would be obliged to commence a regular siege, and therefore gave his troops some repose.

The defences of the Rhine at Mannheim were surrendered by capitulation on the 24th of December, after the town itself had been seriously injured by a dreadful bombardment; Mayence alone, on the left bank of the Rhine, remained in the hands of the imperialists, whose armies were distributed from Mannheim to Basle. There was still indeed a small imperial auxiliary corps under Alvinzy with the Dutch; it was however clearly foreseen, that in case of a hard frost, which would prepare the way, the whole republic must necessarily become the prey of the French, because all the fortresses which were considered impregnable had been reduced in an incredibly short time. On the 7th of October, Moreau took Herzogenbusch, and Pichegru Venloo on the 26th. On the 4th of November, Kleber, Bernadotte and Marescot reduced Maestricht; on the 8th, Souham, who was under Moreau, took possession of Nimeguen. As early as the 2nd of December the duke of York perceived that he could not save Holland and took his departure for London, leaving Wallmoden, who succeeded to the command, to discover means for helping himself as he best could.

§ IV.

HISTORY OF THE YEARS 1795—1797.

a. HISTORY OF THE FRENCH CONVENTION FROM THE 27TH OF JULY 1794 TILL ITS DISSOLUTION IN OCTOBER 1795.

We have already observed, that no immediate change of the prevailing system could be effected by the overthrow of the triumvirate, because such a change would have involved a judicial inquiry against those who had been the most active in bringing about the result, and the originators of the revolution of the 9th Thermidor could not possibly accede to such a measure. Fouché, Tallien, Barrère, Barras, Lecointre, Legendre, Vadier, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois and such men, who were called thermidorians, did not wish to leave the fruits of their victory to others, but wished to reap them themselves; they were however prudent enough to see that the victories of the French armies rendered a return to those principles absolutely necessary, which might be abused or set at nought as long as the existence of the republic was threatened. The majority of the deputies had

never been favourable to ultra-revolutionary measures, but they were unable to resist the energetic minority, which was supported by the prevailing or rather universal public opinion, as far as opinion was expressed; public opinion now however underwent a complete change, and sound reason the more readily again obtained the preponderance, as both the policy and advantage of the republic demanded moderation.

The committees of public welfare and general safety were it is true retained, but the one was limited to foreign affairs and the other to the high police; and they were also deprived of the right of causing a deputy to the convention to be arrested. In addition to this, both committees had at least partly been renewed, and it was immediately decreed that *four new members* should be nominated every month to replace those who were to retire, and who were not to be re-eligible*. At first the revolutionary tribunal and even Fouquier Tinville were also retained, and the jacobin club, which had been forcibly closed by Legendre on the 9th Thermidor, was again afterwards opened with his assent. It now required great skill, artifice and revolutionary tactics to withdraw the remnant of the cordeliers, of whom the thermidorians consisted, from the hands of the government. We shall take but a very cursory notice of the struggle, which occupied all minds in Paris after the 9th Thermidor, although the subject is generally speaking and with propriety treated in great detail by French writers; it possesses however less interest for Europe than for the French, inasmuch as it was a struggle for vengeance and retaliation among individuals, rather than a contest of parties or a dispute concerning principles and opinions. We may observe in general, that those called thermidorians were equally hated by the higher classes and the masses of the people, which had hitherto ruled; they therefore eagerly sought for support from whatever quarter it might be derived. Fréron now found it advisable in his journal to rouse the passions of those whom he had hitherto persecuted as aristocrats against those who had hitherto played the part of the sovereign people. From 1788 he had contrived to collect around him the grown-up sons of the ladies and gentlemen of the salons and became their organ. These young people, with powdered hair,

* See Fantin Desodoard's 'Histoire Philosophique,' vol. v. pp. 417—424, which contains a "Tableau des membres de la convention nationale, qui ont composé les comités de salut public et de sûreté générale."

high cravats and sticks, were called Fréron's *gilded youth* (la jeunesse dorée), or, on account of their cravats, *muscadins*; under his orders they frequented the Palais Royal, seized the jacobins in the streets and squares, opposed to their fists the fashionable sticks which they carried in their hands, and to their Marseillaise the song of the people's awaking and of their revenge*. The government, which had been previously concentrated in the two committees, was now again divided into sixteen committees, and before the end of the year a termination was put to the mischievous influence of the jacobin club, and the place of their meeting definitively closed. This step led to a desperate struggle between the enemies and friends of the jacobins, and the thermidorians were again obliged to admit their bitterest enemies, the remnant of the girondists, into the convention, if they did not wish to submit to the power and influence of those who were obliged to defend the cause of the jacobins in order to save their own lives. Notwithstanding all the apparent confusion and anarchy of the times, a system was still carried on, whose tendency was to abolish the ochlocracy without materially injuring democracy. Inasmuch as there would have been great reason to fear the overthrow of the new edifice, which was good in itself and free from the dangerous and corrupt elements of a destructive hierarchy, priestcraft, and seigneurial privileges and immunities, if the sovereign people and the revolutionary tribunal were wholly deprived of influence and efficacy, some changes only were effected in both. For the same reason, the revolutionary committees of the communes were not completely abolished, but the number of their meetings was limited and the times for their assembling specially determined. The sectional assemblies also, which formed the main stays and instruments of the Mountain, were limited to one in every decade, and as early as the 21st of August a decree was passed, that the citizens who attended these assemblies should no longer receive allowances from the public treasury; that is, they ceased to give premiums for attendance. From this time forward, the poor and destitute had no longer

* One stanza of the 'Réveil du Peuple' may serve as a specimen:—

“Manes plaintifs de l'innocence
 Apaisez-vous dans vos tombeaux;
 Le jour tardif de la vengeance
 Fait enfin pâlir vos bourreaux.”

The whole may be seen in Wachsmuth, part 2. pp. 378, 379.

any reason for persecuting and oppressing every well-dressed person, as they had had before. One measure after another, which had been adopted during the reign of terror, was ameliorated, and almost every week the struggle in the convention became more and more violent, because renewed attempts were made to bring one or other of the terrorists to the bar of justice and to retribution; unhappily however the men and women of the salons at this period again regained their influence. Two of these salons represented the antagonists' parties, the old and the new *régime*, the former of which was frequented by Lacretelle and those like-minded, and the latter by the terrorists, their friends and allies.

Devaines, a friend of Turgot and of the financiers of the old times, received company and opened his salons, over which his wife presided; together with men who were decided royalists, such as Suard, Morellet, Boissy d'Anglas, Siméon, Menou and Bourgoing; these assemblies were frequented by Thibaudeau and Maret; and Talleyrand also, although his head-quarters were at madame de Staël's, was not unfrequently at their meetings, as well as other men of his class, who wished to learn how it would be advisable to set their sails*. In the salon of madame Tallien, formerly Fontenay-Cabarrus, who could then use her husband, because he had some political importance, although she afterwards threw him away like a sucked orange, Tallien called together his old acquaintances the terrorists, and among the rest Barras; these men were here introduced to the society of ladies of education and address. At these assemblies Barras first, and then Buonaparte, made the acquaintance of Josephine, the widow of general Alexander Beauharnais, whose husband had been the champion and became the sacrifice of the republic. At that time also madame Recamier, so celebrated for her beauty, the wife of the banker of that name, was at the very summit of her glory. She was a respectable woman, although the author, who became acquainted with her in 1834, and found Chateaubriand almost inseparable from her society, saw nothing to ad-

* "Nous passions," says Thibaudeau, i. p. 137, "la plupart de nos soirées chez lui. Le général Menou, l'amiral Truguet, le baron de Staël, Signeur consul-général de Suède, Maret, Bourgoing, le général Faucher formaient le fond habituel de la société. Il avait aussi des personnages diplomatiques, quelques députés et des hommes de l'ancien régime, Talleyrand, quand il fut de retour des États-Unis, son ami Sainte Foix et autres individus de cette clique, gens du bon ton et de la meilleure compagnie, qui exploitaient la révolution à leur profit."

mire in the powers of her mind; she also informed him, that professor Gans of Berlin had read essays and lectures on Hegel's philosophy in her salons. She united around her a number of persons who did not decisively belong to any particular party, and on the whole she was always of the same opinion as her friend madame de Staël. This lady was also the head of a *coterie* which was frequented by Talleyrand, after his friends had procured the repeal of the act of outlawry passed against him and he was permitted to return to Paris, as well as by all those Feuillants of 1791, who looked upon freedom and the prosperity of the people merely as a means, but not an end. On the 16th of October, the members of this salon, who were of course hostile to the jacobins, succeeded in completely breaking their power. A decree was passed, that as a preliminary to the definitive close of the parent club in Paris, it should be debarred from all intercourse and community with other clubs and deprived of its whole revolutionary organization*.

Fréron, Tallien and their companions afterwards resorted to the use of the same arts against the jacobins which the latter had previously employed against the convention. The *muscadins*, who were distinguished by their powdered tresses and high cravats, mixed amongst the hired and resolute fellows, abused and seized every jacobin with whom they met in the gardens of the Tuileries or in the Palais Royal. The assembling place of the club was beset by them, and the convention was speedily reduced to the greatest perplexity to determine, whether, in this persecution of these reckless and savage murderers, they should give ear to prudence or justice; for the affair affected the whole of the deputies in the convention†. There were three deputies who had especially drawn down upon themselves the public indignation, on account of their conduct during the reign of terror; these were, Carrier, for his barbarous cruelties in Nantes;

* In the decree of the 16th of October 1794, there was forbidden as "subversives du gouvernement et contraires à l'unité de la république, toutes affiliations, fédérations, correspondances en nom collectif, entre sociétés, sous quelques dénominations que ces sociétés existent."

† Thibaudeau, who at this time played a conspicuous part, says with justice, "La position de la convention était extrêmement difficile. Si elle refusait de poursuivre les terroristes, elle semblait s'associer à leurs crimes et se perdait dans l'opinion publique qui les avoit en horreur. Si elle leur faisoit leur procès, elle devait s'attendre à ce que les accusés lui répondissent, qu'ils n'avoient agi que d'après les ordres du comité de salut public, qu'ils lui avoient rendu compte de toutes leurs opérations, qu'elle les avoit approuvées formellement ou par son silence."

Maignet, on account of the murders perpetrated in Orange, and Lebon in Arras. The first of these men had provoked a universal feeling of abhorrence against himself by what he called his republican marriages, drowning human beings tied together in the Loire, and by his *noyades* and *fusillades*, drowning the people by boat-loads and shooting them *en masse*; and the two others by the mad and fanatical persecutions with which they pursued and slaughtered all the enemies of their opinions; every one therefore insisted upon their punishment. But what was now the course of Tallien, Fouché, Barras, Fréron and others, whose fanaticism was merely regulated by a larger measure of understanding? In answer to this natural inquiry, every one must be astonished to hear that these were the very men who tried, by means of the *gilded youth*, to compel their colleagues in the convention to consent to the condemnation of the men whose names we have mentioned. In November the convention was well-disposed to favour the reaction; but Barrère, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, the friends and colleagues of the fallen triumvirate, used every possible means to save the accused and to uphold the power of the jacobins. They roused their old friends in the faubourgs to assist the clubists in their continual encounters in the rue St. Honoré, and at the entrance to the club with the hired sticks of the muscadins. Three other deputies, who were at the same time members of the jacobin club, viz. Monestier and Gayvernon, both ecclesiastics, and Duhem a physician, also strained every nerve to rouse and encourage their companions; their time however was past. The consequence was a civil war upon a small scale, in which the convention and the committees, as far as possible, remained neutral. On the 9th of November, the gilded youth and their helper's helpers gained a regular victory. The besieged club was stormed, its assembled members maltreated, the women and children beaten with rods and the men with sticks, so that the four committees of war, legislation, public welfare and general safety were compelled to assemble in consequence of the tumult and to send a public force to protect the jacobins. The enraged jacobins armed themselves to have their revenge, and on the 11th there was again a regular engagement with sticks and clubs, in which both parties made prisoners, as if it had been a serious war.

The committees, which could easily have prevented all this, had

waited till things proceeded to such a length in order to have a legitimate excuse for putting an end to the club, which had now become useless. The four united committees therefore adopted a resolution to shut up the chamber of the jacobins and to bring away the keys. These measures were necessarily only provisional, but the convention confirmed them on the 12th: on this point it deserves to be particularly remarked, that Reubel and Bourdon de l'Oise were the persons who succeeded* in having that club finally shut up, out of whose bosom they themselves had sprung. The club was first closed for ever on the 24th of January 1795, and the hall in which it had been accustomed to hold its sittings appropriated for a normal school; on the 17th of May the whole convent was razed, and the place converted into a market. The committee of legislation had from September been industriously employed on a new constitution, in order again to separate government and legislation; on the 2nd of December the convention also recalled the cruel resolutions which they had passed against those of the royalists who still remained in La Vendée and Brittany, and caused an amnesty to be proclaimed in favour of all those in the insurrectionary districts, extending from Brest to Cherbourg, who should lay down their arms. This step in favour of the royalists was followed by another in favour of the seventy-three deputies who had been arrested and accused, but never summoned before the court, on account of their protest against the resolutions of the 2nd of June 1793, because Robespierre intentionally spared them. These persons were not only acquitted and set at liberty on the 8th of December, but again received into the convention, where they immediately pressed for the recall of their friends, those girondists who it is true had been outlawed, but happily escaped the guillotine. This could not be accomplished without a long and difficult struggle. On the 9th of March 1795, Lanjuinais, Isnard, Louvet, Henry Larivière, Doucet, Lareveillère-Lépeaux and some others, were again allowed to take their places at the sittings; but there were numerous exceptions of persons who had fled from the country. Their case came afterwards to be considered.

* Reubel observes of the event, "Qui regrette le régime affreux, sous lequel nous avons vécu? les jacobins. Si vous n'avez pas le courage de vous prononcer en ce moment, vous n'avez plus de république, parceque vous avez des jacobins."

From this moment all the friends of Robespierre and Danton began to feel serious apprehensions, and the demagogues of the preceding years again began to agitate and excite the masses in the capital. Carrier, Joseph Lebon and Maignet had at length been subjected to merited punishment. The restoration of the outlawed republican deputies on the 9th of March 1795 was especially the result of the need of their services which was felt, in order to be able in a stormy manner to maintain and carry through the accusations against the deputies Barrère, Vadier, Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois. All reasonable persons again entertained serious fears on the one hand respecting the newly-awakened tumult of the populace, who began tumultuously and threateningly to demand the constitution of 1793, that is, the renewal of anarchy, in the same manner as they had demanded the dethronement of the king; and on the other, regarding the wickedness of the men who sought to profit by the disturbances and fear of the anarchists, in order to overthrow every innovation. The violence of party spirit displayed itself in the same way as it had done in the case of the busts of Marat and Lepelletier. They were not satisfied with quietly removing them from the hall of the convention and the Pantheon, but they dragged them through the mud and threw them into the common sewer.

The chief step towards the annihilation of the dominion of the populace, which for four years had its centre in the common-council of Paris, was taken on the 21st of February 1795, by dividing the great republic of Paris and diminishing the more than kingly influence of the mayor. By a decree of the 12th of February, Paris was divided into twelve municipalities, so that from this time forward twelve mayors and as many councils watched over and administered the public interests in the capital, not as a whole, but as twelve distinct districts. Notwithstanding this, the old fanaticism in favour of freedom was awakened anew throughout the whole city on the prosecution of the four deputies, among a part of the citizens and a considerable number of the deputies, in consequence of the progress of the labour on the new constitution and the open efforts of the friends of the old *régime* to destroy all innovations and those who were the authors of them. The influence of the four accused deputies had the effect of again suggesting the idea of terrifying the convention by means of the people, and compelling them to pass decrees. The question on this occasion did not affect monsters in human form, who might be

accused as evil-doers, but political offenders, who had merely offended as members of the committee of public welfare, or as deputies of the convention, and acting on their commission.

Those who wish to examine more particularly the events of the time will find them very minutely recorded in Thibaudeau, who was at that moment president of the convention, and who gives an account of the nature of the petitions and the characters of the people, calling themselves *confederates* or men of 1793, who importuned and harassed the convention, and of the manner in which they boxed and fought with the muscadins in the gardens of the Tuileries. Thibaudeau is the best evidence as to the first, but Beaulieu, who was present at the scenes enacted, gives a more minute description of the second. The real object of these disturbances was to obstruct the accusation and trial of the four deputies, which was entrusted to a commission; but the leaders of them availed themselves of the dearth of provisions and deficient supplies under which the capital was suffering, as they had done in March 1793, and in Germinal, Floreal and Prairial (from the 21st of March till the 18th of June 1795) of the third year of the republic. The causes of the commotion have been very well stated by Thiers*. The women, the faubourgers and idle people of all kinds were roused to act in favour of the jacobins in the convention by the apprehension of dearth and want. The tumults and riots therefore daily increased, and the cry of *Bread and the constitution of 1793*, as well as the clamour against the aristocracy of the convention, became continually louder in March 1795, till at length it led to a serious and decisive tumult on the 21st of that month (the 1st of Germinal). The allies and friends of the accused terrorists divided themselves into two parties; the one, consisting of the great mass of the people, women, and mobs of all kinds, proceeded to the Tuileries in order to compel the convention to adopt such measures as the jacobins desired; the other, consisting of a number of stout apprentices and journeymen, went to the Palais Royal, maltreated the young gentlemen with powdered locks and high cravats, and even threw some of them into the water. The gilded youth at first fled; but having been reinforced, returned and conquered, and arrived at the Tuileries just in time to assist the convention, which was almost overpowered by the masses who presented the petition and shouted for the constitution of 1793. The committee of

* Hist. de la Rév. Franç. vol. vii. pp. 237—244.

general safety had already reinforced the young men advancing in triumph with a number of persons who volunteered their aid, and others who were called on for the protection of the convention. The promiscuous mass of assailants was speedily dissipated and the convention set at liberty*.

Advantage was taken of this unsuccessful tumult, as has been done of all *émeutes* in France since 1830, to carry out plans and to pass ordinances of which no one would have previously ventured to think. Siéyès, who had remained profoundly silent as long as there was any danger in speaking, now again opened his mouth; and he was the man who, on the 2nd, proposed a renewal of martial law, which had been abolished, but in an altered and severer form. By this law of the high police, as it was called, all tumultuary petitioning for the constitution of 1793 was made a criminal offence, and directions were also given as to the means to be employed for dispersing such riotous assemblies by force. In order to frustrate all attempts at scattering the convention by force and to prevent acts of violence against the deputies, their persons were declared to be inviolable; and a decree was passed, that in case the convention in Paris should be forcibly obstructed in the exercise of its functions, a new convention, to be elected according to forms therein prescribed, should be elected and assemble in Chalons, and at the head of the troops march against Paris. As it was well known that the four terrorists and their old friends had excited the tumult of the 1st of Germinal, the commission which had been appointed to examine and

* Beaulieu, vol. vi. pp. 135, 136, gives the following account of the events of the 1st of Germinal: "Les jacobins pour empêcher le résultat de l'accusation de Barrère et de ses complices, essayèrent une insurrection. Elle commença par une attaque contre les jeunes gens, dont quelques-uns furent jetés dans le bassin des Tuileries. On se battit à coups de cannes au Palais Royal, et la victoire parut pencher un moment pour les jacobins, mais il arriva du secours aux jeunes gens; elle se décida pour eux, les jacobins prirent la fuite. Du Palais Royal les vainqueurs se portèrent aux Tuileries en chantant le Réveil du peuple; là, les jacobins étaient maîtres du terrain; c'est à dire, qu'ils pouvaient bouleverser la convention sans éprouver de résistance, si ce n'est peut être de quelques-uns de ses membres. Sa garde laissa faire et paraissait décidée à rester passive au milieu du désordre; j'ai été témoin de toute cette scène, et je puis le certifier. Le lieu des séances pouvait être à chaque instant forcé, il suffisait que quelques hommes audacieux en fissent la proposition; mais lorsque la troupe partie du Palais Royal arriva, les choses changèrent de face; les chefs du rassemblement furent vigoureusement assaillis; la populace qu'ils avaient amenée se dispersa; ainsi une centaine de personnes au plus, qui presque toutes avaient été victimes de la tyrannie conventionnelle, la délivrèrent une première fois de la fureur de ceux qui naguère étaient ses exclusifs soutiens et les aveugles exécuteurs de ses volontés."

report upon their case, and which had now remained inactive for two months, were called upon to make their report. In consequence of this report, Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes and Vadier were summoned as criminals to the bar of the assembly on the 3rd of Germinal (March 23rd). The convention became immediately divided into two parties respecting the charges alleged against the accused, because the most distinguished members, whose influence and partisans were powerful, stood forward as their defenders. Prieur, Carnot and Robert Lindet solemnly declared, that they must confess themselves equally guilty of everything which was charged against their colleagues as former members of the committee of public welfare.

During this trial, Paris again exhibited the same spectacle which it had presented from March till June 1793, and on the last five days of the month the city was in a state of rebellion. Two of these days were more remarkable than the others, the 11th and 12th of Germinal, or the 31st of March and the 1st of April 1795. On the 31st a multitude of women, inhabitants of the faubourgs, the whole of Marat's former army, proceeded to the hall of the convention, and amidst shouts and clamour from without, regularly invested the assembly, whilst Robespierre's band, the whole remnant of the dreadful Mountain, united their violence with the tumultuary shouts of the savage masses without, who forced their way into the assembly, and with dreadful threats demanded the *liberation of the patriots, bread, and the constitution of 1793*. Pelet de la Lozère (the father), who was then president, courageously refused to comply with the demand; the originators of the tumult however did not suffer themselves to be deterred, but as early as noon on the 31st, they had adopted all the necessary measures to be able to organize a general insurrection on the 1st of April.

Early on the morning of the 1st the whole populace of the capital assembled and completely filled the streets, as they are accustomed to do on some grand festival, forming a promiscuous crowd of men and women even with children in their arms. Women, children, and a mob of all kinds from the faubourgs of the Temple, St. Marceau and St. Antoine, proceeded in dense masses towards the convention. Their watchwords were: *Bread, the Constitution of 1793, Liberation of the Patriots*. After mid-day they began to be ready for murder and violence, and about two o'clock the doors of the convention-chamber were violently

burst open and the clamorous rabble filled the hall. The savage people maintained themselves in possession for four hours afterwards, so that, according to Thibaudeau's report*, he and Siéyès were of opinion that the deputies of the Mountain had completely succeeded in their object and the anarchists been victorious. It was fortunate that the noise and confusion in the hall were so great as to prevent Amar, Huguet, Duhem, Leonard Bourdon, Cambon, Ruamps and other deputies belonging to the terrorists from making themselves heard, or being able as they wished to have their revolutionary proposals quickly passed into the form of decrees, and that Pichegru, as well as many officers and soldiers of the army absent on leave, were at that time accidentally in Paris.

The members of the committees of government had in the meantime proceeded to various parts of the city, summoned the citizens of those sections chiefly inhabited by wealthy persons to the relief of the convention, and formed them into battalions. The committees had even authorized Pichegru to collect the officers and soldiers of the army, and to adopt military measures to repress the disturbances; they rung the alarm-bell in the pavilion of Unity, as the pavilion of Flora was then called, and caused the drums to beat to arms through the whole city; and the convention itself proceeded to name military commanders as had been done on the decisive night of the 9th of Thermidor. Barras, Auguis, Delmas, Gossuin and Penières were again in-

* Thibaudeau, 'Mémoires,' vol. i. (Convention) pp. 152, 153: "En effet le 12 Germinal un attroupement, composé pour la plus grande partie de femmes, investit toutes les avenues de la salle et y fit irruption en demandant à grands cris du pain, la constitution de 1793, la liberté des patriotes. Ces cris furent encouragés et appuyés par la montagne. Les autres représentans voulurent en vain ramener l'ordre, leur voix fut couverte par les vociférations, leurs places furent envahies, ils furent assaillis d'imprecations et de menaces, la confusion et le tumulte furent tels, que les séditeux eux-mêmes ne pouvaient ni parler ni s'entendre. Ce désordre dura quatre heures. Épuisé par une lutte inutile, et l'âme accablée par ce tableau déplorable, je sortis dans le jardin, laissant au hasard le dénoûment d'une catastrophe où la meilleure volonté étoit devenue impuissante. Je rencontrai l'abbé Siéyès, et nous nous livrâmes ensemble aux plus sombres réflexions. L'excès du mal en fournit le remède. La convention étant dissoute de fait par l'envahissement du lieu de ses séances et les montagnards se trouvant en petit nombre, ils manquèrent d'audace et n'osèrent délibérer. Fatigués de l'inutilité de leurs propres excès, les séditeux s'écoulèrent peu à peu et abandonnèrent le champ de bataille. La convention reprit sa séance. Ysabeau, au nom du comité de sûreté générale, proposa le décret suivant: La convention nationale déclare au peuple Français qu'il y a eu aujourd'hui attentat contre la liberté de ses délibérations, et que les auteurs de cet attentat seront traduits au tribunal criminel de Paris."

vested with the full powers of deputies of the convention sent to the armies, and decorated with the plumes of military commissioners, rode through the streets of the city. They delivered addresses to the various battalions of organized citizens, prepared and issued order upon order, and about six o'clock met with the battalions of the sections at the Tuileries, at the same time as Fréron also with his band of *gilded youths* and their assistants appeared upon the terrace.

The military force succeeded, the rabble was scattered, the convention set at liberty and the hall cleared; the city however was still disturbed, and the poor in arms against the rich. The convention had recourse to energetic measures; it sentenced the four accused deputies to *deportation*, caused a number of persons to be arrested, but on the following day was nevertheless obliged to have recourse to Pichegru, in order again to restore order by military measures. Pichegru having occupied the Seven United Provinces, as we shall subsequently relate, had resigned the command of the army of the north to Moreau and was now on his way to join the army of the Rhine, to the command of which he was appointed, where he was purchased for the cause of the Bourbons through the instrumentality of Fauche Borel, a bookseller in Neufchâtel, who has given us a very detailed account of the affair in his memoirs. For this purpose Borel brought him into communication with the prince de Condé; at this moment however he was the deliverer of the convention. On the morning of the 13th of Germinal (2nd of April) he was appointed general commandant of all the military forces then in Paris, and Barras and Merlin du Thionville (who had assisted in the defence of Mance) were placed under his orders: this command however was limited to the moment of danger, because what really happened was anticipated, that the disturbances were likely to be renewed on the following day. When the four terrorists sentenced to deportation were about to be conveyed away from Paris, whole sections of the city flew to arms in order to prevent the execution of the sentence. A collision took place between the people and the troops; a fellow with a gun took aim at Pichegru, and Rosset, who commanded one of the battalions of the national guards employed against the rioters, was wounded; the anarchists however were obliged to give way, and means were immediately taken to disarm the rebellious sections.

The section of Quinze Vingts was disarmed without difficulty;

that of Notre Dame was first driven out of the church, where they held their deliberative assemblies, and in like manner disarmed; that of Gravilliers was surrounded and compelled to deliver up their arms. Pichegru then laid down the power which had been conferred upon him for the moment, and all the members of what were called the revolutionary committees, as well as their agents, were disarmed*. From this moment serious views began to be cherished respecting a constitution which might put an end to all further conversations respecting the anarchical and impossible constitution of 1793. As early as the 7th of April a committee of seven deputies was chosen, of whom Cambacérès, Merlin de Douay and Thibaudeau were the most conspicuous members, to draw up the plan of a new constitution, or what in their magniloquent phraseology were called *organic laws*. On the 18th a commission of eleven† was afterwards chosen, in order to reduce the constitution itself to form, and Siéyès prevailed upon them to resolve, that the business of legislation should in future be entrusted to two chambers. Whilst the committee was employed in settling the constitution, those members of the convention who had shared in all the fanaticism and madness of the reign of terror continued to rage against their colleagues, and to indulge in feelings of revenge against persons and their tools who were not more guilty than themselves. These feelings of bloodthirsty vengeance embittered the minds of the people, with whom, in this manner, Fouché, Legendre and Cambacérès played a shameful game, by renewing scenes of execution. They never ceased till they succeeded in having Fouquier Tinville and Hermann, the public prosecutor and president of the revolutionary tribunal, together with fifteen of their colleagues, brought to the guillotine. This prosecution, which lasted forty-one days, exposed the members of the convention, with very few exceptions, to the contempt and hatred of the whole country, because, during the course of the trial, the crimes of all those who wished to wash themselves clean and to play the

* Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes were afterwards sent to Guiana, where the former died, and the latter went to St. Domingo, where he became journalist to king Christophe. Vadier escaped from his guards; Barrère was long kept a prisoner, first in Oleron, then in Saintes, and escaped in Brumaire: Buonaparte availed himself of him, but could not give him an appointment, however willingly he would have done it.

† The eleven were, Cambacérès, Merlin de Douay, Siéyès, Thibaudeau, Lareveillere-Lépeaux, Boissy d'Anglas, Berlier, Daunou, Lesage, Crenzé-Latouche and Louvet.

characters of moderates were brought to the light of day. The general conviction that the people were weary of such scenes, afterwards induced the members of the convention legally to force themselves upon the French people, by virtue of the constitution, as members of the future legislature.

Besides the four deputies condemned to deportation, eleven others were at that time arrested, and all possible means were adopted for strengthening the government against the terrorists, who were now universally disarmed and arrested. With this view, all the remnant of the Gironde who had been expelled were, without exception, again admitted into the convention on the 11th of April, and all those decrees were rescinded which had been passed against either the persons or properties of those Frenchmen who had been compelled to emigrate on account of the scenes enacted from the 31st of May till the 2nd of June 1793. Thibaudeau and his friends used all their exertions in vain again to consolidate in one body the functions of government, which had been divided among so many committees, with a view of being able to set some bounds to the imminent danger of an outbreak of the heroes of 1793, and of meeting force by force. Disorder was become everywhere apparent, the soldiers were almost wholly destitute of clothing and shoes, and were in want of the prime necessities of life, whilst the countries occupied by the French were literally devoured by the harpies of Paris, and the sums which should have been applied to the payment, provisioning and clothing of the troops were swallowed up by speculators of all kinds. Cambon having been prosecuted together with the other terrorists, the confusion in the finances became dreadful, and dearth and want increased, because all means of again giving value to the assignats, which had become completely worthless, proved utterly fruitless; the people therefore willingly believed the terrorists, that the convention was to blame for all the prevailing distress.

At this time the sectional assemblies still continued to be held, although they were only allowed to be held on the decads, and their stormy consultations and bloody resolutions reduced the convention to no small difficulties. In those portions of the city where the terrorists had no influence, symptoms of royalism appeared; in others the inhabitants would hear nothing of the new constitution, but, in spite of all refusals, demanded that of 1793. These disputes between the sections themselves, and of

several of them with the convention, lasted the whole month of Floreal; and on the 20th (May 9th) a new formal insurrection broke out. The sections of Montreuil, Popincourt and Quinze Vingts, in connexion with the ancient city (*cit  *), wished to renew the siege of the convention, but the great body of the people was not prepared for this course; and those members of the convention who had long been in connexion with the faubourg St. Antoine found means of appeasing its inhabitants; the terrorists were therefore obliged to wait for ten days. The whole affair was under the guidance of an inconsiderable number of deputies, by whom the resolutions which they wished to extort from the convention had been all long previously prepared. Without any attempt on the part of the convention to prevent it, what was called a central insurrectionary committee had been formed, whose members drew up the plan of an insurrection, such as that of the 10th of August, on the 30th of Floreal, the execution of which was appointed for the following day. The pretence was bread for the poorer classes, and at the same time the constitution of 1793 for themselves and for those members of the convention who were like-minded with them. A manifesto* was issued and placarded in all the streets, explanatory of the objects and reasons of this popular movement. Rov  re, it is true, presented a report on the subject in the name of the committee of general safety, and proposed some severe and energetic decrees; the terrorists however were too numerous and powerful in the convention, and it ended in nothing†.

On the morning of the 1st of Prairial (May 20th) the alarm-bell was rung, and the population of the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, as well as those of the quarters of the Temple, St. Denis and St. Martin, and the people of the *cit  *, filled the streets in throngs. Up till the very last moment, the convention found themselves unable to resolve to have recourse

* This manifesto consists of eight preliminary *consid  rants* and eleven articles; it was headed *Respect aux propri  t  s*, and was posted up in all the streets on the 1st of Prairial. It is to be found in Beaulieu, vol. vi. pp. 171-176.

† Fautin Desododards, on whose authority in general we place no reliance, makes the following just remark on this subject:—" Cette proclamation   toit connue depuis plusieurs jours dans quelques d  partemens, et un assez grand nombre de fonctionnaires publics, nomm  s par les comit  s de gouvernement, avoient abdiqu   leurs fonctions, pour se ranger du c  t   des insurg  s. Il   toit difficile que les comit  s de salut public et de s  curit   g  n  rale n'en fussent pas pr  venus; cependant ils ne firent part de l'acte d'insurrection au corps l  gislatif, que dans le tems o   le mouvement   toit prononc  ."

to effective measures, because there was a general fear that the opposite party, of which the convention was more afraid than even of the terrorists, would avail itself of these measures to bring about a counter-revolution. A very few minutes before the rabble succeeded in forcing their way into the hall, a decree was passed on Bourdon's motion to the following effect:—That twelve deputies should be sent into the different sections, in order to exhort the people and to assemble the well-disposed citizens for the protection of the government and legislature. For this purpose a proclamation was to be issued, and the city of Paris to be made responsible for the safety of the convention. In this published appeal all the citizens were farther required to appear in arms at the appointed place of assembly for their respective sections; and moreover, every one who was found at the head of parties of the mob was declared to be beyond the pale and protection of the law. In another decree, the sitting then commenced was declared to be permanent, and the committee for military affairs commissioned and empowered to employ the troops of the line against the people.

The regulation of the military affairs was on this occasion placed under the authority of Delmas, because Barras was sent out of the city with unlimited powers, in order to adopt and put into execution such military measures as he might think necessary, to remove all those obstructions, some of them intentionally raised, which stood in the way of a proper supply of the capital with the necessaries of life. Commands were at the same time issued to all the authorities to put the law of the 1st of Germinal, passed on the motion of Siéyès, rigidly into execution. Whilst the deputies who had been sent to the sections called out and organized the citizens, and Delmas was using all his energies to collect together as many troops as possible, the clamouring rabble appeared at the doors of the convention. Orders were immediately given to close the doors, and a general who happened to be in the tribunes was authorized to repel force by force. At the moment in which this commission was given, the savage mob burst open the doors, rushed in and filled the hall. The aged Vernier, who was president, found himself quite unable to stay the uproar, and at two o'clock resigned the chair to Andreas Dumont.

Dumont was more vigorous than Vernier, and succeeded in driving the intruders out of the tribunes and from the hall of the

assembly, but only for a short time. The people whom Dumont had called to his aid and employed as police were overpowered, and the noisy rabble again filled the chamber; Dumont gave way and resigned his place to Boissy d'Anglas, who has made himself immortal by his conduct on this occasion. Thibaudeau, who was his colleague in the committee of the constitution, informs us that he was at that time a decided royalist, although he was then still obliged carefully to conceal his opinions, but he rendered services to the republic at this moment of danger, and his conduct inspired respect even in the minds of the savage mob, by whom his life was threatened. He firmly refused to submit to the assembly the revolutionary proposals of his colleagues, the terrorists, whose army then filled the hall, and was formally besieged in the president's chair. Ferand, a young but influential member, who attempted to aid the president, was thrown down, cruelly maltreated in the presence of the president and the assembly, and dragged out of the hall. The head of the unfortunate Ferand was cut off, stuck upon the point of a pike, and held up in the president's face as a means of terror. Boissy d'Anglas with one hand turned aside the bloody head, and with the other the thrust of a pike which was aimed against his person, and, in defiance of threats, imprecations, and the danger of life, he steadfastly persisted in refusing to put any question to the vote, because, as he justly alleged, it would be impossible to decide which of those who spoke and voted were deputies and which were not.

The tumult had continued from two till seven o'clock; at that time, when Boissy d'Anglas himself was becoming weary, the noise and clamour in the hall became so fierce, that even the originators of this fearful scene were unable to find a hearing; towards nine o'clock the insurrection first began to assume a methodical character. The people had been in the hall from two o'clock; the deputies however sat upon elevated benches, and the mob remained in the open space below; on a sign given by some of the terrorists, the ringleaders of the rabble began about this hour to force the deputies to descend from their elevated seats to the floor of the house, and there, mixed with the noisy multitude, they were to bring forward their motions and to deliver their votes. The aged Vernier was precisely the proper president for the objects of the terrorists; he was therefore again compelled to resume the chair, and to submit one after

another the decrees which had been already prepared. By virtue of the first decree, Bourbotte was appointed commander-in-chief of the military forces. All the decrees which had been passed since the 9th of Thermidor were rescinded, and everything brought back to the condition of things in the time of the triumvirate. A decree was also passed in the same tumultuary manner, by which the various committees of government were suspended from the exercise of their functions. An extraordinary commission of jacobins was appointed, consisting of the most violent terrorists, such as Bourbotte, Prieur de la Marne, Duroi and Duquesnoy, to whom the business of the committees was entrusted, and Romme was named president; after all which the convention was released from this ignominious bondage.

As the night advanced, the women and ringleaders of the mob began to relax in their efforts and the rabble to scatter, when Legendre, Auguis, Kervélégan, and other deputies, who had been despatched to rouse and organise the citizens belonging to the wealthier classes, appeared in the Tuileries. The number of deputies who had chosen Romme for their president was comparatively small; the citizens who were hastening to the scene of tumult cared very little for the overthrow of the convention, which they hated; but they felt that, if the times of terror returned, their lives and properties would be exposed to imminent danger, and they therefore came in military order and completely armed. Four divisions of this citizen force appeared at the four entrances to the hall, and the mob, which was at first detained, but to which afterwards free egress was given, being seized with terror, rushed out and dispersed in all directions. Thibaudeau, who was himself present and threatened with death, has given an excellent description of this disgraceful scene, which lasted from seven o'clock in the morning till two in the night, for which reason we shall subjoin his account in a note*. It was

* Thibaudeau, vol. i. p. 167 : — “ Les Thermidoriens parcouraient les sections. Les républicains honnêtes, par amour de la liberté, les gens qui avaient quelque chose à perdre par la crainte du pillage, des royalistes même, pour sauver leurs têtes, arrivèrent au secours de la convention. D'un autre côté, à mesure que l'on avançait dans la nuit, la plupart des insurgés, qui étaient dans la cour et dans le jardin des Tuileries, se retirèrent peu à peu par la raison que les Parisiens, selon l'expression du cardinal de Retz, *ne savent pas se désheurer*. Il ne restait dans la salle et les tribunes que les plus acharnés. Les comités forment le plan d'attaque. Quatre colonnes arrivent à la fois par les quatre entrées de la salle, et y pénètrent au pas de charge. Les factieux surpris essaient de les repousser; le représentant Kervélégan, qui étoit à la tête d'une des colonnes, est légèrement blessé, mais la multitude, que l'épou-

singular that the committee of public welfare, which held its sittings in the same palace as the convention, remained the whole day perfectly quiet; the committee of general safety also, whose place of assembly was at the north side of the place de Caroussel, could have easily at any moment sent messengers through the rue de l'Echelle to the Palais Royal, which however was not done. The military committee held its sittings in the hotel de Noailles, rue St. Honoré, and Delmas, its president, had immediately despatched orders to all the military quartered round Paris far and near to protect the conveyance of supplies, and without delay to march into the city; before the troops of the line arrived however, the national guards had already succeeded in scattering the mob.

In the well-known state of feeling entertained by the national guard towards the convention, which had encouraged and submitted to all these enormities, which were now practised upon themselves, the troops of the line were summoned to the capital, and arrived on the 2nd, because those scenes were renewed with redoubled violence on the 2nd and 3rd of Prairial. The question at issue was the deliverance of the whole body of terrorist deputies, that is, those who had been ringleaders in the night between the 1st and 2nd of Prairial, and at the same time the four deputies condemned to deportation, who had been colleagues with Robespierre in the committee of public welfare. There was also an anxiety to snatch from the hands of justice the person who had murdered the unfortunate Ferand before the eyes of the president. The convention immediately rescinded the resolutions forced upon them during the tumult on the night of the 1st of Prairial, and caused the copies of them to be burned; and further decreed, that the deputies who had been actively engaged in these shameful proceedings should be forthwith arrested and brought to trial*. The terrorists attempted on the 2nd of Prairial to organise a regular and formidable opposition to all these decrees.

vante rend incapable de résistance, cherche son salut dans la fuite. Elle ne trouve point d'issues libres, car elles étaient remplies par les défenseurs de la convention. Pendant quelque temps on resta pêle mêle vainqueurs et vaincus, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin pour faire cesser ce désordre on déblaya une porte et l'on forma deux haies au travers desquelles les révoltés se retirèrent sans autre punition que quelques coups de pied que la garde nationale leur distribua en passant."

* These were: Duquesnoy, Romme, Duroi, Boubotte, Prieur de la Marne, Soubrany, Goujon, Albatte aîné, Pessard, Lecarpentier de la Manche, Pinet aîné, and Fayau. On the 2nd of Prairial the decree of arrest passed against these deputies was changed into a decree of impeachment.

On the 2nd the terrorists turned to good account one of the necessary consequences of this continual system of fluctuation, which at that time was followed by the convention and afterwards by the directory, in order to keep the royalists in check through fear of the terrorists, and the terrorists through fear of the royalists. The decree for disarming the sansculottes had not been carried into execution for fear of increasing the power of the royalists; when therefore the tumult was again to be commenced, a species of head-quarters for the sansculottes was established in the faubourg St. Antoine, and the whole force of the labourers and artisans of that quarter was regularly organized. The faubourgers, drawn up in military array, marched with threats against the Tuileries on the 2nd of Prairial (May 21st). The sections of Popincourt, Montreuil, and Quinze Vingts reached their destination without hindrance, and sent a deputation, which was admitted to the bar of the convention, to require that the murderer of the deputy Ferand, arrested by the national guard of the section of the Butte des Moulins, should be immediately set at liberty.

As the troops of the line had not then arrived in Paris, the convention in their difficulties had again appealed to those sections which had previously rendered them aid and protection. Gillet and Aubry, formerly artillery officers, were placed under Delmas's command by the convention, and the sections of the city which they had called to arms were led against the faubourgers, who in the meantime had transferred their head-quarters to the Hôtel de Ville. The sectional battalions were at first repulsed, till at length both parties were drawn up ready for action in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries. Delmas was entrenched in the palace as in a castle; he was provided with artillery, and the faubourgers also had dragged some guns with them on their advance. Had Delmas used his artillery, he must have relied on the cannoneers of the national guard; but all these went over to the side of the faubourgers, because they belonged to the same bold and resolute class as themselves, and their watchword was the *constitution of 1793*. Delmas therefore accepted the offer of general Dubois, who proposed himself as a mediator; but, under the pretext of mediation, the main object was to gain time, till at length the regular troops should make their appearance in the city. It was agreed that the faubourgers should remain quiet till eleven o'clock, and during the interval it was

known that many of them, according to their custom, would undoubtedly return home. Immediately afterwards Joachim Murat, then a captain of light cavalry, arrived with a detachment of his regiment, and was most joyfully received by Delmas. From that time forward the convention, like Louis Philippe, founded its rule completely on military power, which it organized in Paris, and consisted of veteran and paid troops, under the name of the army of the 17th military division*.

General Menou, a man of old and noble family, was at that time commander of the regular troops in Paris, or, as it was called, of the 17th military division. He never gained much reputation as a general, although he was with Buonaparte in Egypt, and after Kleber's death had even the command of the troops; but he enjoyed a great reputation in the salons of madame de Staël, in consequence of the elegance of his manners, his smooth and sophistical language, and his refinement in the delicate art of flattery: Baraguay d'Hilliers was the chief of his general staff. Dubois, who was a cavalry general, and of whose services the convention had previously accidentally availed itself, and the old democratic general Berruyer, offered their assistance. Barras had now returned in all haste from his mission, arrived in the city, and joined his colleagues Fréron, Delmas and Laporte, in order to employ the newly-organized military force of the convention in its name with unlimited powers. On the 2nd of Prairial the authorities thought themselves strong enough to bid defiance to the jacobin force and to cause Ferand's murderer to be executed, after he had been first condemned by a court-martial, which form of administering justice Buonaparte always afterwards employed, instead of the revolutionary tribunal. The stage for the guillotine was erected in front of the Hôtel de Ville, on the place near which, as we have already observed, the terrorists met in council, in the very chambers in which Chaumette, Pache and their companions had formerly directed the consultations of the common-council of Paris. The

* In all French histories of the revolution, the fact is carefully concealed (which, *politically* considered, we altogether approve), that from Prairial till 1833, the paid veterans of the *battle fields* have always decided the fate of the people: we must admit the fact, however disagreeable it is. In his report of the 3rd of Prairial, Doucet de Pontecoulant, *Monit. An.* iii. No. 249. p. 1096, expressly says, "*Ces qui ont remporté la victoire étoient pour la plus-part à Fleurus et dans les combats fameux qui ont illustré les armes républicaines.*"

attempt of carrying the execution into effect without the assistance of regular troops completely failed. The faubourgers liberated the murderer by force, bore him in triumph through the rue de St. Antoine, barricaded the faubourg, and pointed their cannon against the ranks of the *gilded youth*, who had offered their services to the convention as volunteers.

The number of these volunteers afterwards grew to 1200; these formed in military array, marched in regular order to the faubourg, and as long as it was supposed they were supported by the regular troops they met with no resistance. They searched a great number of houses in order to find and bring back the murderer; among others the extensive dwelling of general Santerre, and brought away with them such pieces of cannon as they found. The faubourgers however no sooner perceived that there were no infantry of the line or cavalry, than they speedily recovered from their fears, felt ashamed of their cowardice, rose *en masse*, occupied all the ways of egress, compelled the volunteers to restore the cannon and lay down their arms, and drove them out of the faubourg and back to the city, amidst abuse, scorn and contempt.

The whole body of the national guards and the regular troops under Menou were now at length called out, and, accompanied by the three deputies of the convention, marched to the Place de la Bastille. All the streets were barricaded, and some mortars were brought upon the ground, as if the intention were to bombard the faubourg. The deputies of the convention undoubtedly were desirous of burning the faubourg; Menou however hesitated to obey this cruel command, tried to negotiate, and his terms of submission were agreed to by the deluded workmen. Ferand's murderer was to be delivered up, but he threw himself from the window before this could be effected. Their artillery was surrendered, and the people consented to be disarmed. The cannon and arms were indeed once more restored, but at a later period they were persuaded to give up both of their own accord. From this moment all danger from the sansculottes was at an end; but the convention was still obliged to retain the regular troops in the city, because both the royalists and citizens were anxious to be rid of the assembly.

Very severe measures were at first pursued against the terrorists. The people of the faubourgs were compelled to surrender, and leave to their fate all those who had played a con-

spicuous part in the late disturbances. The persons arrested were afterwards placed before a half-civil and half-military commission; thirty-one of them, mostly *gens d'armes* who had left the service, were condemned to death, five to a year in chains, six to deportation, and nineteen to imprisonment. The deputies against whom a decree of impeachment had been passed on the 9th, viz. Romme, Soubrany, Duquesnoy, Maure, Goujon, Bourbotte, Duroi, Peyssard, Prieur de la Marne, Pinet the elder, Lecarpentier, Boriel, Fayan, Rhul, Forestier, Lavallée, Pautrissel, Sergent, Beaudot, Lacoste, Allard, Lejeune, Javogues, Dertigoite, Mallarmé, Escudier, Monestier and Laignelot, were also to be brought to trial on the 29th, but the most of them had saved themselves by flight, and only eight appeared before the court. Of these eight, Forestier was acquitted, Peyssard condemned to deportation, Romme, Goujon, Duquesnoy, Duroi, Bourbotte and Soubrany, to death. The aged Rhul committed suicide; the other six were desirous of exhibiting a horrible tragedy before the eyes of the judges and numerous spectators. They had procured a dagger, which each handed to the other as soon as sentence of death was pronounced; they tried to commit suicide, but their attempts were not in all cases mortal. This horrible scene only rendered such judicial trials more shocking! Duquesnoy, Romme and Goujon stabbed themselves; Soubrany, Bourbotte and Duroi were wounded, and guillotined whilst covered with blood. If we are not falsely informed, it is an error to suppose that Romme fell dead, as we have been told he was saved and returned to the study of his mathematics.

From this moment the whole tone of the convention was suddenly changed, stronger fears were entertained of the royalists than of the terrorists, and this fear became so urgent, that at the end of September several thousand of the confederates were again armed, and their cannon and weapons restored, in order to protect the convention. This fear was so great in Floreal, that Siéyès, who wished to cast suspicion upon the new constitution, and even Thibaudeau, who had a large share in its composition, were accused of royalism. The commission* appointed on the 17th of Floreal to draw up the form of a new constitution

* This commission consisted of Lesage, Daunou, Boissy d'Anglas, Creuzé Latouche, Berlier, Louvet, Lareveillère-Lépeaux, Lanjumeau, Durand-Mailhan, Baudin des Ardennes, and Thibaudeau.

were sooner prepared to make their report than was usual in such cases, and Boissy d'Anglas, who was at that time (secretly) not only a royalist, but wished for the restoration of the Bourbons, presented it to the convention; Siéyès however was indignant, that he had had no share in preparing the draft. This dialectic, sly and subtle priest had contrived at that time to throw around himself such an appearance of profound depth in all political wisdom, that he and others regarded his co-operation as indispensable in the drawing-up of any constitutional code for France. He had in fact been chosen as one of the committee of eleven of which this commission was composed, but preferred remaining in the committee of public welfare of which he was a member. The convention had previously passed a law, that no deputy, who was a member of any of the committees of government, could form one of the constitutional commission of eleven; Siéyès therefore preferred remaining in his former position. As he, like all other metaphysicians, looked upon himself as supremely wise, merely because he was obscure and subtle, he commenced a violent dispute with Thibaudeau, who defended the draft in which he had taken a great part, but respecting which the abbé had not been consulted. This furnishes Thibaudeau with an opportunity of presenting his readers with a sharp delineation of the powers and character of the metaphysician, who was afterwards active in the time of Buonaparte; we subjoin the passage in a note*. The passage is important, inasmuch as

* 'Mémoires de Thibaudeau,' vol. i. (Convention) p. 179: speaking of Siéyès, the writer says, "Son caractère le rendait incapable de discussion. Il était organisé pour la pensée et la théorie plus que pour l'action et la pratique. Dans les comités il prenait rarement séance avec ses collègues; pendant les délibérations il se promenait en long et en large; et lorsqu'on le pressait de donner son avis, il le donnait, et s'éloignait comme s'il eût voulu signifier par-là qu'il n'y avait rien à y retrancher ni à y opposer. Sans avoir de liaison avec cet homme célèbre, vers lequel je ne me sentais pas attiré, je me'étais souvent trouvé avec lui; je l'avais observé et mesuré, et je croyais l'avoir bien jugé. Dans la discussion sur la constitution, je combattis peut-être avec un peu de passion ses systèmes, parceque sans mettre en doute le genre de mérite qui lui étoit propre et les services qu'il avait rendus à la liberté, je n'aimais pas qu'on lui fit, en bien et en mal, une réputation outrée. Il le sentit, et m'accusa parmi ses affidés d'être vendu au royalisme. Je n'imitai point son injustice, car je ne l'avais jamais cru vendu à la terreur. Il y avait dans la commission des onze un parti monarchique. Il se composait de Lesage d'Eure et Loire, Boissy d'Anglas et Lanjuinais. Je ne parle pas du vieux Durand Maillane dont l'opinion ne comptait pas. Mais ils n'étaient pas pour cela de Bourbonniens. Boissy d'Anglas fut cependant l'objet de quelques soupçons. Je ne les partageais pas. Les événemens postérieurs les ont éclaircis. Les autres membres de la commission étaient de bonne foi républicains."

it makes us acquainted with the tendencies of the men who sat in the commission together with Thibaudeau. Boissy d'Anglas, who brought forward the report in the convention of the 23rd of June, belonged to royalism, as we have already observed, and was afterwards one of Pichegru's warmest supporters when he conspired against the republic.

The debates had been carried on in the convention from the 4th of July till the 20th respecting the draft of the constitution brought forward by the committee, and most of its articles had been adopted, when Siéyès suddenly came forward with a new constitution of his own manufacture*. Little had now been heard for the last two years of the great reputation which the abbé enjoyed, and public opinion, which is so often erroneous in its estimate of great and celebrated men, that we must often entertain doubts of our own and of all human judgments, gave such increased weight to his influence, that for some days his authority prevailed over that of the whole commission. The consideration of the constitution, which had been regularly and officially brought forward, was in some measure laid aside, in order first to deliberate on the dialectic and speculative work of art produced by the fantastical abbé, which, in reference to its numerous artificial and technical terms, would have done honour to a German philosopher. With this honour, however, Siéyès was compelled to be satisfied, for the practical men in the assembly insisted on carrying through the draft presented by the commission with very few changes.

It does not lie within the sphere of our work, which cannot embrace completeness of detail, to examine the merits of this new constitution, by virtue of which the executive and legislative parts of the state were to be completely separated, and the latter transferred to two chambers, or even to give an account of its contents; it is obvious however at first sight that a great fault was committed, in reference to the relation of the five directors to whom the government was entrusted by the legislative bodies. The directors neither obtained any influence upon the chambers nor upon the drawing up of the laws, which were to be made without and independent of them; they were completely isolated, and to have no connexion whatever with

* He proposed a *tribunal, gouvernement, legislature et jury constitutionnaire*. The leading features of his plan will be found in that which he afterwards drew up for Buonaparte.

the chambers. One of these chambers was to consist of 500 deputies, who were to be at least thirty years of age, and to have the exclusive right, not only of deliberating upon the laws, but also of proposing them, since neither the right of proposing nor the privilege of rejection was granted to the government. The second or upper chamber, called the council of ancients, was to consist of 250 deputies, who were to be more than forty years old, and to be either married men or widowers. The council was to examine the laws brought forward and passed in the council of 500, and then either unconditionally to accept or reject them.

A third part of the deputies of both councils, determined by lot, were to retire each year, and to be replaced by new members to be elected in their stead, and the same was to be the case with one of the five directors. The five directors were to be chosen by the council of ancients, from a list of fifty names selected from their own body by the council of 500; the councils it is true were to be chosen by the people, no longer directly, but through the instrumentality of electors chosen for that purpose by the people in their primary assemblies. On the 18th of September following, the palace of the Luxemburg, which was wholly unfurnished, was appropriated for the residence and sittings of the directory, the Tuileries for the council of the ancients, and the Palais Bourbon for that of the 500; the last however afterwards held its first sittings in the riding-school, where the constituent assembly had held their first meetings, and which occupied the site on which the present rue Rivoli is built. The convention had recognized and somewhat modified the new constitution; it was then for form's sake to be accepted by the assembled people (which indeed must always be a mere form); for this purpose the convention, by a decree of the 2nd Fructidor (August the 19th) ordered the primary assemblies to be summoned for the 20th of the same month (September 6th), and shortly before they added some new clauses to the constitution, of which some notice must be taken, as measures of contemptible selfishness and love of rule.

The members of the convention were well aware, that if the people were left free to exercise their choice, a very small number of their body would find places in the new legislature; they feared, and with good reason, that the royalists, who now began to raise their heads in all directions, would get the whole power

into their own hands, overthrow all the new institutions, and in the spirit of cruel revenge, persecute the members of the convention as well as all the friends of a republic; this they were anxious to prevent. In order therefore to secure the preservation of liberty, even the most distinguished members of the convention, who had no vengeance to fear, assented to this apparently selfish measure, which was the very opposite of that previously adopted by the constituent assembly in reference to their participation in the labours of the legislative one by which it was succeeded. By a law of the convention of the 5th of Fructidor, which was passed at the same time as the decree for calling the primary assemblies was issued, it was prescribed, that two-thirds of the new legislators should be chosen from the members of the present convention, and the remaining one-third be freely elected. On the 13th of Fructidor (August 30th) a second clause was added to the new constitution, which reduced the choice of the new legislature almost wholly to the members of the convention. As it was known how few of the members of the convention could reasonably calculate upon the voice of the electors, a law was passed, by virtue of which it was decreed, that in all cases of double elections to the council of 500, or where the same member was chosen for two places, the convention, and not the people, should possess the right of naming others in the place of those who had been so elected.

These additions and limitations to the constitution filled the public mind with indignation; there was however a universal joy throughout all the departments of the kingdom, that there was at last some hopes of a constitution, and that the people were to be at length delivered from the united tyranny of the government, legislature and convention, and from the use of those means of working upon the people which the old jacobins possessed; there was some anxiety for Paris alone. The citizens of Paris availed themselves of the primary assemblies, which were to be held in accordance with the proclamation of the convention, to erect a centre of resistance in the very midst of the sections of wealthy inhabitants who had helped the convention in its need by force of arms. As the convention ventured to force 500 of its members upon the nation as its future lawgivers, and by this means also to secure the conduct of the government to its members who had become objects of universal hatred, the most distinguished citizens of Paris did not feel themselves very

strongly bound to adhere to the letter of the law. As to the government, it was obvious, that as the five directors were to be chosen from the fivefold list to be drawn up by the council of 500, none but members of the convention would be admitted into the directory.

The citizens again took advantage of the idea, of which such use had been made during the reign of terror, assumed themselves to be the sovereign people, held assemblies for consultation in their various localities, and wished to negotiate with the convention and to inspire it with respect by the importance of the persons whom they united in opposition to its insignificant members. As soon as the most distinguished sections of Paris employed the language of protest and assumed an attitude of opposition to the convention, it was easily foreseen that matters must come to a contest, and the hopes of the royalists began to revive. The frequenters of madame de Staël's salon now became full of activity and life, the favourers of the old *régime* and of the constitution of 1792 began again to show themselves, and the Vendean officers and soldiers who had served under them came in crowds to Paris; but at first the persons who railed* and clamoured against the clauses appended to the convention were, as Thibaudeau informs us, chiefly confined to adventurers, literati, journalists, and writers upon *belles lettres*. The convention in the meantime became alarmed at the movements in the capital, and collected troops in the neighbourhood of Paris.

The most distinguished citizens of Paris, who inhabited the quarters of du Mail, de la Butte des Moulins, des Champs Elysées and du Théâtre Français (Odéon), now assumed and played the characters which had been previously enacted by the inhabitants of the faubourgs, and the Théâtre Français, as well as the former convent of the *filles de St. Thomas*, became the assembling-places of the representatives of the citizens, who were indignant against the selfishness of the convention. Among the most zealous on this occasion was the section Lepelletier,

* Thibaudeau, Mémoires, i. p. 189 : " Parmi les agitateurs des sections on remarquait le général Miranda, Lemaître, ancien secrétaire-général au conseil des finances, Archambaud, avocat, ensuite des hommes de lettres et des journalistes, tels que Laharpe, Quatremère de Quincy, Lacretelle le jeune, Fiévée, Cadet Gassicourt, pharmacien, Langlois, Richer-Sérizy, &c. Il étoit facile de prévoir que cela ne finirait pas sans déchirement. Les conseils du gouvernement, ne pouvant plus trop compter pour le maintien de l'ordre sur les citoyens de Paris divisés entre eux, firent venir quelques troupes dans la capitale."

which was formerly called that of the *filles de St. Thomas*, which was situated close to the Tuileries, and had continued to the very last to carry on the struggle in favour of the royal family. This section held its sittings in the convent, which occupied the site of the present exchange, and to which there was a direct way through the rue Vivienne, in which some of the most wealthy inhabitants of Paris had their residences. On the 11th of Fructidor, and therefore two days before the addition of the second clause, which was decreed on the 13th of Fructidor, this section had sent a threatening deputation to the convention, although the convention, as early as the 22nd of August, had forbidden all meetings of citizens for the purposes of deliberation, correspondence, or public orations on political questions. When the primary assemblies really united afterwards, this same section Lepelletier declared that the Théâtre Français, their place of assembly, should be the place of meeting for a central committee organized to put some limits to the usurpations of the convention. The committee was then to issue a proclamation addressed to all Frenchmen, and all the sections of Paris were earnestly invited to send their plenipotentiaries to the place just mentioned.

The convention no sooner declared those to be guilty of high treason who dared to join a central committee, which, like the old common-council of Paris, would have formed a species of government and legislature opposed to the convention, than the section Lepelletier appealed to the same theory of the sovereignty of the people to which the convention owed its very existence. The section alleged, all executive or legislative bodies must give way to an assembly, which was of equal power with the whole assembled people and derived its authority immediately from them; and the central committee was bold enough again to renew their meetings, after having been once scattered by soldiers sent for that purpose by the convention. On the day of the union of the primary assemblies (the 20th Fructidor, September 6th), the dispute had come to a question of open feud, in consequence of the above-mentioned declaration of the section Lepelletier, which insisted on the formation of a central committee. The Parisians were favourable to the constitution, but rejected the clauses annexed to the original document on the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, and maintained, that the same course had been pursued by the majority of primary assemblies in the de-

partments. The convention on the contrary alleged, but without at first giving any proof of the truth of the allegation, which it afterwards attempted to do, that the majority of the primary assemblies had voted not only in favour of the constitution, but also of the annexed clauses.

This allegation was unquestionably false, as there is no doubt that three-fourths of the votes were opposed to the annexed clauses; but had it even been true, as Thiers alleges with that boldness and presumptuousness by which he is so remarkably characterized, it would really prove nothing, because every one who has any experience knows how easily the votes of the lower classes in all such places can be obtained, where even a powerful opposition party cannot contend against the government and public officials with the same means which the government can command. Such was the opinion of the Parisians, who continued to persevere in their opposition, when measures were adopted to furnish them with an appearance of proof from registers which they could not examine, and which were supposed to confirm the correctness of the opinion alleged. The same battalions of the sections, which a few months before had delivered the convention, were now in daily readiness on the first beat of the drum to proceed to the convent of St. Thomas in order to protect their fellow-citizens against the convention, whilst the convention caused 3000 or 4000 of the same confederates, from whose violence they had been previously delivered, to be daily exercised in the Tuileries gardens, in order to employ them as occasion might demand. The aged general Berruyer organized this mob, to whom their arms had been again restored. On the 7th of September, the convention issued a decree of terror in opposition to the resolution which had been adopted by the central committee on the previous day, inviting all the communes throughout the country to unite and make common cause with the sections. The punishment of death was decreed against any citizen who should take and convey any message from any commune, section or body of troops, to any of those bodies respectively. As the violence of the movement against the annexed clauses, or properly speaking, against the members of the convention, manifestly proceeded from the royalists and those who had been oppressed by the men of the revolution, the convention passed a most unrighteous and revolutionary law on the 11th Fructidor (September 21st), which exposed its mem-

bers to universal hatred, because it robbed a great portion of the free citizens of the state of their civil rights. All non-juring priests and their relations, and all, even distant relations of the emigrants, were excluded from every description of public office.

The convention, totally unconcerned respecting all those protestations, had caused a report to be prepared and presented by Gomaire, a deputy, in the name of the commission, in reference to the result of the votes in the primary assemblies, in which it is most ridiculously affirmed that 914,813 out of 929,326 qualified voters had given their voices in favour of the constitution together with the annexed clauses. When this splendid result was communicated to the assembly, the president first rose, and then the whole convention, and the former solemnly announced in the name of the body at large, that the constitution with the clauses annexed had been adopted, and that the primary assemblies were to take their measures accordingly. This declaration however was altogether disregarded by the section Lepelletier, which on its part proceeded on the 23rd of September to declare its sittings permanent. These assemblies really continued to be held, and the national guards were ready to protect their convention in the Théâtre Français or in the convent against the convention in the Tuileries. On the other hand, the convention had appointed a commission as early as the 21st, which was to devise and suggest the best means of aiding the republic by force. The names of the persons placed on this commission immediately recall to mind the energy of the reign of terror: these were, Roux, Florent Guyot, Tallien, Pons and Barras. Barras, as on many former occasions, was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole military force of the convention, and Menou, together with the other generals, was directed to receive his orders from him and the deputies associated with him.

The time for the elections was now at hand; before however all the electors were named, the section Lepelletier attempted to effect a union against the decrees of the convention of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, according to which the new legislative council was to contain at least two-thirds of the members of the present convention. With this view, and before the day of the election arrived, the section called all the electors of the city of Paris, as far as they had yet been chosen, to come to their committee.

The committee then proceeded on the 11th Vendémiaire (October 3rd) to form an assembly in the Théâtre Français, assuming in some measure a sovereign character in opposition to the convention. This was indeed illegal and openly hostile; the convention therefore despatched one of their officers with a small number of soldiers to the theatre, who was ordered to read in the hearing of the meeting the severe ordinance by which the union of the representatives of several sections in the same place was strictly forbidden; the officer of the convention was hissed, the soldiers who accompanied him driven out, and a resolution passed, that the parties should again assemble on the following day, the 4th of October: as a proof that things were now come to extremities, the convention also declared its sittings permanent.

In pursuance of their resolution, the section Lepelletier and those who united with them assembled anew on the 4th in the convent, which served as their head-quarters; the whole of the citizens of Paris were in commotion, and it is said that more than 20,000 national guards were under arms; the convention therefore determined to meet force by force, and general Menou was required to take measures to that effect. Menou was by no means the fit man for such a commission, because he not only daily met the leaders of the sectional battalions, but the originators of the whole affair, in the salons of madame de Staël, and was far more intimately connected with them than with the convention. Baron Menou, as commandant of the 17th military division, at the head of the regular troops of the horrible rabble of patriots, was ordered to act with the greatest severity. He was however far too prudent to obey the command, and had no desire to be the champion of people whose distinction in the country was on the eve of its fall; he therefore unhesitatingly refused to have these fearful bands of patriots associated with the regular troops. Orders were given him to shut up the place of assembly used by the section Lepelletier, to dissolve the central committee, and to disarm all those citizens who belonged to the body. This might have been accomplished had he been willing to have recourse to grape-shot and the bayonet before he advanced into the rue Vivienne; that however he was unwilling to do against the citizens, and against friends and companions, who fought for a cause to which he was in his heart attached.

On the 12th of Vendémiaire (October 4th), Menou had recourse to all means of delaying the execution of the commands given by the deputies of the convention who were to watch over his conduct; he made a long halt in the Palais Royal; in the evening however, the deputy Laporte compelled him to proceed through the rue Vivienne against the convent, which was the place of meeting of their enemies, and however unwilling, he was obliged to obey. Notwithstanding Menou's acquittal, when he was afterwards called before a court-martial, it is obvious even to those who know nothing of military tactics, that in order to fulfil this command of military terror, he neither adopted the proper measures nor had recourse to means of cruel severity. Every one acquainted with the rue Vivienne knows how easily he could then be attacked from the windows and roofs of its lofty houses, which were firmly barricaded, unless he first inspired dread by his cannon, which could afterwards be of no service. The Rue Richelieu, Croix des Petits Champs and the Boulevards afforded space for the national guards who were behind him to form, and to enable them to drive together and to shut up the troops of the line in the street. He has been therefore reproached with intentionally leaving his rear unprotected, and with neither suffering the troops to fire nor to charge with the bayonet in the neighbourhood of the convent, in order to have a pretence for capitulating to the sections. Menou, on his part, alleged, that he had saved his people by an agreement with the citizens, because he was threatened from the windows and roofs of the strongly barricaded houses, whilst the section was in his front in the convent, and the national guards in his rear. The convention lost nothing by the affair, for in terms of the agreement the troops were allowed to return to the Tuileries, and were there drawn up. We have already observed that Menou was accused of treason, immediately dismissed, at a later period tried by a court-martial and honourably acquitted.

Barras, Letourneur and Delmas, to whom the convention had given full powers to conduct and bring to an issue by force of arms the war which had been just commenced between it and the sections, were now obliged to look out for another general, who might be capable of terminating the contest with the citizens on the following day by grape-shot and bayonets. Barras conceived he had found such a man in the Corsican Napoleon Buonaparte. This officer had obtained a high reputation throughout the whole

of Europe by the conquest of Toulon, and for having compelled the English to evacuate the harbour, notwithstanding the great superiority of their naval force. Whilst in Toulon, he had become acquainted not only with Barras, but with other deputies belonging to the terrorist party, among whom was the younger Robespierre. This acquaintance had made him an object of suspicion since the 9th of Thermidor. The government wished to remove him from the scene of activity in Paris, but he refused to serve in the infantry in La Vendée, because he had been an officer of artillery, and he had been therefore removed from active employment since May 1795 by Aubry, who was anxious to be rid of all the friends of the old jacobins. Aubry, as a deputy of the convention, at that time superintended the organization of the army.

The troops of the convention collected in the city, the command of which, on Barras's motion, was conferred on Buonaparte late on the evening of the 4th of October, consisted of 6000 men, whom he immediately formed in military array in the quarter of the Tuileries, prepared for the events of the following day, as all the sections of Paris were under arms, and their battalions under the command of generals and officers who had also been in service. On this second undertaking fortune again proved favourable to him, according to the proverb* of the ancient Romans, whose bloody and murderous heroism he was anxious to imitate. The thirty pieces of cannon which had been previously delivered up by the terrorists were still remaining near the city (*au camp de Sablons*); the sections had just despatched some of their people to take possession of them and bring them into Paris, when Buonaparte's future brother-in-law, Murat, whom he had sent for the same purpose with some of his light cavalry, anticipated them and brought the cannon to the Tuileries, where the patriots placed them in order of battle in the garden. As the sections possessed no artillery, and Buonaparte was determined not to spare them, the whole affair was already decided by this lucky movement. Moreover Danican and the other leaders of the army of the sections were not in a condition to compete in a regular engagement with such a man as Buonaparte†; and the mixture of republicans, constitutionalists and

* *Audaces fortuna juvat.*

† These generals were men of very different parties and views. Count Maulevrier and Lafond were royalists of the old school; Duhoux and Danican, the commander-in-chief, were republicans.

royalists of the old school, of whom the officers and soldiers of the sections consisted, could not hope for success in a collision with regular troops and with the terrorists.

Early on the morning of the 5th of October, the army of the sections surrounded the quarter of the Tuileries and the convention: Buonaparte however had placed his artillery in such a position as to enable him to rake the whole length of the advancing masses, and to direct his fire *en écharpe* on the columns marching by the quays. For political and military reasons however, he waited for the attack, as the sections had now assumed the offensive. The sections suffered themselves to be deceived, and remained in a state of hesitation and negotiation in presence of the troops of the convention on the 13th Vendémiaire till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the general had completed all his arrangements; a shot was then fired, and a report was immediately spread that Danican, the commander of the sectional party, had given orders to fire, and Buonaparte immediately opened a furious fire of grape-shot. No such event could occur in Paris without a comedy and some theatrical pathos. Buonaparte or Barras therefore with great clamour and ostentation caused 800 guns to be conveyed to the hall of the convention, as if the lives of the deputies were in danger, or as if the majority of them were Romans, or even fit to bear arms. This circumstance furnished a rich article for the newspapers, and an additional piece of rhodomontade for the French historians of the revolution.

Buonaparte's grape-shot and bayonets, used with superior tactics, were by no means necessary for a contest in which only 800 men were engaged, who were heroes merely in words and feathers! The victory was indeed bought with the blood of many of the citizens, and a furious contest was maintained at the church of St. Roch; but who could number the fallen, or those who were thrown headlong into the Seine? On the following day the victory was completed, the rule of the convention, of the constitution and the annexed clauses confirmed, and three military commissions appointed, who speedily swept off all the opponents of the convention on whom they could seize. This sweeping military commission proved afterwards very advantageous for Buonaparte, and, according to English usage, formed a precedent to excuse those military commissions which he found

it necessary or expedient to appoint. Buonaparte was then appointed commandant of Paris, first under the title of *general of the interior*; he was by far too prudent however to retain the appointment a moment longer than the necessity of the circumstances required. He carefully avoided all appearance of wishing to prolong the dominion of the deputies of the convention, or of being willing to share the hatred or contempt which they had drawn down upon themselves. The services thus rendered by him to the convention and his union with the widow of general Alexander Beauharnais, afterwards secured him the supreme command of the army of Italy at the very early age of twenty-six.

The election of deputies to the new legislature was afterwards immediately entered upon. Not less than one hundred and four were named by the convention itself, in virtue of the privilege retained in the annexed clauses, by which they were entitled to fill up all the places to be provided for in consequence of double elections. The convention, whose miserable political policy consisted in alternately setting bounds to the power and influence of one faction by the use of another, was now again favourable to the former jacobins. Aubry, against whom Buonaparte always felt great indignation, and other moderates experienced very unfriendly treatment from the convention during the last days of its existence; the terrorists on the contrary were conspicuously favoured. From the amnesty proclaimed especially for the sake of the jacobins, all those were expressly excepted who had taken any part in the scenes of Vendémiaire. The hostility felt against the citizens, whom the majority of the convention, stained with blood, disgrace or infamy, was anxious to destroy, was exhibited in a most hateful form on the 3rd of Brumaire (25th of October), only two days before the dissolution of the assembly. On Tallien's motion, a supplemental article was added to the law already mentioned, which excluded all the relatives of emigrants from the enjoyment of any public offices, that in a similar manner all those citizens should be excluded from office who had taken part in the resistance against the clauses annexed to the constitution (*qui auraient signé des arrêtés liberticides dans les assemblées primaires ou électorales*).

Public opinion was at that time hostile to the convention, whose colossal legislation had thrown all things into confusion

and contributed very little to a re-organization of the social system*. The severity exercised against the most respectable classes of the citizens who had attempted to snatch the sceptre from the hands of the blood-stained deputies, on the 13th of Vendémiaire, destroyed all confidence in the continuance of the existing state of things; so much so, that, according to Thibaudau, even Lanjuinais said openly, that the republic was untenable. The convention had recourse to measures to maintain their authority, which immediately recalled to mind the events of 1793. This is proved by all the decrees issued by the convention during the last weeks of its existence, and by the names of the persons whom they selected for the new legislature, in those cases of double elections in which they had reserved the power to themselves. The selection of the five directors was also artificially directed towards persons who could not prove unfaithful to the system which had been hitherto pursued by the convention. The list of those to be elected, which the council of the five hundred caused to be presented to the council of ancients, contained indeed, as the law prescribed, ten names for each director; but these were so cunningly selected, that none but the five who were expressly put upon the list for the purpose could be chosen. The individuals chosen for this important trust were Reubel, Barras, Lareveillère-Lépeaux, Letourneur, and Siéyès, to whom however the circumstances seemed at first of so doubtful a character that he refused to act, and with priestly hypocrisy endeavoured to excuse his course: Carnot was named in his stead. No one had any confidence in the new government, however favourable the circumstances were to its success; for none of the men above-named possessed the qualities, dignity, station, weight with the people, connexion with the most important families of the country, or distinguished merits, which a ruler ought to possess.

* If reliance can be placed in the register compiled by Roadonneau, the convention issued 8376 decrees. Beaulieu, vol. v. p. 238, states the number as high as 11,210.

b. HISTORY OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR AND PEACE TILL
APRIL 1797.

1.—LANDING IN THE BAY OF QUIBERON.—CONCLUSION OF
PEACE.

After the fall of Lescure, D'Elbée, Bonchamp, and at length also of Larochejaquelin, the destructive civil war in La Vendée had assumed a totally different character from its original one, as we have already remarked. As long as Turreau was at the head of the republicans, murder and destruction continued to prevail on both sides, till in June 1791, Canclaux was instructed to pursue a course of conciliatory measures. The foundation laid by Canclaux was afterwards built upon by general Hoche, after the overthrow and death of Robespierre. Hoche was at that time commander-in-chief, with unlimited powers, and the whole country from the Somme to the Loire was subject to his rule. His chief opponents were Stofflet and Charette, who were regarded on both sides of the Loire as the chiefs among the opponents of the convention, although besides these, there were some distinguished intriguers who were closely connected with the counts d'Artois and Provence, who remained in England at a distance from danger, and wished to guide the whole. These persons had no desire for peace, as we are honestly informed by the historian of the expedition, which was followed by such disastrous results in the bay of Quiberon*. He admits moreover, that as early as January 1795, the people in La Vendée, Maine, Poitou and Normandy were weary of the war†. Notwithstanding this, the intriguing count Puisaye, travelling hither and thither between England and France, contrived not only to stir the smouldering fire into a flame, but because he

* Mémoires sur l'Expédition de Quiberon, précédés d'une notice sur l'émigration de 1791, et sur les trois campagnes des années 1792, 1793, 1794, par Louis Gabril de Villeneuve-Laroche-Barnaud, chef de bataillon, chevalier de l'ordre royal et militaire de St. Louis, &c. &c., un des prisonniers échappés au massacre de Quiberon. Paris, Le Normant, 1819 and 1822, vol. i. p. 246, vol. ii. p. 374. It must not however be supposed from the passages afterwards quoted, that we unconditionally rely on the authority of this work.

† Vol. i. p. 184. "La guerre se borna donc, du côté des royalistes, à des attaques de postes, souvent répétées, toujours imprévues et dans lesquelles la parfaite connoissance du pays leur donnoit les moyens de faire beaucoup de mal aux républicains; ces sortes de combats leur coûtoient néanmoins à eux-mêmes l'élite de leurs divisions; ils essayèrent dans plusieurs occasions des pertes si considérables, qu'enfin au mois de Janvier 1795 ils consentirent à une suspension d'armes pour traiter de la paix."

himself had not courage to abide the event, he appointed Desoteux de Cormartin his major-general, who remained behind when he himself went to England. Stofflet and Charette therefore only accepted the peace, which they concluded in the early months of the year 1795, under a silent reserve. As early as May, Desoteux and other leaders of the royalists were taken up and incarcerated, because they were engaged in conspiracies with the emigrants in England.

In December 1794, Carnot, by means of a report, which does him the greatest honour, prevailed upon the convention to put an end to the civil war by granting moderate conditions to the royalists, and by insisting that their own representatives should observe them, which the republicans had never yet done. He succeeded in inducing them to issue a decree on the 2nd of December 1794, declaring that all Frenchmen on the coast from Brest to Cherbourg, and in the interior of the country, who should lay down their arms, should never afterwards be exposed to any molestation or penalties in consequence of their participation in the insurrection. Their arms were to be delivered up at the town-houses in their several communes, &c. Simultaneously with this decree, Carnot also proposed and carried the sending of eight deputies from the convention, distinguished by the moderation of their views, who should watch over the execution of the decree and negotiate the terms and mode of conciliation on the spot. Charette and Stofflet however did not venture to offer any decided resistance to the views and plans of the count d'Artois; they therefore regarded the peace merely as a suspension of arms, although Charette at first appeared sincere in its acceptance. The commissioners of the convention soon came to an understanding with him, but a mere truce and not a peace was at first concluded with Stofflet, who did not feel himself at liberty to negotiate in the name of his party, as Charette did. The negotiations with the whole body of the malcontents in La Vendée and the former provinces of Maine, Brittany and Normandy were opened in January at La Jaunaye, in the neighbourhood of Nantes, where a peace was concluded for La Vendée as far as Charette was ruler in the district. In this agreement he promised to prevail upon the inhabitants of La Vendée to submit to the laws of the republic, on condition of their receiving 2,000,000 of francs as a compensation for the destruction which had been perpetrated in their territory, and the concession of the

free exercise of their religion. In order to provide for the wild adventurers who served under him, and to exercise some species of police dominion over the peasants, Charette was to retain a body of troops under his command, to whom the name of territorial guard was given. In this way Charette in fact continued to remain in arms in the midst of peace.

Stofflet, in the midst of the nobles of Maine, Poitou, Normandy, &c., and surrounded by the intriguers and creatures of the count d'Artois, was unable to act with the same freedom as Charette. In these provinces Louis XVII. was the reigning sovereign, or his name was used as such till the 8th of June 1795, when he died in Paris. This general therefore would only accept of the peace of La Jaunaye as a truce. Hoche was dissatisfied with this, and a general congress of royalists was assembled. More than a hundred and twenty leaders of royalist bands met in La Mabilais, near Rennes, upon whom the deputies of the convention tried their eloquence in vain, and Stofflet and Desoteux recommended peace, but only twenty-one of the number were willing to accede to the terms of the peace of La Jaunaye; the others, and especially Frotté, who was in close connexion with the emigrants in English pay, would hear of nothing beyond a truce. On this result, Hoche, who commanded the army of the west and of the ocean with unlimited authority, adopted such serious measures that Stofflet was soon reduced to extremities. In the revolution, Hoche had rapidly risen from the rank of sergeant to that of general of a division, and in this position had exhibited the same qualities in the twenty-fourth year of his age by which Buonaparte was distinguished. He combined administrative, political and diplomatic talents with military capacities, was a handsome man, and had very skilfully turned his influence with the ladies in La Vendée and Brittany to the advancement of his political objects, whilst in the whole of his conduct he proved himself to be a man of candid mind and of elevated thoughts. He had signalized himself with the army of the north and in the Vosges, when Wurmser was to be driven out of Alsace, but had eventually fallen under the displeasure of St. Just. He first removed him from the army, afterwards caused him to be arrested, and would have had him executed had not St. Just's government and that of his friends reached its termination in Thermidor. After Robespierre's fall, Hoche received from the new committee of public wel-

fare the command of the whole district from the Somme to the Loire, and combined moderation, prudence and good-will towards the inhabitants of the country with the strictest discipline and order in his army. When therefore the royalists refused to accede to the conditions of the peace of La Jaunaye, as offered by the deputies of the convention, he adopted his measures with so much ability, that Stofflet was obliged to yield submission to these conditions as early as the 20th of April. Stofflet however, as well as Charette, was allowed to remain at the head of a body of the so-called territorial guards. On the 4th of May he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Anjou and Upper Poitou, in which they were required no longer to molest the republican troops. In all this, Hoche had been obliged to give way to the deputies from the convention, for he himself placed no reliance on the peace, and continued to make vigorous preparations for war, because he knew that Stofflet, Desoteux and Charette did not think themselves bound to observe any faith with the republicans. We have the same account expressly given by one who was of the same opinions with himself*. Hoche's views led him into difficulties with the new government, when he insisted upon making further preparations for war, being well informed by his connexion with the ladies of the real views of the royalist leaders and of the schemes of the English cabinet. He was accused of entertaining a desire of extending his power, and of retaining its exercise for an indefinite period; after therefore having solemnly announced a general pacification, the government even sent the greatest part of the republican troops to the Rhine. Hoche's reputation became proportionally greater, when it became evident in June how justly he had calculated, and how admirably he had taken all the necessary measures. In order to put an end to the system of war hitherto carried on by the royalists, which consisted in

* *Mémoires*, i. p. 187. "Ces deux traités (of La Jaunaye and La Mabilais) n'étaient dans le fait que des actes illusoires, signés de la part des royalistes sans autre intention que celle de détourner l'orage prêt à fondre sur leur tête et de gagner quelques mois de repos pour se préparer à de nouveaux combats. Charette, Stofflet, Desoteux lui-même avaient cru pouvoir, sans blesser les loix de l'honneur, dissimuler avec les envoyés d'une autorité illégitime et tyrannique." We must however add, that the author states in a note, that there was a secret article which could not be fulfilled. He says: "Il paroit certain, que par des articles secrets de ce traité, les commissaires de la convention s'étoient engagés à remettre entre les mains des chefs royalistes, dans un délai de quatre mois, les augustes prisonniers du Temple et de proclamer à Paris immédiatement après la restauration de la monarchie."

the surprise of single posts, Hoche had completely given up the plan of placing his troops in cantonments, and distributed the army in a number of fortified camps situated in favourable positions, and thus rendered all such surprises impossible.

On the very same day on which Stofflet issued his proclamation (May the 4th), the emperor Francis and the English entered into a new agreement, by virtue of which the English proposed to make a diversion in favour of the emperor, who was hard-pressed on the Rhine, by sending an expedition to La Vendée and aiding the Chouans. England was afraid that the emperor also would give up the war, as the king of Prussia had previously done. The English ministry therefore offered the emperor new subsidies for the war, and proposed to bear the whole expense of the expedition, which was to be undertaken by the regiments of emigrants in English pay in combination with the royalists in Brittany. The English cared very little about the evils to be inflicted upon the country or people in France, and the object of the diversion was attained, whether it was successful in its results or not. The correct principle of the English as a mercantile nation was, that in life every one must look to his own interests, and that therefore if there was any blame it must attach to the French, who allowed themselves to be used as the instruments of accomplishing English objects. The count d'Artois (Charles X.), then in Edinburgh, entered into correspondence with Charette, his dear friend Rivière was sent into La Vendée, and Puisaye conducted the conferences with the ministers of England.

The affairs of the English ministry, to which we shall come in the following volume, were at that time in a very bad condition, with the exception of the maintenance and increase of the English superiority at sea. The unhappy marriage of the prince of Wales with princess Caroline of Brunswick, which was celebrated to please the king in the year 1795, was one from which no good could be expected by any one who was at all acquainted with the princess's manner of life at home. The English in the meantime still maintained the dominion of the sea; they had taken possession of Toulon, destroyed the French fleet and warlike stores in the harbour, and, when Holland fell, inherited also the fleet of the only power which could prove at all dangerous to their trade. During the reign of terror, lord Howe drove the Brest fleet back into port, because Jean Bon de

St. André, deputy from the convention and a protestant clergyman, shamefully fled: in the West Indies all the French islands were captured, although Guadaloupe, St. Eustatius and St. Lucie were retaken, and Dominica, Grenada and St. Vincent alone remained in the hands of the French. The undertaking of the royalists in the bay of Quiberon, it is true, cost the English an enormous sum of money; it was however very well calculated for its object, for England thus got rid of a great number of burthensome Frenchmen, made a very important diversion in favour of Austria, without at the same time sacrificing English troops; and lord Bridport, who was cruising before Brest, on this occasion gained a victory over Villaret Joyeuse (June the 16th), and took two ships of the line; a third escaped by accident.

The idea of a landing by the emigrants on the open coast of Brittany in the bay of Quiberon at the end of June, just at the time when the insurrection in Brittany had been nipped in the bud, appeared so absurd, that the egotistical English ministry was in consequence exposed to the most bitter reproaches. We shall not imitate the French by detailing what they have said respecting the English in connexion with this affair; we must however admit, that a people in whose parliament language was suffered to be used such as was really employed in the English parliament after the defeat and death of so many thousands of French, and a ministry whose leader could utter such sentiments, deserved to be regarded as capable of any crime. When Pitt was called to account for his conduct in the case of the Quiberon expedition, he made the genuine Roman answer, that the blood of barbarians alone (*Anglicè foreigners*) had been shed on the occasion. He said with great coolness, "at least no *English* blood has been shed;" to which Sheridan promptly and justly replied, that English honour however had flowed in streams.

Three small emigrant armies, supported by the English, were to make an incursion into Brittany, whilst Sapinaud, Charette and Stofflet were to renew the war in La Vendée. The first division was to consist of emigrants in the English service, which had been brought from Holland to England; the second, of those who had marched with the English from Holland to the Weser; the third was to follow under the command of lord Moira, and to be composed of English and those Frenchmen who had remained in Guernsey and Jersey. The first division, amounting to more than 4000 men, was recruited from repub-

lican prisoners of war in England; that is, in other words, was composed of men who were to prove future deserters and traitors. This division sailed from Portsmouth and Southampton on the 16th of June, under convoy of admiral Warren; it was accompanied by a great number of transports laden with arms and ammunition, provisions and battering artillery; the English certainly spared no cost; in addition to the supplies of the troops on board, they sent also a hundred thousand stand of arms and clothing for 60,000 men. In the note we subjoin a list of all those distinguished nobles and gentlemen who accompanied the favourite of the count d'Artois, the cowardly and luxurious Puisaye, who from the very commencement was in a state of constant quarrel with D'Hervilly, the second in command, who at least showed himself to be brave*. The second division of emigrants was conveyed from Stade in English transports, and was under the command of a courageous and knightly leader in the person of the count de Sombreuil, who had served with honour in the last campaign under the Prussians. This division originally consisted of 4000 men, but the minister, in order to spare English blood, afterwards kept behind the only two complete regiments, in which the French served mixed with the English, and were under the command of colonels Hardy and Ramsay, so that only about 1500 men remained under Sombreuil. The supplies of all kinds, which were sent with the second division also, were immense, and the cost of these two expeditions to the English has been estimated at an almost incredible sum, 20,000,000 of francs.

Stofflet, Sapinaud and Charette, the royalist leaders in La Vendée, were now obliged, in consequence of a hint given them by the count d'Artois through Rivière, again to summon their forces in La Vendée to take up arms. Charette however at-

* “ Les chefs de cette petite armée étoient, Le comte de Puisaye, général en chef des Chouans de la Bretagne, le comte d'Hervilly, ancien colonel du régiment de Rohan-Soubise, nommé maréchal général des logis et commandant particulier des troupes régulières à la solde de S.M.B. ; le chevalier de Tintiniac, dont il a été déjà parlé plus-haut, nommé au commandement de la division des royalistes des Côtes du Nord ; le comte Dubois Berthelot, nommé aussi général divisionnaire ; le comte de Vauban, ancien colonel du régiment d'Orléans, infanterie ; le comte de Botherel, ancien procureur-syndic des états de Bretagne, un des principaux chefs des Chouans et agent de la correspondance des princes, qui au moment de la pacification étoit repassé, comme Tintiniac, en Angleterre. Le duc de Levis, les marquis de Contades, de Balheroi, de Saint Pierre, de la Moussaye, de Guebriant, les comtes de Broglie, de Roscoët, de la Moussaye, de la Houssaye et de Jumilhac.”

tempted in vain to force his way to Morbihan and the coast, at the time in which the first division of the expedition was disembarked. This took place on the 27th of June, altogether against D'Hervilly's wish. On this occasion the English admiral showed himself as blind and obstinate as Puisaye. The emigrants were disembarked on the small peninsula of Quiberon, from which the bay receives its name. This peninsula is about six miles long by a mile and a half broad, and connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus defended by fort Penthièvre. The attack upon the fort proved successful, the republican garrison was partly incorporated with the royalists, whereby the number of traitors and deserters already brought from England with the army was increased to hundreds. When Hoche received in Rennes the news of the landing, the royalists had already pushed forward beyond the isthmus and been increased by thousands of useless peasants and Chouans. Among these people the English guns were distributed in a most absurdly extravagant manner, and then the whole body remained for two days perfectly stationary whilst Hoche was advancing.

Hoche immediately recovered all the points which had been occupied in the interior, killed a great number of the emigrants on the 3rd and 4th of July, and, after a new engagement on the 7th, shut up the whole body, together with the thousands of Chouans by whom it had been joined, within the peninsula. At this moment, whilst fort Penthièvre was still in their hands and the re-embarkation covered, they should have again put their troops on board; instead of which, relying upon the number of their undisciplined force, they resolved to take the strong camp of the republicans at St. Barbe, without the peninsula, by storm. This attempt was made on the 16th, but instead of waiting for the junction of the troops in the second division under Sombreuil, they were suffered to remain on board till after the defeat, and only landed on the 17th, when they should have re-embarked those which had been previously disembarked, and who now became an easy conquest to the enemy. The attack upon the republicans utterly failed, D'Hervilly was mortally wounded, and the loss of the royalists, which Hoche in his report to the convention estimates only at 300 men, according to their own accounts was not less than from 1200 to 1500 men. The rest were all exposed to certain death upon an open, sandy peninsula, destitute of supplies, if fort Penthièvre was

wrested out of their hands. Hoche would not have attempted to reduce the fort, had not the deserters and a part of the garrison, consisting of republican prisoners of war recruited in London, facilitated the undertaking. The fort was taken by storm on the night between the 20th and 21st of June, and every one found in the place was cut down. Puisaye left his people to their fate, and after having lived riotously in the army, now sought for safety on board the fleet. On the 21st, Sombreuil made an attempt to relieve the fort, but was repulsed with loss, and was anxious at least to save the remains of the troops, but this too was impossible.

Sombreuil, with the remains of the two divisions, reached the only part of the peninsula which was tenable; this was called the *new fort*; but he soon found that this position also, without artillery, ammunition, or provisions, was quite incapable of being maintained, and went to Hoche to treat for a capitulation. On this point the accounts of the republicans and the royalists are completely at variance; the latter allege that a verbal capitulation was agreed on, which the former deny. It is however quite certain, that Hoche would have allowed the 10,000 souls still remaining, consisting of women, children, Chouans and English, to have been re-embarked, had he not been absolutely prevented by Tallien and Blad, the two deputies from the convention. The former, who, as the husband of the profligate Fontenay-Cabarrus, was then playing the moderate in Paris, again resumed the character of the bloody fanatic at Quiberon which he had formerly played in Bordeaux. Without exposing himself to danger, Hoche dare not keep his word; he therefore sent the prisoners to Auray, where they were shut up in a church. Some of them met a miserable death, the mere dross escaped; but all the former officers, nobles and priests were called before a court-martial, and about 800 of them were executed*. Hoche himself marched to St. Malo, because the third division of this English

* In an appendix to the 'Mémoires,' p. 330, there is the "Liste alphabétique des émigrés et autres royalistes fusillés, tant à Vannes qu'à Auray, après la capitulation du comte de Sombreuil dans la presqu'île de Quiberon." To this he adds in a note: "Cette liste, imprimée à Brest en 1814, a été dressée sur un relevé très-fidèle des registres tenus par les commissions militaires de Vannes et d'Auray; s'il y a des erreurs de noms et de lieux, elles viennent de ces registres; nous en avons rectifié quelques-unes." He then mentions as the 'premières victimes', "Mgr. l'évêque de Dol et les ecclésiastiques de sa suite et le général M. le comte de Sombreuil." This is followed by the names and birthplaces of 711 others.

expedition seemed destined for that port. This division however was detained from August till October, and when it appeared on this occasion at the right place, on the coast of La Vendée, there was then nothing to be effected even there.

The count d'Artois himself had embarked on board an English fleet at the end of August, which landed him, together with 7000 or 8000 emigrants and 4000 English, upon the island of Dieu, which lies a few miles from the coast of La Vendée. The cost of this expedition, which was under the command of lord Moira, was also completely lost to the English; the troops and the prince were re-embarked on the 17th of November, because the only object of the English, a threatening diversion in favour of Austria, had been effected. Some idea of the money expended by England on these expeditions may be obtained from Hoche's report on the capture of fort Penthievre. He stated that he had found in the fort a considerable sum in cash, 70,000 complete stand of arms, together with clothing and stores for 40,000 men, and that on the evening before this event, six ships, which had arrived on the coast laden with rum, brandy and provisions, had been seized. Hoche was anxious to pursue a course precisely the reverse of that followed by the convention, which caused the prisoners to be called before a court-martial and condemned. Hoche, on the contrary, whilst he resorted to the severest military measures against Charette and other chiefs, sought to win the goodwill of the inhabitants of La Vendée by mildness and benevolence, and in this he was partly successful. They began to be convinced that they were only used by the English as means for the promotion of their own ends.

The recognition of the republic by some of the powers of Europe was the first great political result of these victories simultaneously gained over that portion of the royalists which had hitherto contended with the greatest success against the republicans, and over the great powers which had combined against them. Of this recognition the grand-duke of Tuscany furnished the first example, for he was only prevented from acknowledging the republic as early as the end of 1792 by the threats of England; he was however too weak, and was obliged to submit to those hostilities which, in the spirit of brutality, the English exercised against the French on his territories. This severity was pushed so far, that they carried off corn from the port of Leghorn, merely because it was destined for Toulon; and the

French compelled the grand-duke to pay a compensation for the corn, when he sent councillor Carletti to Paris at the close of November 1794, in order to conclude a peace; and satisfaction was no sooner given than the peace was concluded on the 13th of February 1795. Venice also sent an ambassador, and Naples entered into correspondence with the republic through the French ambassador in Venice and Genoa, whilst the pope alleged he had never been at war with France. In Vienna also the government would willingly have accepted the proposals of France, had not the Austrians been influenced to adopt a different course by the liberal supply of English money. In Germany and in Spain all feelings of patriotism were utterly extinguished by egotism and the petty cabals and intrigues of their courts.

The Prussians were still carrying on the war on the Rhine in 1794, and the diet of the empire had passed resolutions on the 5th of May and the 14th of June, in which it undertook the payment of the Prussian contingent, when, as has been already observed, Kalkreuth and Hardenberg commenced their negotiations with the plenipotentiaries of the government of terror. What was commenced by them was carried forward by Möllendorff*, who however employed persons of very ambiguous reputation, such as Schmerz, a dealer in Creuznach, who was obliged to remain on the frontiers of Switzerland, and the miserable Bacher, at that time secretary to the French embassy in Switzerland. Bacher was the means of carrying on intrigues in Munich also, through the instrumentality of Montgelas, the confidential friend of the heirs of Charles Theodore and the duke of Deux Ponts. The more honourable part of the negotiations with the Germans was conducted by the marquis Barthélemy, who, since the time of Dumourier, had been ambassador in Switzerland. We pass over the weakness which Germany, torn by internal selfishness, then displayed; the scandalous manner in which the left bank of the Rhine was lost by the disgraceful capitulation and surrender of Rheinfels to the French, when Hardenberg caused a cry for peace to be raised throughout the whole circle of Franconia, and at the same time Saxony, Baden, the Bava-

* In the history of the events connected with these transactions, the author has with due precaution made some use of "*Fain, alors secrétaire au comité militaire de la convention nationale, Manuscrit de l'an trois (1794-1795), contenant les premiers transactions des puissances de l'Europe avec la république Française et le tableau des derniers événemens du cabinet de cette époque. 1828.*"

rian palatinate and Mayence sued for peace at the diet in Ratisbon, and the reasons why all this took place, in order not to expose to the world the faults of our rulers, which had better remain concealed. Möllendorf himself spoke with great openness of the relation between the Prussians and Austrians. Some deputies from Baden begged Möllendorf, who was supposed to have and to defend the same interests as those of the imperialists, to grant them a safe convoy for their corn-waggons. His reply was very characteristic: "Of what use would it be, suppose I should grant your request? the Austrian posts would not respect it."

Whilst intrigues were carried on, consultations held and protocols written in Vienna and Ratisbon according to traditionary usage, whilst Thugut and Colloredo hesitated whether they should be obliged to prefer the French or the English, and whilst Mallet du Pan, as occasion served, laughed at both parties, by whom he was employed as a political sophist, in the same way as Genz was afterwards used, Haugwitz continued to spin the threads of Hardenberg's especial Prussian politics. The preliminary articles, respecting which Schmerz and his associates held conferences with Bacher and his companions, affected the left bank of the Rhine and the compensation to be given to Prussia for the insignificant loss with which it was threatened on the left bank. The real question simply was, how to aggrandize Prussia on the right bank of the river at the expense of the other states of the empire. The first difficulty arose from Prussia being required wholly to give up the imperial fortress of Mayence. At the time in which Möllendorf was treating with Barthélemy (Sept. 1794) this could not be done, because it was necessary first to make sure of the last payment of the English subsidy before completely throwing off the mask. The conduct of Austria moreover was not in the least less selfish than that of Prussia. In the same way as Prussia consented to sacrifice the whole left bank of the Rhine in the preliminaries, and stretched her covetous hands towards the possessions of other princes, Austria indicated her readiness to cede the whole of Belgium, provided the French would guarantee her compensation in Bavaria. Further, although Thugut and Colloredo, at every sitting of the cabinet council in Vienna, alleged the impossibility of any longer carrying on the war, they were all at once of a different opinion at the end of November. No wonder! Sir Morton

Eden had in the meantime arrived in Vienna and purchased Austria for 6,000,000*l.* sterling, which was paid under the name of a loan.

The secret negotiations of Prussia became public in November. The diet in Ratisbon, on the demand of Prussia, declared, by 36 out of 57 voices, that it was prepared to negotiate with France under the mediation of Prussia. The preliminaries were to be signed by major von Mayrink, whom Möllendorf had already employed in these negotiations, whilst count von Golz, who had been ambassador in Paris, was appointed to conduct the negotiations for the peace itself. The whole of the affairs of these vast and powerful states were in short managed like a common intrigue. As early as the 5th of December the king had put his signature to Golz's powers, but the negotiations were carried on till the end of the month by Schmerz and major Mayrink alone with Barthélemy, till they at length informed him at Baden in Aargau, where he was at that time, that Golz would come to Basle on the 21st of December.

The instructions of the Prussian ambassador were drawn up by Haugwitz, whose shamelessness and dishonesty of purpose are conspicuous in every line. We shall merely quote two lines from the second article, and can assure our readers that all the rest is precisely of the same character. The minister is there desired to make it clear to the French government, that the king of Prussia was desirous of peace purely out of love for his people, and for that reason also entertained favourable feelings towards the French nation. This perhaps might be allowed to pass and be excused by the usual forms of diplomatic language; but it is a thing unexampled, that Golz should have been commissioned to appeal as a confirmation of the fact above stated to the conduct of the Prussians during the war, and to say, "*that his majesty had given proofs of this good feeling during the course of the war.*" This however was quite in accordance with other parts of Haugwitz's conduct. When the committee of public welfare absolutely refused to carry on the negotiations in Basle and required them to be transferred to Paris, he sent Harnier, the former secretary of the embassy, to Paris in the beginning of January, where Cambacérès and Reubel at that time had the particular management of diplomatic affairs, in order to declare to the committee of public welfare, that Prussia had no objection to make against the stadtholder being driven out of Holland,

and the left bank of the Rhine conquered and occupied by the French.

It contributed to hasten the conclusion of the peace in Basle, that it accidentally happened in the following months, that the king of Prussia and the persons in power in Paris had the same interest and zeal in the suppression of terrorism. The king strongly insisted, that if he was to conclude a peace, the reign of terror should cease. The thermidorians and former girondists were anxious for the same thing. This desire gave rise to the struggle respecting a new constitution, an account of which has been given in the preceding paragraphs. In this contest the leading men of the committee of public welfare, on the one hand, reproached the king of Prussia, and on the other spurred on the majority of the convention and of the French people to the annihilation of the remnant of Robespierre's partisans, by alleging that peace with Prussia and Spain, and also the possession of Holland and the left bank of the Rhine, were bound up with the acceptance of the new constitution. The Austrians had their spies in Basle and around the city, and even one of their most distinguished generals, Hotze of Zürich, showed himself on this occasion well-qualified for such an employment.

The negotiations were greatly impeded by Prussia being required immediately to evacuate Mayence, and as one of the states of the empire, to remain neutral during the continuance of the war with the empire; especially however by the demand on the part of Prussia to take under her wings a large portion of North Germany, to be settled by a line of demarcation, as the pledge of future spoil. Before the terms of the treaty were settled, count Golz died on the 6th of February, and the terrorists in Paris again raised their heads; a new delay arose, although Harnier afterwards succeeded in bringing the negotiations to such a point, that they were easily brought to a close. In the beginning of March Hardenberg was appointed to complete the arrangements, and from that time forward he continued to conduct the European and Prussian intrigues, together with Haugwitz, and sometimes in opposition to him, because Hardenberg was more inclined to England than his colleague. Some idea may be formed of the melancholy condition in which things were in Prussia and in Europe at that time, from the fact that the English and their minister, lord Henry Spencer, who came from Stockholm to Berlin expressly for that purpose, dared to

offer 100,000 dollars to the countess Lichtenau for an audience, and a very large sum to the king, if he would consent to decline the peace. It is true indeed, that neither the mistress nor her lover accepted the offer, but it is quite enough that any one could believe in the possibility of such a thing!!! In the meantime Cambacérès, in the true spirit of a lawyer, used all his sophistry, and prevailed upon the convention to allow him and his committee of public welfare to agree upon *secret* articles with Prussia. In this way the object of Prussia was completely attained, and her participation in those parts of Germany destined for division and plunder fully assured, although nothing was *expressly* said at that time of the prince of Orange.

The determination of the line of demarcation by which Prussia was to secure for herself the northern half of Germany as a compensation for her un-German neutrality, leaving the southern half to Austria, which was sold to the English cabinet and to the French, caused some difficulties, because Hanover was included within the line; the scenes however which occurred in Paris on the 31st of March and the 1st of April (11th and 12th of Germinal) prompted the convention to hasten the conclusion of the treaty. The peace was signed in Basle on the 17th of May, and the point respecting the line of neutrality determined by a subsequent agreement. By virtue of this convention, the circles of Westphalia, Upper and Lower Saxony, Franconia, together with the Upper Palatinate, Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt, and that part of the circle of the Rhine which lies on both banks of the Maine, were declared neutral. In this way Germany was torn in pieces by Haugwitz and Hardenberg, Holland and the hereditary stadtholder forsaken, Prussia disgraced for ever, and a way made for Buonaparte's dominion.

Our readers will find the treaty itself in the sixth part of Marten's Collection. We shall subjoin the secret articles in a note, which are not in Marten, as far as they have accidentally been made known to us*.

* In the first article, the king of Prussia binds himself to undertake no hostile measures against Holland or any other country occupied by the French troops. In the second, France promises compensation to Prussia in case she succeeds in extending her frontiers to the Rhine. In the third, the French agree not to extend their military operations beyond the Prussian line of demarcation, and concede that Sayn, Altenkirchen and Bendorf be included within the neutral districts; further, they promise, that if they remain in possession of the duchy of Deux Ponts, to pay the loan of 1,500,000 Prussian dollars, lent by the king of Prussia to the duke, with 5,000,000 of francs.

Somewhat previous to this time, Aranda had been brought to the head of affairs in Spain instead of Florida Blanca, by the queen, who completely ruled her husband, and who was herself at a later period ruled by those favourites whom her sensuality raised from the dust. The honourable and dignified bearing maintained by Spain till the execution of Louis XVI., whilst all the rest of monarchical Europe raised a general outcry against the French, was ascribed to the influence of Aranda. The queen however selected Don Manuel Godoy, a guardsman belonging to the lower nobility, for a second husband; although he was a man devoid of talents, patriotism, and knowledge, she recommended him to the favour of the simple-minded Charles IV., who neither knew nor suspected wherein his merits really consisted; she therefore raised him from place to place and from honour to honour. This creature of the queen, who was despised by all good Spaniards, was first made secretary of state, then duke of Alcudia, and finally overthrew Aranda and became prime minister, that is, absolute master of Spain. This miserable *parvenu*, who, like all of his kind, was as insolent in prosperity as he was cowardly and despicable in danger, favoured a war with France, which Aranda wished to avoid, but became terrified as soon as the French under Dugommier appeared in the Pyrenees, penetrated into Spain, and seized upon immense booty. Bourgoing, who was afterwards employed in the negotiations with Spain, and knew the country better than the Spaniards themselves, found means of making it clear to Godoy and the queen, that they would find their best support in France against the dislikes and enmities of the Spanish grandees. This had its effect; although the first attempts of the French to make peace, and that also which proceeded from Dugommier, produced no positive result.

At the same time as Golz received full powers, Bourgoing again came to the frontiers of Spain, and induced the committee of public welfare to write on the subject of the peace to two Spanish ministers who were then in foreign countries,—Ocaritz, the last ambassador in Paris, and Yriarte, who had been sent to Poland

Besides, it is expressly said in these secret articles, that Haugwitz and Hardenberg regarded it as possible to secure Hanover to Prussia. It is said, "If Hanover should decline the neutrality guaranteed by Prussia, the latter should be allowed to take possession of the former as a pledge." With respect to Frankfort, the limit of the line of demarcation, it is said, "Austria as well as the French shall be allowed to pass through the city, but not to place a garrison in it."

and was at that time in Vienna. Both letters came into the hands of the duke of Alcudia, who opened them. Ocaritz was in France: had he received the commission to negotiate, he would have been obliged to enter into communications with the deputies of the convention who were with the army of the Pyrenees, with whom nothing was to be done; Godoy therefore gave the commission to Yriarte, who was in Venice; he immediately hastened to Basle, and was brought into communication with Barthélemy by Hardenberg. Hardenberg having previously informed Barthélemy, the two parties first met each other at the house of the *duca de San Fermo*. Count Lehrbach, who then and afterwards played a part in every disgraceful affair, and the contemptible English intriguer Wickham, whose schemes Buonaparte afterwards unmasked before all Europe, were both present, engaged in their usual work of intrigue and espionage in Basle. These were the men who corrupted and bribed Pichegru, by the instrumentality of Fauche Borel, the Neufchatel bookseller, who was a ridiculous enthusiast in the cause of the Bourbons, and has blessed the world with some volumes of his memoirs.

These intriguers resorted to all their manifold arts to disturb the negotiations with Spain; at the same time it was found impossible to come to an understanding with Spain respecting a condition on which the Spaniards insisted,—the liberation of Louis Charles the dauphin, whom the royalists called Louis XVII., and his sister, because at this moment the republicans could not consent to the presence of a pretender in foreign countries. This obstacle however was removed by the death of the prince on the 8th of June 1795. The princess (afterwards *duchesse d'Angoulême*) was then exchanged for the deputies Camus, Quinette, Bancal, Lamarque, Drouet, and general Beurnonville, whom Dumourier had delivered up to the Austrians, and Maret and Sémonville, who had been taken prisoners also by the Austrians.

The Spaniards were very tenderly spared in this treaty, because the French wished to make the duke of Alcudia a creature of France, to bind him to their interests and make use of him in their attempt to chain Spain completely to France, to employ her ships against England, to unite the Spanish with the French fleets, and to stop up one of the chief sources of English trade. None of all these topics was at first mentioned, but the conditions of the peace signed at Basle on the 22nd of July 1795 were of such a character as induced Charles IV. to confer upon Alcudia the title

of "*Prince of Peace*," and the people for some time afterwards regarded him in consequence as the mainstay of the kingdom. All the conquests which France had made beyond the Pyrenees were restored to Spain, in return for which Spain ceded her share of the island of St. Domingo to the French. The government of France was willing to admit of the mediation of Spain in favour of Naples, Parma, Sardinia and the pope. Spain further granted for the space of five years a supply of 100 Andalusian horses, 1000 sheep and 100 rams yearly.

The whole of Europe appeared at that time prostrate at the feet of France: Holland was conquered; Sweden sent baron von Staël again as her ambassador to Paris; Hesse-Cassel concluded a special treaty with the republic in Basle on the 28th of August; Venice instead of a resident sent one of her greatest sons in order to give a strong testimony of devotedness to the republic; Portugal alleged that she had never been at war with France: Naples wished to open negotiations in order to escape Spanish mediation; and even Sardinia showed herself not indisposed to negotiate.

2. HOLLAND.—WAR IN GERMANY IN THE YEAR 1795 TILL 1796.

At the close of the year the French had driven the German armies beyond the Rhine, and all the strong places on the Rhine were in their possession except Mayence; they had pushed forward between Clairfait's army and the English, and on the one side reduced the fortresses of Venloo, Nimeguen and Maestricht, and on the other, those of Crevecoeur and Herzogenbusch. The English and Dutch were obliged to seek for refuge behind the Waal and the Leek, and as early as December were able to maintain only a very imperfect communication with the Austrian army of the Rhine under Clairfait. On the right wing of Clairfait's army Alvinzy commanded an auxiliary corps of 30,000 men, which had been assigned for the protection of the Dutch, and was to have defended the Rhine from Duisburg to Panderen; but it was late in December before the Dutch declared themselves ready to supply this army with provisions. In the meantime the French army was severely pressed by want, the soldiers were without clothing or shoes, whilst the commissaries, contractors, bankers, trades-people, and all the harpies who had been sent from Paris became immensely rich. Even Pichegru was often reduced to the greatest straits for money, because the generals of the republic were very anxiously watched

and paid with assignats without value, till Buonaparte created a very different system in Italy, squeezed the contractors and speculators like sponges, and drove away all the commissaries.

Pichegru, under whom Moreau served, in an incursion into the province of Holland, was able confidently to rely on the correspondence carried on in all the cities and towns by the Dutch patriots and democrats, who had been driven out of the Netherlands by the Prussians in 1787. Whole companies of Dutch served in the French army, and the patriotic party was again alive in the provinces. The most important man, who afterwards played a very conspicuous part in the *new* republic of Holland, was Daëndels, formerly burgomaster of Hattem, which had been so grossly maltreated by the nobles of Gueldres and the troops of the hereditary stadtholder in 1787. Daëndels was at this time a general in the French service, and commanded a part of the hostile invading forces on their attempt to cross the Waal on the 11th of December. The attempt failed and a sort of mutual truce took place, because the weather, roads, the overflow of the rivers and waters effectually obstructed all military operations till the setting in of a severe frost opened a way over the morasses, rivers, moors and canals. No formal truce had been agreed upon, because the negotiations for a cessation of hostilities were not commenced in Pichegru's camp till the symptoms of frost in the middle of December gave some hopes of their being able to pursue the march. Carnot, Dubois Crancé and their friends, the most violent democrats, urged this course, because they wished to withdraw Holland entirely from the power and influence of England, by infecting the population with the virus of democracy. The commotions and discontent which gave evidence of its existence in every province against the ruling Orange party were their best allies. This feeling was soon so openly and loudly expressed, that the hereditary stadtholder caused proposals to be made in Paris in November by the states-general, which led to the negotiations in Herzogenbusch for a cessation of hostilities, because these proposals were not unfavourably received. As these negotiations could not be brought to any final issue in the camp, Gerard Brantsen and Ocker Repelaer, the former extraordinary ambassadors, travelled to Paris, in order to negotiate in the name of the old aristocratic republic with the committee of public safety of the new democratic one.

Even at this early period of the struggle the hereditary stadtholder was not disinclined to lay down his dignity for a time, in

order at least to save the old form of government and the friends of the house of Orange, as Prussia had refused all aid to himself and his wife, who was the king's sister; besides, the states-general offered to recognise the French republic, and at fixed times within a year to pay the sum of 200,000,000 of guilders. The convention would hardly have rejected this offer, had not news arrived in Paris at the very moment of the negotiation that the bold undertaking of Pichegru's army, though suffering from almost complete destitution, would undoubtedly be successful in its invasion of Holland. If this undertaking was crowned with success, then it would be very easy to clothe and arm one corps of Frenchmen after another at the cost of the Dutch, and to relieve the urgent pecuniary necessities of France by seizing upon the savings of the frugal Dutch.

On the 20th of December the allies had not lost all hopes, partly founded upon the state of the canals and marshes, of being able to maintain their position; the prince of Orange, Wallmoden, Alvinzy, and the English lieutenant-general Harcourt held a council of war at Arnheim; but on the 22nd a frost of unexampled severity set in, 17° below zero (Reaumur), which changed land and water into a mass as hard as stone. On the 27th Pichegru's army commenced its march, and the lines of Breda, Oudenbosch and Seevenbergen were taken; and on the 29th Grave also fell, which had been besieged for two months and a half. The superiority in number was so great, the dislike of the Dutch to the English so decisive, and the disloyalty of all the provinces so obvious, that the English began to send off their baggage from the country in December. On the 5th of January 1795, the English generals delivered a written paper to Wallmoden, in which they declared that their troops were so exhausted as no longer to be able to serve, and required the repose of winter-quarters; another council of war was however called on the 7th, when the French were already threatening Rotterdam. The two princes of the hereditary stadtholder, Fox and lord St. Helens, generals Wallmoden, Alvinzy and Harcourt, met together once more in Utrecht; they soon perceived that the rapid evacuation of the country was all that remained for them. When it is stated, that at the decisive moment in which the question turned upon the defence of the Waal and Leek, general Wallmoden excused himself by saying that he did not know what he ought to do, as he had still no answer from London, and that four days afterwards he repeated the same excuse, it will be easy

to explain why the French were everywhere victorious and the allies beaten. Whilst Wallmoden was waiting to hear what was concluded in London, Pichegru with a great part of the army of the north crossed the Waal on the 9th of January, and drove the English, who retired before him, over the Leck. Wallmoden it is true wished to take up a position between Nimeguen and Arnheim, but he was attacked and obliged rapidly to retreat further with the loss of all his field equipage.

The Dutch troops now separated from the allies, and the provinces of Utrecht and Holland were not even willing to allow them to march through. The English and Hanoverians were badly received and quartered, the cold and want to which they were exposed on the march was incredible, and the sufferings of the English army on their retreat through Deventer, partly direct towards Westphalia and partly through Leer in East Friesland, can only be compared to those to which Buonaparte's army was subjected on the retreat from Russia. In January 1795, the winter in respect to cold was completely Russian. Our readers will find a detailed account of this destructive retreat in Porbeck's work, or in an extract from a book in which all the military operations are minutely detailed, which we entirely pass over*. The author of this history at that very time had gone from his native town to Leer and the difficult district whither the English and Hanoverians came, and he can bear witness that the men and horses of this select and admirably-appointed English army, accustomed to all the conveniences of their own country, may be justly compared to the appearance of Napoleon's heroes, whom too the author saw marching round Frankfort in 1813; and the road from the Leck to the Ems was strewed with the dead bodies of men, with horses, baggage and arms, like the road to Mayence after the battles of Leipzig and Hanau.

The hereditary stadtholder waited in vain for an answer from his representatives in Paris; Spaen de Biljoen, and Royer, pensionary of Holland, who had been sent as commissioners from the states-general to the government in Paris, found little attention, because Rotterdam and Utrecht were already in possession of the French, and the establishment of a Batavian democratic republic had been long prepared by Schimmelpennink, who from that time forward played one of the chief characters in the Ne-

* Porbeck's description is contained in the second part of his 'Critical History of the Operations of the Combined English Army for the Defence of Holland in the years 1794 and 1795.' The extract will be found in the 'Austrian Military Journal for 1831,' No. 4. vol. ii. p. 132, &c.

therlands. The hereditary stadtholder therefore went to the assembly of the states-general on the 16th of January 1795, and requested the assembly to permit his sons to withdraw from the military service; he did not however lay down his own dignity till he received news, sent by Brantsen and Repelaer from Paris, and which reached him on the 17th in Scheveningen, to the effect that if the prince would abdicate, the convention would allow everything to remain on the old footing. As the two deputies had written to him and to the states-general at the same time, he immediately set sail for England, where he arrived on the 20th. Pichegru entered Amsterdam on the 29th, and immediately, in the name of the convention, caused the freedom and independence of the new democratic republic of the United Netherlands to be proclaimed. Moreover Pichegru was not allowed to interfere in everything, as Buonaparte afterwards did in Italy; the deputies of the convention also first negotiated with the states-general, although Schimmelpennink immediately summoned a representative assembly, which was to change everything in the following year, as soon as the alliance with France was concluded.

A provisional government was first instituted, which in the name of the states-general, now consisting wholly of patriots, was to preserve and establish everything which the French required, who therefore put off the establishment of the new government till the conclusion of the treaty to be agreed upon with the provisional government, as they could not expect to come to a satisfactory arrangement so easily with the democrats as with old and experienced men of business. The convention sent Reubel and Siéyès, who, as an experienced constitution-monger, might lend his aid in the construction of the new Batavian republic. These deputies having conferred with Peter Paulus, Lestevenon, Mathias Pons and Hubert, agreed upon a treaty of alliance with the new republic, of whose nature and import the convention had not the least idea, for Reubel and Siéyès were there accused of having received money in order to alleviate the severity of the conditions imposed, although in reality the treaty was extremely oppressive. By virtue of this treaty, signed on the 16th of May 1795, Venloo, the district of Limburg, Maestricht, and Dutch Flanders or the south bank of the Scheldt, were ceded; a French garrison was to remain in Vliessingen, the navigation of the Scheldt was declared to be free, and the Meuse and the Rhine also were to be open to French

ships. Holland agreed to pay 100,000,000 of guilders for the expense of the war, and bound herself in war-times to raise, clothe and maintain an army of 25,000 French, to be commanded by a general of that nation; that is, in other words, what was called their independence was declared to be a mere delusion, and the Dutch were compelled to pay the army which kept them in obedience. And moreover, as these 25,000 men were frequently changed, the fact was, that in the course of several years, a great part of the French army was equipped and maintained at Dutch cost.

Before this formal agreement was concluded, an immense number of French, who were destitute of everything, had been dispersed over the seven provinces, and there fed, clothed and completely equipped for the field. Before Overijssel, Groningen and Friesland were wholly evacuated by the enemy, the French as early as the end of January had completely overrun Holland, Zealand, Dutch Brabant and Dutch Flanders, Gueldres and Utrecht with their starving troops, and in February they took possession of the three other provinces also. Whilst the allies were suffering want in Münster, one requisition followed another, not only in single provinces, but in the whole republic, although Pichegru maintained better discipline than the allies had done before him. Among the allies, no one at last knew who was really in command, as the English regarded and treated Wallmoden, who was a haughty Hanoverian, as their servant. The amount of the general requisitions demanded by the French was estimated, even at this time, at 15,000,000 of guilders, without reckoning the demands which were made in the single provinces, or the expenses of the generals and officers, and the support and payment of the separate regiments. The Dutch now experienced what the Germans afterwards learned—how ruinous it is for a people, either from laziness or love of gain, to leave itself wholly without defence, or when its princes exclude the people like a herd of sheep from all participation in the government.

The Dutch, who were thus exhausted by the French their new friends, were at the same time robbed and plundered by their old friends the English. They were robbed, because the hereditary stadtholder after his flight wrote to the various governors in the East and West Indies, who had been appointed by him, to receive the English into the respective colonies as protectors against the French, that is, should regard the wolf as their shepherd. The Dutch were plundered, because four ships of

the line, six East-Indiamen richly laden, and one hundred and ten merchant ships, which at this moment were in English waters, were placed under embargo, seized upon and never returned. This was highly unjust; on the contrary, it was quite according to general custom for the English in the following year to capture the Cape of Good Hope, Malacca, Ceylon, Essequibo, Cochin, the Moluccas, Demerara, and Berbice, because the new Batavian republic was then at war with England and subject to France; nothing now remained to the Dutch except Java. An Indian fleet, valued at 10,000,000 of guilders, was also taken, and admiral Lucas, who with three ships of the line and six frigates had run into Saldanha Bay, was compelled by his Orange crews to surrender them to the English.

Siéyès and Reubel contemplated with great joy the fearful demagogic confusion which Schimmelpennink and his provisional government had given rise to by his representative assembly, among a people devotedly attached to their own customs. In consequence of this confusion, Siéyès and his companions found an opportunity, as early as the following year, of shining and ruling in Holland as legislators and creators of constitutions and government, a course which was often subsequently repeated. At first the democrats recognised the French principle of the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man as the primary law; the dignity of stadtholder was for ever abolished; admiral Kinsbergen and the grand pensionary van der Spiegel, who had deserved so well of his country, were arrested, and together with them count Bentinck Rhoone, with whom the author afterwards enjoyed such a long and intimate acquaintance, that he is convinced it must have been a great honour to him to have been arrested with two such men as Kinsbergen and van der Spiegel. It is true, none of the three were injured. Everything which had been done in and since 1787 was declared null, the exiles recalled, the magistrates changed, the officers of the civil departments removed, and the Batavian and French colours everywhere hoisted.

The prosecution of the war by the French in Germany was obstructed in the commencement of the year 1795 by causes of very various kinds, among which may be reckoned Aubry's position at the head of the topographic cabinet, which was to sketch the plan of the campaigns; this was the same man who was Buonaparte's opponent in the committee of public welfare, Aubry having at length withdrawn on the 2nd of August,

Moreau was appointed commander-in-chief in Holland ; Jourdan received the charge of the army of the Sambre and Meuse on the Lower Rhine ; and Pichegru the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, that is, of the whole of the troops from Mayence to Basle. The siege of Mayence was at length seriously commenced in the spring of 1795, the city having been up till this time merely closely invested. Luxemburg, after an eight months' siege, was compelled to capitulate on the 7th of June 1795 to Hatry, general of division. Twelve thousand Austrians under field-marshal Bender, with the exception of 400 emigrants who were in their army, were allowed to withdraw unmolested ; 800 pieces of heavy artillery and the immense treasures belonging to churches and convents, which had been conveyed for safety to this supposed impregnable fortress, became the booty of the French. The Prussian diplomatists had completely separated the northern part of the German empire from the south, and the latter was anxiously waiting, as it afterwards appeared, for a favourable opportunity of forsaking the cause and interests of their country. Since 1795, Würtemberg and Baden were anxiously seeking for the favour and grace of the French. The whole burthen of the German war fell upon the Austrians, who in the year 1795 fought with heroism and success for German honour, although all hope had long since disappeared of being able to deliver the left bank of the Rhine, the possession of which Prussia had evacuated to the French, even before Mayence was taken.

When it was at length known that the Bavarian palatinate also was carrying on secret negotiations with the French, and that the other German princes employed abundance of jurists and diplomatists, but got on foot no armies, the Austrians began to perceive that it was necessary, not to send princes but generals into the field. In January and the following months Clairfait was alone at the head of the army on the Lower Rhine, whilst the duke of Saxe-Teschen commanded that of the Upper Rhine, and there was something said of an imperial army which was also to be placed under him. When however all hopes of a considerable imperial army disappeared in the beginning of April, the duke was obliged to retire. Clairfait was created a field-marshal and received the supreme command of both the armies of the Rhine. On the 20th of April Clairfait took the command of the whole of the Austrian and imperial troops on the Rhine, and in May he received orders to make a vigorous effort at least to relieve Mayence, then seriously besieged, there

being no longer any hope of saving Luxemburg. The grand struggle therefore commenced in the district between the Maine and the Nahe. On the Lower Rhine, Jourdan remained quiet till his army was strongly reinforced; on the Upper Rhine, the plan of the imperialists of sending a corps under Condé, and another under Wurmser through Switzerland into Franche Comté, was frustrated, as well as the opposite plan of the French,—that Pichegru should march through Switzerland into the Breisgau. When Pichegru afterwards ought to have penetrated into Germany through Mannheim, he had already become a traitor*.

The ministers of Charles Theodore were engaged in conspiracies with the French, against their emperor, at the same time that Pichegru was brought into connexion with Condé, and through him with the Austrians, by Fauche Borel the bookseller, and that they were forming their plans against the miserable government then existing in Paris. In the beginning of July Oberndorf treacherously required of the Austrians to evacuate Mannheim, because the French threatened to annihilate the town by a bombardment if that was not done. It had however been specially agreed upon, when the trenches on the further side of the Rhine were surrendered to the French, that Mannheim should not be bombarded. The whole affair therefore was a

* The case was not precisely as it is represented in the following passage, composed in the style of a courtier of Charles X. The report is nevertheless substantially correct. The marquis d'Esqueville, in his book entitled '*Les compagnies du corps sous les ordres de S. A. S. Mgr. le prince de Condé*,' vol. i. p. 401, writes as follows: "Le général républicain Pichegru, commandant l'armée du Haut-Rhin,..... et qui avoit toujours cherché les moyens d'être utile à la cause du roi, avoit eu pendant l'été (1795) son quartier général à Huningue. Il avoit profité de son rapprochement avec le prince de Condé, qui, occupant Mulheim, n'étoit presque séparé de lui que par le Rhin, pour entrer en négociation. Son premier soin fut de faire connoître au prince le désir et l'intention où il étoit, de lui donner des preuves de son zèle pour le rétablissement de la monarchie. Une correspondance suivie avoit eu lieu pendant l'été, des commissaires respectifs en étoient porteurs. Un des intermédiaires les plus affidés fut Montgaillard, dont le dévouement pour le roi et la famille royale paroissoit à cette époque n'avoir pas de bornes. Pichegru, dont le but étoit de faire naître dans son armée les sentimens royalistes qui l'animoit lui-même, avoit depuis plusieurs mois modéré l'impatience du prince de Condé, en lui mandant, qu'il ne vouloit pas faire le second tome de Lafayette et de Dumourier, ni rien hasarder sans avoir la certitude du succès. Il se trouvoit alors à Strasbourg, et la position du prince de Condé et de son corps à Buhl présentant la chance la plus favorable, Pichegru lui fit savoir, qu'il étoit assésé de son plan, lequel consistoit dans les points suivans: *Faire passer le Rhin au prince de Condé et son corps, le joindre à l'armée républicaine, qui avoit arboré la cocarde blanche, proclamé le roi, et marcher sur Paris sous les ordres du prince de Condé, dont le corps est formé l'avant-garde de l'armée.* Pichegru offroit les principaux généraux comme otages, pour prévenir toute espèce de méfiance sur la pureté de ses intentions, &c. &c."

mere intrigue carried on between Oberndorf, who was at that time ruling minister in the Palatinate, and the French, who occupied the Rhine trenches, in the same manner as that between Pichegru and the prince of Condé. Clairfait expressly rejected the proposal on the 22nd of July. At the end of July, when the French were threatening to make their attack, the command of the Austrians was again divided. The main army, consisting of Austrian and imperial troops, remained under Clairfait, and the army of the Upper Rhine was placed under Wurmser; in both of these experienced and tried men, Germany placed confidence. The commencement of hostilities upon the right bank of the Rhine was delayed till the French made a feint of passing over the Rhine at Breisach, in order to draw off attention from Jourdan's army, which really crossed the river above Düsseldorf on the 6th and 7th of September 1795. This step was rendered possible by the conduct of Von Hompesch, minister of the Bavarian palatinate, and lieutenant-general Zettwitz, who, in defiance of all the representations of the imperial general, had surrendered Düsseldorf with 350 pieces of cannon and 10,000 stand of arms to the French. After the passage of the river, the French violated the Prussian line of demarcation without any effort being made by the Prussians to prevent the violation; they then outflanked the imperial general and compelled him to retire rapidly behind the Wipper. The retreat was afterwards continued on Clairfait's command till behind the Lahn, because Jourdan had been no sooner successful in effecting the passage of one part of his army at Urdingen, between Duisburg and Düsseldorf, than he brought over his whole army to the right bank at different points between Cologne and Coblenz. The Austrians were at length driven back, towards the 21st of September, beyond the Maine, and on this day received the news that Mannheim as well as Düsseldorf had been betrayed by the Bavarians and was occupied by Pichegru.

Oberndorf, the Bavarian minister in Mannheim, allowed that city to be surrendered to the French in the same manner as his colleague Hompesch had surrendered Düsseldorf, and moreover at the very moment in which Wurmser had despatched general Quosdanowich from Freiburg, and was himself on the way to their assistance with the main army. Quosdanowich was at Heidelberg and Wiesloch, but changed his position to Handschuchsheim and Dossenheim, when Pichegru sent two divisions to take possession of Heidelberg. The central point of the battle,

which was fought on the 24th of September, between the French and Austrian armies, was the village of Handschuchsheim, near Heidelberg. The contest remained long doubtful; at length however the imperialists conquered. The reward of the victory was the re-occupation of Heidelberg and Wiesloch, both of which Quosdanowich had evacuated in order to take up a position at Handschuchsheim, and to secure his communication with Clairfait's divisions by the Bergstrasse. Pichegru's two divisions were driven back to Seckenheim. Clairfait, who had hastened to Darmstadt, because Wurmser was still beyond Carlsruhe, immediately returned to the Maine as soon as he heard of the favourable issue of the battle at Handschuchsheim.

From this moment, Wurmser, who had arrived with his army in the palatinate, and Clairfait assumed the offensive, according to the express commands which they had received from Vienna. Clairfait was resolved at all hazards to relieve Mayence, and for this purpose either to compel Jourdan to leave the Maine by manœuvres or to offer him battle; and Wurmser was anxious to wrest Mannheim, which was then fortified, and the Rhine trenches, from the hands of the French. Neither of these could be effected without a battle, and both Clairfait and Wurmser therefore were desirous of bringing the French to action. For this purpose Clairfait marched from Frankfort through Höchst, where Jourdan was in position in the centre of the army of the Moselle and Rhine. As the Austrian marshal with his army approached the Nidda, he availed himself of the circumstance, that the emperor had not acknowledged any Prussian line of demarcation, or approved of any such system of neutrality as that devised by Haugwitz; this he was entitled to do for a double reason, because the French had paid no attention to this Prussian agreement at Düsseldorf, although it was decided between the two parties by treaty. In their books therefore all their complaints against the Austrians on this ground are completely unfounded. On the 12th Clairfait returned a contemptuous answer to the Prussian general prince von Hohenlohe, informing him that a line of demarcation was a thing wholly unknown to the emperor.

Jourdan having lost the advantage of the line of demarcation, no decisive battle took place on the Nidda; for the repeated attacks of the French on the village of Nidda, which lies near the mouth of the river of the same name, were repulsed, and the council of war assembled in the French head-quarters at Höchst

did not deem it advisable to await the attack of the Austrians advancing from the Taunus. On Jourdan's command the siege of Mayence was first changed again into a blockade, and the army withdrawn to the left bank of the Rhine. On the 21st of September, Jourdan himself was in Cologne; but he kept his communications with Germany open by retaining possession of Düsseldorf. Hompesch moreover had not more heinously sinned against his country than the elector of Saxony, who recalled his 10,000 men from the Austrian army at the very moment in which Clairfait was marching on the Nidda; yet to his honour it must be said, he left his contingent with the army of the empire.

From the time of the battle of Handschuchsheim, Wurmser and Pichegru lay watching each other in the Middle Rhine. It was a remarkable piece of good fortune for the Austrians at that time that Pichegru did nothing more than was absolutely necessary, in order not to rouse feelings of indignation against himself among his own officers, of whom Dessaix was now one. As to the Austrians, the negotiations of Würtemberg with the French had already taken such a turn, that Pichegru when still on the Upper Rhine was able to express the opinion that the strong-fortress of Kehl, occupied by Swabian troops, would be surrendered to him through the mediation of Würtemberg. The Swabian troops would in fact have left Wurmser precisely at the decisive moment, had not Wurmser received orders from Vienna to detain them by force. The Bavarian palatinate too wished to remain neutral, which also by imperial command he would not acknowledge. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the brave old general commenced acting on the offensive against Pichegru at the same time that Clairfait marched against Jourdan on the Nidda. As soon as news arrived on the 14th of October of Jourdan's retreat from the Maine, Wurmser resolved to attack Pichegru by storm in his centre at Mannheim.

From this time Wurmser as well as Clairfait wholly forsook the proverbial caution and methodical tediousness of the Austrian generals, which they had been hitherto accustomed to observe. The former resolved to attack Pichegru's centre; the latter to take the French lines before Mayence by storm. Pichegru's centre was in Mannheim; on the 18th of October therefore Wurmser formed his whole army in six columns for the attack, and drove the French into the fortress with the loss of 2000 men. On the 19th he summoned the city. From the

19th till the 30th, a very warm and vigorous contest was carried on, till the Austrians, having obtained possession of the Galgenberg, had made all the necessary preparations for bombarding the town. Pichegru now deemed it advisable to remove all the rest of the troops to the left bank of the river, leaving only a garrison of 10,000 in Mannheim and the Rhine trenches. Count Oberndorf proved at this moment (31st October) shameless enough to propose to Wurmser, "That after the withdrawal of the French (*who were first to be driven out of the fortress by immense efforts on the part of the Austrians*), the protection of the city should be left to the citizens or to the contingent of the Bavarian palatinate, that no Austrian garrison should be left in the fortress, and that it might be allowed to observe a perfect neutrality." It was truly a stretch of courtesy in the emperor, in answering such egotists, merely to direct Wurmser to *pay no attention whatever to such proposals*.

A third summons having been sent to the city and refused by general Montaigu, who commanded in the town, the batteries were opened on the 12th of November. Clairfait's successful operations against the besieging army before Mayence compelled Pichegru to remove further from the Rhine and therefore facilitated the siege. When Pichegru at length had retired beyond the Speyerbach, Montaigu himself caused the bridge of boats to be removed, and therefore all communication with the left bank to be completely broken off, because the Austrians had a number of gun-boats on the river, under the command of colonel Williams. From this day (the 14th) the fire became more and more dreadful; as early as the 17th the French garrison began to seek for some place of safety within and without the Lutheran church, under the pillars of the trades-house and of the electoral palace, which was afterwards partially destroyed, but at that time still spared, because all the barracks had been already knocked to pieces. The greater portion of the inhabitants took refuge either in the cellars of their own dwellings, in the large cellar of the palace, that of the theatre, or even in the vaults under the church of the jesuits.

The French commandant having refused to accede to a fourth summons, sent on the 19th of November, a tremendous cannonade was commenced, for in the night between the 20th and 21st of November, 400 bombs were thrown into the town. The wing of the palace, which is still in ruins, the ball-room, opera-house, and cabinet of natural history, together with the tower, &c., became a prey to the flames, and yet notwithstanding, the

French commandant persisted in his resolution not to surrender. On the 22nd he at length found the town utterly untenable, and surrendered with the whole garrison prisoners of war. The taking of Mannheim and the storming of the lines before Mayence were unquestionably the most glorious deeds of the Austrians during the whole war. In Mannheim 9787 men, among whom was one general of division, four brigadier-generals, and 410 officers, were made prisoners; 50,000 stand of small arms, 383 pieces of cannon, and large munitions of war fell into the hands of the Austrians. It is stated in the Austrian reports, that from the 20th of October till the 21st of November, 21,105 heavy balls and shells were thrown into the city.

The reduction of Mannheim was especially promoted by an attack made by Clairfait at the close of the month of October on the left wing of Pichegru's army, which consisted of four divisions, in which the latter suffered a severe defeat. When Clairfait marched from Wiesbaden to attack the blockading army before Mayence, the number of troops in the lines, including some regiments of Jourdan's force, was estimated at 33,000 men on the 29th of October. Clairfait knew that the weakest points of the enemy's lines were at Laubenheim and Weissenau, or rather that they had there made a mistake in the choice of their position; he therefore directed his chief attack against these points on the 29th, and was supported by colonel Williams with his gun-boats on the river. The field-marshal himself reached Weissenau at one o'clock in the morning. The attack was followed by the most splendid success; the lines were surmounted, 3000 French slain, 1633 taken prisoners, 138 pieces of artillery captured, and a vast booty in carriages, waggons, furniture, provisions, balls, shells and small arms fell into the hands of the Austrians. The French retreated on one side to Grünstadt, and on the other from Bingen to Creuznach. From this moment the whole bent of Clairfait's and Wurmser's endeavours was to interrupt, and if possible, to cut off the communication between Jourdan and Pichegru. The latter reaped more glory by his wonderful ability in contending against a superior force than others have done by splendid victories; he was not fortunate in the innumerable battles which occurred from the 10th till the 17th of November, for his five divisions during these days lost about 8000 men, 22 pieces of artillery, and 100 ammunition-waggons; he maintained himself however behind the Queich and in his position at Germersheim, of the possibility of which he was long in doubt, as appears from his letter to Jourdan.

Clairfait first drove Jourdan's army from the Rhine to the Hunsrück, then behind the Moselle, and on the 16th of December general Nauendorf proposed to him to occupy Treves and push forward into Luxemburg; he however regarded the roads as too difficult, and wished besides to give his brave soldiers some rest after having been harassed by daily marches and engagements for three months. All sorts of reports were spread and reasons assigned why the imperialists did not advance, but rather remained on the Rhine and afterwards concluded a truce. General Marceau first proposed a truce on the 16th of December to general Kray, who commanded the van. Clairfait was at first desirous that this agreement should affect only the districts on the Nahe, but he received a hint from the higher powers, and gave his consent, after Wurmser also had acceded to the truce on the 22nd of December. On the 26th, Latour in Wurmser's name signed the stipulations of the truce, and on the 27th Clairfait did the same through Kray. Kray negotiated on behalf of the main army under Clairfait, and Marceau for Jourdan's army of the Sambre and Meuse.

The truce was concluded for an indefinite period, on the condition that ten days' notice was to be given on either side before the commencement of new hostilities. This truce not merely affected the left bank of the Rhine, but the right also, where the French were victorious over the imperialists. With respect to the right bank of the Rhine, count Haddick and the French general Collaud met and came to an understanding at Ehrenbreitstein, that the imperial advanced posts should be placed on the left bank of the Sieg, and the French on the right bank of the Wipper, and that the navigation of the Rhine should be free from the mouth of the Sieg to Bacharach. The truce was connected with the intrigues in Vienna, and partly with the plan on which Pichegru had agreed with Condé, for the execution of which he would have need of Wurmser's army on the Rhine. Clairfait went to Vienna, because he hoped by his presence to be able to put an end to the gross abuses of the usurers and contractors, who were connected with the ministry and the aristocracy in the army (viz. with general Werneck and his associates), and who carried on the most scandalous system of speculation and fraud at the expense of the soldiers and the state, as every one knew they did at that time. He soon discovered that Thugut and his associates, the aristocracy and their partisans, the empress and her creatures, were far more powerful

than he. Being deeply offended he laid down his command, but was at the same time praised and honoured as the deliverer of German honour, although from this period till his death in 1798, he was never again allowed to serve a nation which stood particularly in need of the ability and services of such men as he. His worthy pupil the archduke Charles was appointed for the following year in his stead, and his praises were sounded by the whole German nation, then betrayed by its princes; he was their last hope and resource; he afterwards made shipwreck however on the very same rocks on which his predecessor had struck. Like the emperor Joseph, he ran foul of all those hindrances and obstructions which are the results of the Austrian principle,—that nothing great can be effected, simply because it is in its very nature new.

The French government (since October 1795 in the hands of the directory) first recalled the commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine on the 18th of March 1796. Proofs poured upon the directory at that time from all quarters, that Pichegru was a royalist; that he had carried on, through mutual agents, a correspondence with Condé and with Wickham, the English minister in Switzerland, and was contemplating a bold undertaking against Paris. Condé had at length made the Austrian commander acquainted with the affair, and the conclusion of the truce was no doubt contingent on this circumstance. Pichegru was too important, and the whole of the five directors, although rulers of France, too insignificant to venture to call him to account, especially as there were no judicial proofs against him; they therefore offered him the post of ambassador to Sweden, which he declined, but resigned his command of the army of the Rhine to his friend Moreau, and retired to his estate. From his retirement in the country, he and some other generals, among whom Willot is the best known, continued secretly to work in favour of the Bourbons. He had purchased the former abbey of Bellevaux with its dependent estates, and on the 1st of March 1797, when a new third was for the first time to be added to the legislature, he with many other royalists was elected a member of the council of the five hundred, which led to a new anti-royalist revolution in Fructidor, or the commencement of September 1797. Whilst moreover royalism was reviving in the south and south-east of France, it was completely extinguished in the west by Hoche, by great mildness and kindness towards those who were led astray by fanaticism, or a real attachment to

the old constitution and *régime*, and by the greatest severity against the leaders of the predatory bands which infested the country. Stofflet was pursued and taken prisoner: because he was taken with arms in his hands, he was tried by a court-martial, and shot on the 21th of February 1796; Charette met with the same fate four weeks afterwards, and was executed on the 29th of March 1796.

During the following year the chief scene of the war was in Italy, because there victories had been won and conquests made, of which no one could have dreamt two years before. Jourdan's army also had been considerably reinforced, in order to be in a condition to make a new incursion from the north into Germany. The imperial army too was abundantly provided during the winter with all the necessary supplies, at least in as far as this was not obstructed or curtailed by the speculations of the generals and colonels of regiments and those of the contractors. A fortified camp was constructed at Mannheim, and the fortresses of Philippsburg, Mayence, Mannheim and Ehrenbreitstein were amply provisioned and garrisoned. The archduke Charles, who undertook the command on the 9th of February, established his head-quarters in Mayence, and after Buonaparte had been five times victorious, was ordered to make a diversion by an attack from the side of the Rhine. He declared the truce at an end on the 21st of May, and hostilities therefore commenced again in Germany on the 31st of the same month.

Jourdan had established a fearfully strong point in Düsseldorf, which had been traitorously surrendered by Hompesch; he again surrounded it with fortified lines and twenty batteries; he went from thence along the right bank of the Rhine, and compelled the archduke to meet him on the Lahn. On the 15th of June the archduke advanced to the Lahn to compel Jourdan either to retire from that river or to accept the chances of a battle at Wetzlar, where he wished to cross the river. Jourdan chose the latter and was defeated, without however having suffered any considerable loss, because the Austrians only captured six pieces of cannon. The most important thing was, that his whole army was obliged to retreat rapidly over the Rhine. On the retreat Jourdan's rear-guard was reached and forced to an engagement by the Austrians at the village of Kirchcisp, on the way from Altenkirchen to the Sieg. This victory was doubly honourable to general Kray, because he was opposed by such a general as Kleber. Kleber lost 3000 men and 700 were taken

prisoners, among whom were twenty-one officers. The French indeed were driven back to Cologne; but on the other hand they again took possession of the country from the Moselle to Mayence, and restored the communication between the army of the Sambre and Meuse and that of the Upper Rhine.

The French were indebted for the re-occupation of the left bank of the Rhine neither to Jourdan nor Moreau, but wholly to Buonaparte, whose victories in Italy called away the imperial troops, and finally the best generals also, from the Rhine into Lombardy. When Buonaparte was in possession of the whole of Lombardy, and engaged in blockading Mantua, 25,000 men from the army of the Rhine marched in the beginning of July, partly through the Vorarlberg and partly by Cannstatt and Reuti through the Tyrol into Italy, and Wurmser received orders to confine himself to the defensive. He therefore passed from the left bank of the Rhine to the right, and on the 17th of July took his departure for Italy, in order to take the supreme command instead of Beaulieu. The archduke Charles now became commander-in-chief of the whole imperial armies on the Rhine, and entrusted the command of Wurmser's corps to Latour, who was a general of artillery. The reason why the French were desirous of alluring the archduke from the Rhine when they were unable to force their way through at Wetzlar, and why Moreau appeared as if he would attack Mannheim, became evident immediately after Wurmser's withdrawal. Moreau was anxious to pass the Rhine at Strasburg, because he was well assured, from the negotiations which had been long carried on, that as soon as he made his appearance, the South German governments and diplomatists would not delay for an instant in imitating Prussia, Hesse and Hanover, and preferring their own private advantage to the well-being of their country.

On the 24th of June Moreau crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, took the fortress of Kehl at the first assault, because the Swabian troops made no resistance, and rapidly overran the whole of Swabia, in order to cut off the archduke, who had quickly turned round and left Wartensleben to observe Jourdan, from all communications with Austria. This plan was the more likely to succeed, as the grand-duchy of Baden, Würtemberg, and finally the Bavarian palatinate were given up to the enemy, and afterwards the whole circles of Swabia and Franconia begged for peace after the example of the countries just named. On the 20th of July, the archduke, with a feeling of noble aversion, dis-

armed all the Swabian troops in his army, to the reproach and disgrace of their governments. Cowardly diplomatists prevailed upon the German courts, according to agreements, to deliver much more money, provisions, horses and materials of war of all kinds to the enemy's general in three months, than had been given up for the use of the country during the whole course of the war. Every French general and commissary squeezed everything he could from the Germans. It would be regarded as incredible, were not the printed documents now before us, that the king of Prussia and Haugwitz should avail themselves of the very moment in which the emperor and his noble brother were reduced to the greatest straits in their attempts to defend the integrity and honour of the empire, to conclude a secret convention with the hereditary enemy of the empire, and to enrich the king and his brother-in-law at the cost of the other states of Germany. This occurred at the very moment in which Nuremberg and other cities had been so long troubled and harassed by Prussia, as had been previously done with Danzig, till they renounced their independence.

In the convention* just mentioned, a promise was once more given in the first article to assist the French to the recovery and possession of the left bank of the Rhine; nay more, to procure for them, or what was the same thing, for the Batavian republic, a portion of the bishopric of Münster and of the district of Recklingshausen, on condition that Prussia might take the remainder. In the second article Prussia undertakes to mediate, that other princes also may have some share in the spoil. In the fourth, the Hessian houses are assured that very good care will be taken of their interests, and the electoral dignity guaranteed to Hesse-Cassel. In the fifth article, Würzburg, Bamberg and the electoral dignity are secured to the king's brother-in-law, the prince of Orange. Did not the Prussian schemers deserve to be deceived, as they were afterwards deceived by Buonaparte and Talleyrand? Did not those illustrious and in other respects haughty families, of whose modes of thought and bearing in the calamities of their country and their emperor we have full details in Buonaparte's correspondence of that period†,

* This secret convention, concluded on the 5th of August 1796 (18th Thermidor of year 4) at Berlin, between his majesty the king of Prussia and the French republic, will be found in the third volume of Posselt's 'European Annals for the year 1799,' p. 271.

† 'Correspondance médiée officielle et confidentielle de Napoléon Buonaparte avec les cours étrangères, les princes, les ministres et les généraux Fran-

—did they not deserve, on account of their servile spirit, to be treated like slaves? Talleyrand, as well as Buonaparte, who at that time guided the course of French politics from Italy, admirably availed themselves of the selfishness of the German princes. We cannot therefore blame the archduke for regarding the duke of Würtemberg's request of some protection for his country as merely ironical, when his own was in such imminent danger, and he recommended him to do something for himself.

The archduke had marched in all haste to Swabia, but proved unfortunate in several skirmishes, and in a regular engagement with Moreau at Rastatt, was beaten a second time on the 9th of July at Ettlingen, and afterwards used all possible expedition to reach the Danube. Jourdan also now again made his appearance and penetrated into Franconia. Extortion, robbery and oppression knew no limits. Notwithstanding this, Baden and Würtemberg despatched ambassadors to Paris and negotiated a peace. The whole of Germany was laid under contribution, millions were extorted from the people, and still the princes, barons and cities emulated each other in their humble and crouching servility to please the French and to concede everything which they desired. The whole circle of Franconia voluntarily submitted and paid 6,000,000 of florins, others four, others two, and so forth. Jourdan at length pushed forward through Franconia into the Upper Palatinate, and was approaching the Danube; Moreau followed the archduke Charles through Swabia, and on the 21st of August had taken possession of Augsburg, when the archduke being suddenly reinforced by 15,000 admirable Hun-

çais,' Paris, 1819, vol. viii. p. 123. The minister Delacroix writes to Buonaparte and Clarke, who had been sent to him to Italy, May 1797, "J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer, citoyens généraux, les extraits de la correspondance qui peuvent vous intéresser relativement à l'importante négociation dont vous êtes chargés. *Vous y verrez que presque toutes les grandes maisons de l'Allemagne désirent qu'il soit pris des arrangemens convenables à la république sur les frontières vers le Rhin; que la cession de la rive gauche n'éprouvera point d'obstacle sérieux de leur part pourvu qu'ils soient dédommagés sur l'autre rive par des sécularisations équivalentes.* Quant à la Prusse elle paroît un peu confuse du rôle qu'elle a joué en réclamant l'intégrité de l'empire Germanique, tandis qu'elle est liée avec nous par une convention secrète qui suppose la cession à la république de toute la partie gauche, moyennant un dédommagement pour elle et pour le stathouder également pris sur la rive droite du Rhin." On the 19th of August, when Talleyrand was already minister, he writes, "C'est dans ce système de sécularisation auquel il faut en venir tôt ou tard, et qui est déjà consenti par la Prusse, la Hesse, Würtemberg et Bade, que l'empereur trouvera à la fois un dédommagement plus ample et un arrondissement plus convenable à ses états héréditaires, que dans des provinces Italiennes agitées par les principes de la démocratie et qui d'ailleurs seraient pour sa maison des sujets perpétuels de guerre."

garian grenadiers, by an unexpected march, gave an entirely new turn to the war.

The archduke had anticipated Moreau's arrival in Bavaria, from the 12th till the 16th of August betaken himself from Donauwerth to the right bank of the Danube, and received the reinforcements just mentioned, when he received intelligence that a division of Jourdan's corps had ventured too far forward. Bernadotte was at the head of this division, and proposed to push forward to the Danube to open a communication between Jourdan's and Moreau's armies. He was only a few hours from Ratisbon, when the archduke again suddenly crossed the Danube at Ingolstadt on the 21st, on the two following days completely routed Bernadotte's division, and compelled it to retreat rapidly to Franconia, whither he followed in hot pursuit. Jourdan himself no sooner heard that his right wing was beaten and routed, than he withdrew from the Upper Palatinate. As the Austrians continued uninterruptedly to advance, and to weaken his forces by incessant skirmishes, he soon found his army beginning to lose courage without having fought a decisive battle. The archduke, who had again formed a junction with Wartensleben, whom Jourdan drove before him, sent reinforcements to Latour to maintain the struggle with Moreau, took Bamberg, and by an attack upon Würzburg compelled Jourdan to accept the chances of a battle.

The battle of Würzburg lasted from early in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon; the loss of a few thousand prisoners and about twenty pieces of cannon was however far less important than the complete dissolution of all order on the march through the Spessart, which became a flight, and led to the dispersion of the whole army. Discipline was at an end, and the German people, who had been so grossly maltreated and plundered, and were of a very different mode of thinking from their cowardly governments and officials, could not be restrained, as was also the case in 1812. They rose *en masse* in all directions, and cut off all the stragglers of the French army who fell in their way. The means of transport were no longer to be had, because the officers of the post no longer showed themselves more disposed to please the French than the Germans, as they had previously done. At length the people were organized as militia, particularly by the activity of Wrede and Albin, the former of whom was still at that time in the employment of the state. The garrisons of those fortresses which had been left in his rear by Jourdan afterwards marched out in military array and fell upon the

French. That part of the army which they had succeeded in keeping together was arrested in its retreat at the bridge of Limburg, lost 6000 men and forty pieces of cannon on the 16th of September; the remnant was completely dispersed on the 20th at Altenkirchen, Ehrenbreitstein was relieved, and nothing now remained in the hands of the French except the *tête du pont* at Neuwied and the lines before Düsseldorf. Whilst the hands of the people were fearfully bound up throughout the whole of Germany and a variety of embassies were sent to Paris, the French it is true raised a new army without delay under Beurnonville, which was afterwards placed under the orders of Hoche, who had again advanced to Wetzlar, where he died; but the fate of Germany was at that time decided by Buonaparte's preliminaries agreed to at Leoben.

Whilst the people in the Spessart, the Odenwald, on the Rhine, Maine and Lahn rendered active assistance in annihilating the French, Moreau found his last support in Bavaria and Swabia, in the conduct and fears of their cowardly governments and officials. From the 21st of August till the 6th of September, he pushed forward on the one side as far as Munich, on the other commenced the siege of Ingolstadt, and Charles Theodore hastened eagerly to supply him with the money and provisions which he had denied to his German countrymen. On the 7th of September he concluded a truce with Moreau for Bavaria, and that part of the Palatinate on this side the Rhine, for which his unfortunate subjects, oppressed in every way by himself, his mistresses, their sons and clients, by friend and enemy, were obliged to pay in the following manner:—10,000,000 of francs contribution, 3300 horses, 200,000 cwt. of corn and the same quantity of hay, 100,000 pairs of shoes, 10,000 pairs of boots, 30,000 ells of cloth, and twenty pictures from the galleries of Munich and Düsseldorf. The disgraceful character of this treaty may be seen from the fact, that the basely betrayed and brave Austrians had completely freed Bavaria and Swabia from the mischiefs of the plundering French since the 11th of September. On the day just mentioned, Fröhlich and the prince of Fürstenberg defeated the French at Munich and took 1500 prisoners, Hotze was victorious at Ingolstadt, compelled the French to raise the siege, and united all the imperial troops in that neighbourhood. At the same time Petrasch undertook the command in Mannheim, pushed forward by Bruchsal to Würtemberg, and recovered the magazines and all that the predatory

generals and commissaries had heaped together. In Swabia also, as everywhere else, the peasants were infinitely more patriotic and sounder-minded than the contemptible jurists and diplomatists at whose mercy they were; they rose animated with the spirit of revenge and for the annihilation of the enemies of their nation and empire; Moreau therefore, pressed on all sides by the imperialists, was no longer able to maintain himself even in Ulm, to which he had removed his head-quarters on the 21st of September. All the passes of the Black Forest leading to Freiburg or Kuhl were occupied; the archduke Charles, having left 36,000 men under Werneck between the Lahn and the Sieg, and 5000 on the Maine under Sztarray, hastened with the remainder of his army to the Upper Rhine to cut off Moreau's retreat to Hünigen; Moreau therefore obtained the renown of a great general throughout the whole of Europe, for having succeeded in reaching his destination through Thengen, Stühlingen, along the Wutach, and through the Forest towns with his artillery and baggage, and with a very inconsiderable loss in men. He had previously defeated general Latour in a regular engagement at Biberach on the 2nd of October. In this battle, besides a great number slain, the Austrians lost 3500 prisoners and eighteen pieces of cannon. If we compare this retreat, which was a series of continual victories, with Jourdan's retreat, which led to the complete dispersion of his army, it will be seen that Buonaparte's ironical remarks on Moreau's reputation, as founded on this retreat, are wholly without foundation.

The right bank of the Rhine, from Neuwied to Breisach, was now completely freed from the French; it has however been alleged as a reproach against the archduke Charles, that he suffered two months afterwards to elapse without besieging the bridge-trenches at Hünigen and the insignificant fortress of Kehl; but he, as well as the French, then saw that the fate of the war would be decided in Italy. Kehl having capitulated on the 9th of January 1797, and Hünigen on the 1st of February, a truce was concluded on the Rhine on conditions of three days' notice of its termination on either side. Immediately afterwards the archduke Charles was called to Austria in order to save Vienna, which was at that time threatened by Buonaparte.

3. SUMMARY VIEW OF THE VICTORIOUS UNDERTAKINGS OF THE FRENCH IN ITALY, WHICH LED TO THE PRELIMINARIES OF LEOBEN AND TO A PEACE.

The events of the year 1797 ought not to be received into this volume of our work, because we are desirous of reserving everything which relates to Buonaparte to the concluding volume; we must therefore bring the present part to a conclusion with the termination of the war *so far as it regarded the German empire*. This termination became first certain by the preliminaries of Leoben; we believe therefore that we must still refer to the victory of the French which compelled the emperor to relinquish the English alliance, his only remaining true and faithful support in the beginning of the year 1797. For this reason, we shall very briefly enumerate Buonaparte's warlike undertakings in Italy in the year 1796 and till April 1797, and the political changes which were their consequences, reserving the more minute explanation of the single events and circumstances and the narrative of all the steps of the subsequent emperor of the French for the succeeding and last volume of the work.

The committee of public welfare had already caused Savoy to be incorporated with France under the name of the department of Mont Blanc; but the French neither crossed the Alps in 1794 nor 1795, although both the army of the Alps and that of Italy had advanced to the frontiers of Piedmont. The two armies were first united under Kellermann in the year 1795, but as soon as the peace with Spain and the success of their arms in Germany rendered it possible to send considerable reinforcements, they were again separated and placed under two commanders. Kellermann was entrusted with the command of the army of the Alps, whilst Scherer was placed at the head of the army of Italy. After the peace with Spain, the latter army was reinforced by the addition of the whole corps which had been engaged in the eastern Pyrenees and by other troops, so that in October it was computed to amount to 50,000 men; even Clausewitz estimates it at 43,000. Scherer was addicted to intemperance, suffered bad discipline, and was not in a condition to put any check to the frauds of the contractors and commissaries; Massena however was his second in command, and defeated the Austrians on the 22nd of November at Loano. On this occasion general Devins lost 5000 men, forty-eight pieces of cannon and some stores. He was then recalled, and Beaulieu, seventy-one years of age, was appointed in his stead commander-in-chief of that

corps of the Austrians which, in connexion with the Piedmontese under Colli, was opposed to the French. The latter also had already suffered a defeat from the division under Serrurier, before the directory named a new commander-in-chief, and been driven back as far as Ceva.

The directory owed its existence to Buonaparte: with that skill peculiar to him, and with the quick perception of a statesman born to be a ruler, he had organized the safeguard of the directory and councils, consisting of regular troops, had set bounds to royalism, and on this account alone received the appointment of general of the interior; the directory owed him an act of gratitude. Among the directors, Carnot (at that time, but not afterwards) favoured Buonaparte, because he expected great deeds from him; Barras, because he had known him ever since the relief of Toulon and through the scenes of the 13th of Vendémiaire; perhaps, also, because he had married Josephine Beauharnais; he was therefore appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Italy in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and on the 23rd of March 1796 entered Nice, where the head-quarters of the army then were.

A man of decision like Buonaparte must necessarily commence with a decisive step, even though he had not been obliged to seek for horses, provisions, clothing and pay for his soldiers in the plains of Italy. He therefore encouraged and consoled his men with the hopes of an immense booty, when he started from the Riviera to storm the ridge of the Apennines and to separate the Piedmontese and Austrians from each other. At the same time he excited them by that species of eloquence bordering on rhodomontade, which rouses and affects the warlike and vain heart of every Frenchman, when these phrases are repeated in books or in the rostrum. Both the French and Austro-Piedmontese armies put themselves in motion almost at the same time to attack each other. For this purpose Beaulieu, in April, had ordered Argenteau to occupy the points of Dego, Millesimo and Montenotte. The storming, maintaining, capture and recapture of these positions formed the theatre of those engagements, between the 10th and 15th of April, which were decisive of Buonaparte's glory, the destiny of all Italy and the fate of Germany. Buonaparte's chief aim was to defeat general Provera, who was to maintain the communication between the Sardinian army under Colli and the Austrian forces under Beaulieu, and then to push forward between the two armies. Argenteau,

whom Beaulieu had sent forward, was first beaten at Montenotte on the 12th of April; on the 13th Colli's left wing was driven from its positions at Millesimo, and Provera compelled to throw himself into the castle of Cossaria, where he remained closely blockaded and was afterwards taken prisoner. On the 14th and 15th the Austrians at Dego were completely repulsed, and Buonaparte enabled to direct the whole of his forces against Colli's Sardinian army. The loss of the Austrians in these various engagements is estimated by Jomini at one-third of their whole force, that is, 10,000 men; they lost also many pieces of cannon.

It has been made a reproach to Buonaparte's military skill, that he gave Beaulieu time to unite his army at Aquì and turned his whole force against Colli, who was posted at Ceva; the political calculation was perfectly correct, because he knew that the king of Sardinia and his cardinal adviser would begin to tremble in the same manner as the German princes had been terrified into cowardly submission, and would act precisely as they did. Such proved to be the case; Colli was unfortunate in the engagements at Mondovi on the 23rd, and saw that he was no longer to expect any support from Beaulieu*. The consequence was, that the whole of Italy soon became full of malcontents, the people of Piedmont longed to be free from military tyranny, and those of Lombardy to be rid of foreign dominion. Buonaparte, as a Corsican and (as was believed) a friend of the revolution, had already all the threads of the conspiracies in his hands; he terrified the cowardly tyrants, and Colli was obliged to propose a truce. This truce was signed as early as the 23rd of April, and according to the way in which treaties of peace were then usually regarded in Paris and weaker allies treated, it was no sooner changed into a peace on the 15th of May, than the king and his country were delivered into the hands of the French†.

* Botta is an excellent authority on this subject, particularly in relation to the boasting of Buonaparte and the French. In his '*Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*,' Capo lago, presso Mendrisio, 1833, vol. i. p. 337, he says, in reference to the relation of Beaulieu and Colli, "Ne Beaulieu si curò molto di starsene unito a Colli, ne Colli a Beaulieu, perchè ed alcuni semi di discordia già erano primo dei raccontati fatti trà loro sorti, e, come suole accadere, nelle disgrazie, gli Austriaci accusavano i Piemontesi di non avergli comera debito ajutati, i Piemontesi davano il medesimo carico a gli Austriaci." As to the truce, Botta says precisely the same of his Victor Amadeus III. which we say of all the German princes of the year 1796, pp. 352, 353, "Stupiranno i posterì che intero il stato suo in Ita'ia, intero le fortezze, intero l'esercito ad un primo romoreggiare di Francesi si sia sbigottito nel animo e dato subitamente in preda a coloro che con una pace a lui pregiudiziale non altro fine avevano, se non di costringere l'Austria ad una pace utile a loro."

† This will be rendered most obvious by giving the substance of the peace

The conditions of the treaty secured Buonaparte's rear, gave him an open road through Piedmont, and rendered it impossible for the Austrians to defend the open plains of Lombardy against the French intoxicated with victory, against their able generals and their commander-in-chief, who was equally great in the field, the cabinet and administration.

Buonaparte, as he had given reason to suppose by a condition of the treaty, did not afterwards pass the Po at Valenza, but farther down at Piacenza, in order to overtake the Austrians on the Adda. This gave rise to the passage of the bridge of Lodi, which is narrated with such adventurous and romantic interest by the French in all their reports, and which still remains surprising and wonderful enough, although much that is stated by the French on the subject is a well-established falsehood*, and it still continues to be repeated by their writers in spite of the clearest refutations. Beaulieu did not wish to detain the French at the bridge of Lodi more than twenty-four hours, further there were only fourteen cannon placed on the bridge, and only 7000 men left behind to defend and obstruct the passage; no battle therefore took place, although Clausewitz himself admits, that it was incomprehensible to him, how this bridge, 300 paces long,

of May 1796 in Botta's words, without mentioning a whole series of secret articles as well as public conditions, payments and extortions of all kinds. Properly speaking, Turin alone remained to the king. It is said, p. 357, "Furono le condizioni principali: cedesse il re alla repubblica la possessione del ducato di Savoia e della contea di Nizza; oltre le fortezze di Cuneo, Cèva e Tortona, mettesse in potestà dei repubblicani Iclia, l'Assietta, Susa; la Brunetta, Castel Delfino ed Alessandria, ed in luogo suo, ed a piacere del generale di Francia, Valenza; smantellassersi a spese del re Susa e la Brunetta, ne alcuna nuova fortezza potesse rizzare per quella frontiera; non desse passo ai nemici della repubblica; non soffrisse ne suoi stati alcun fuoruscito o bandito Francese; restituissersi da ambe le parti i prigionieri fatti in guerra; abolissersi ed in perpetua dimenticanza mandassersi i processi fatti ai querelati per opinioni politiche; a libertà si restituissero e dei beni loro posti al fisco si reintegrassero; avessero facoltà durante il loro quieto vivere, o di starsene senza molestia negli stati regii, o di trasferirsi là dove più lor piacesse. Dei paesi occupati dai Francesi conservasse il re il governo civile, *ma si obbligasse a pagare le taglie militari ed a fornir viveri e stame all'esercito repubblicano; disdicesi l'ingiuria fatta al ministro di Francia in Alessandria.*"

* This may appear severely expressed; explanations of particular points however do not consist with the brief report which we here give. We shall merely refer to the judgement of a military man, with the best means of forming a correct opinion. In the posthumous work of general Carl von Clausewitz, 'Feldzug von 1796,' Berlin 1853, it is said, p. 95, "Buonaparte in his report intentionally calls this contest for a single bridge, — this collision with a single column, *the battle of Lodi*, adorned with the trophies of twenty cannon and several thousand prisoners. Under this form it has traversed all Europe, in one place exciting joy and happiness, in another dread and fear, and in a third anxiety and caution."

could be taken by storm. This however really happened, and the Austrian army was greatly discouraged by the result. Being constantly and hotly pursued, it gradually dispersed, or partly took refuge in the Tyrol and partly under the cannon of the fortress of Mantua. Crema, Pizzighetone, Pavia, and finally Milan also were occupied, and Buonaparte made his entry into the last-mentioned city on the 14th of May. Immense demands and contributions were made and required to provide for the wants of the army and to satisfy the avidity of the avaricious generals; and the directory as well as Moreau's army was soon relieved from their necessities by the sums extorted from the Italians*. Academicians came to Italy, and artists, declaiming upon the arts, and prepared themselves to plunder its classic soil. The Parisians and their salons spoke of nothing but Buonaparte and the trophies of all descriptions which he sent to Paris. The disturbances which the indolent Italians occasionally excited were easily repressed by military force, and were profited by in order to practise new extortions and to change old institutions.

Because a Spanish prince was reigning in Parma, Buonaparte wished to assume the appearance of sparing him on account of the Spanish prince of peace and the queen, as the directory even at that time had begun to entertain the idea of employing Spain against England; he was therefore only robbed of his works of art and treasures. Moreover the duke of Parma and the duke of Modena were kept completely in the power of their enemies, because the French general merely granted them a truce and not a peace; for this boon, these two dukes, like the German princes, voluntarily resigned the millions which had been long extorted from their subjects and remained buried in their treasuries and vaults. In this way the misers became the prey of the covetous. The Austrians were driven completely out of Italy and into the fastnesses of the Tyrol, and no hesitation for a moment prevented the French from depriving the Venetians

* We cannot here give the whole in detail, but merely a sample, without mentioning the vast requisitions made in the products of the earth, or the plunder of the churches, or the twenty-one boxes of plate taken from Lodi, Milan and Bologna. Lombardy paid 25,000,000 of francs, Modena 10,000,000, the factors of the empire 200,000, Mantua, when at length reduced, 800,000, Massa and Carrara 600,000, Parma and Piacenza 20,000,000, the pope 36,000,000, Bologna and Ferrara 3,700,000, the warehouses of English goods 8,000,000. Buonaparte declared to his soldiers, in 1797, who had extorted the money, that he had provided for the whole expenses of the army, generals, officers and soldiers, for *eleven* months, and besides sent 30,000,000 to France, without however saying at the same time how well he provided for himself.

of Verona under a feigned excuse, and Brescia afterwards without any pretence at all, although Venice was a republic and an intimate ally of France. Beaulieu, before leaving Italy, reinforced the garrison of Mantua to 13,000 men; but as he had previously done in the Apennines and Alps, he frittered away his army by making numerous divisions, because he wished to protect and guard, as if by a cordon, all the accesses and passes to the Tyrol. Buonaparte, on the contrary, declares it to be the characteristic mark of a good general to understand how to direct a superior force against the enemy at a given time and in a given place.

The citadel of Milan maintained itself till the 27th of June, and Buonaparte was on a visit in Florence at the time in which the news of the surrender arrived. He had at that time shown his forbearance to the Neapolitans, because they lay at too great a distance to be conveniently accessible to his armies; and on the 23rd of June he conceded a truce to the pope, which the latter was to purchase by the cession of the legations of Reggio, Bologna and Ferrara, the payment of 15,500,000 francs, 100 of his best works of art, and 500 manuscripts. The shrine of Loreto was also plundered, but the priests had long before substituted false diamonds for the genuine ones. Augereau next sent a swarm of his plundering army into the territory of the duke of Tuscany, who was on friendly relations with the French, in order to carry off English wares from the port of Leghorn, amounting to 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 of francs in value. The siege of Mantua was being prosecuted with great zeal, when news arrived that Austria had fitted out a new army in order to relieve the city. After his retreat from Italy, Beaulieu suffered a defeat in the Italian Tyrol, and finally withdrew with his army to Caliano between Roveredo and Trent, where he was opposed by Massena at the head of 12,000 men. In June the temporary command was entrusted to Melas, till Wurmser arrived from the Rhine, and Beaulieu took his departure from the army at the end of the month. It has been already stated, that 25,000 men and large quantities of military stores were taken from the army of the Rhine to equip a new army of Italy, and that Wurmser was to take the command of the new force. This army was brought together in the middle of July in the Tyrol. Its number has been estimated at 60,000 men, when Wurmser pushed forward through the valley of the Adige and compelled Massena to retire before him. On the 30th of July Massena encamped between Rivoli and Castelnovo, at which latter town Buona-

parte's head-quarters were established. Wurmser on this occasion committed the old Austrian mistake, by pursuing the old systematic method of attack; he divided his army. He himself at the head of 32,000 men, again variously subdivided, marched through the valley of the Adige, whilst Quosdanowich was to advance on the lake of Guarda and to burst into the plain at Riva and Salo.

On the news of the approach of an army superior in number to his own, Buonaparte suddenly relinquished the siege of Mantua and voluntarily sacrificed 126 pieces of heavy artillery, in order to decide the fate of the fortress in the field by a battle with Wurmser, whom he hastened to meet. The whole of Buonaparte's forces were first directed against Quosdanowich, who was in the neighbourhood of the lake of Guarda, and had occupied Brescia. This movement left the road to Mantua open to Wurmser, who marched directly thither and entered the city on the 1st of August. The fortress was provided anew with everything necessary for its maintenance and defence, but the right moment had been neglected for giving assistance to Quosdanowich. The Austrian commander-in-chief was still in Mantua on the 2nd of August; on this day, it is true, he sent a division of his army to Castiglione, of which Quosdanowich was still in possession on the 31st, but on the evening of the same day he learned that the Austrians had been driven back at all points. Quosdanowich in the meantime renewed the struggle on the 3rd, and from the 3rd a series of contests was carried on continuously with great bravery on both sides; on the 3rd, at the same time, a regular engagement was fought at Lonato and Castiglione. In this battle the Austrians lost 3000 men and 30 pieces of cannon; the chief loss however consisted in the impossibility of Wurmser, who had crossed the Mincio after the loss of the engagement, being able to form a junction with Quosdanowich. The latter general was driven back on the 4th to Riva, and Buonaparte was then enabled to turn with his whole force against Wurmser, who had forced his way forward with his 25,000 men as far as Castiglione. The honour of the decisive battle of Castiglione, fought on the 5th, is due to Augereau and Massena; 2000 Austrians were slain, 1000 taken prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon captured; Wurmser was obliged to retire with the main body of his force to Valeggio, and to save his right wing by a retreat to Peschiera. The camp which he here formed was also taken by storm by Massena. Wurmser now

retreated to the Tyrol, whither he was closely pursued by the French; in the Tyrol he again formed a junction with Quosdanowich, and Buonaparte on his part again caused the fortress of Mantua, in which Wurmser had left a garrison of 15,000 men, to be invested.

From the 7th of August the French were afterwards in the Tyrol in the presence of the Austrians, who had been largely reinforced. Massena was at Rivoli, Augereau in Verona, and Vaubois on the lake of Guarda. Wurmser was so rapidly reinforced during the course of three weeks, that his army became soon equal in number to that to which he was opposed. In Austria the principles of government and generals are too conservative ever to give up any old custom; the army was again divided when preparing for a second attack on their enemies. Davidowich was to march to Italy through Trent and Roveredo, whilst Wurmser resolved to advance by the valley of the Brenta, and to surprise the besieging army before Mantua. The French did not wait till the latter arrived, but Massena attacked Davidowich in order to be able, in case of victory, to fall with safety upon the rear of Wurmser's army in the valley of the Brenta. Davidowich was defeated on the 4th of September at Roveredo, and on the 5th driven to Neumarkt, and the French force was thus enabled without risk to enter the valley of the Brenta in the rear of Wurmser, with whom they came up on the 8th of September at Bassano. On this occasion, as the French boast with reason, no regular engagement was fought, and yet Wurmser was beaten, lost 2000 prisoners and 30 pieces of cannon, and was completely separated from Quosdanowich, who endeavoured to find refuge in the Friule. Wurmser saved himself with 16,000 men by retiring across the Brenta to Vicenza. He next hastened to Mantua, opened a way for himself in several petty engagements by means of his admirable cavalry, encamped at the lake before Mantua, drew the garrison to himself, and resolved to hazard another battle. This battle was fought near Fort St. George; Wurmser lost above 2000 men, and was only able with great difficulty to make his escape over the ditch into the fortress.

The fate of Italy was now completely bound up with the possession of Mantua, which the French determined not to bombard, but merely to keep closely invested, because since Wurmser had thrown himself into the fortress an immense multitude of persons were collected within the walls, of whom thousands were ill in the hospitals. It was expected, and not without reason,

that what the malaria of the lake and the marsh which surrounds Mantua did not soon destroy, would speedily be reduced to extremities from want, as no preparations had or could have been made for the sustenance of such an immense number of persons. During the six weeks which Buonaparte spent in Lombardy, after having frustrated both Wurmser's undertakings, he laboured at the erection and establishment of a cispadane and transpadane republic, which he pressed upon the attention and approval of the directory, who were long averse to the plan. The first step for the realization of this idea was, that the duke of Modena, notwithstanding the millions which he had paid, should be without further ceremony deprived of his territory and the regency established by him abolished. The view with which this course of violence was commenced by the general clearly appears from his not only establishing the same kind of provisional government in Modena as he had formerly done in the three legations of Bologna, Reggio and Ferrara, wrested from the pope, but he even united the deputies of the four places just named into one assembly, as a preliminary to the legislative body of the transpadane republic. In the meantime Austria was equipping a new army to relieve Mantua; she roused up the pope and Naples, and entered into a secret alliance with them. Naples made peace precisely at the right moment; the pope however continued his military preparations, and thereby furnished Buonaparte with the desired excuse, of more cruelly harassing him afterwards and imposing upon him larger contributions than before.

The Austrians in October collected about 50,000 men under general Alvinzy in the Tyrol, and caused this army to advance into Italy, in the same manner as Wurmser's corps had previously done. Davidowich was to march through Trent, and Quosdanowich by Bassano. The two generals were then to form a junction on the Adige, and Wurmser to support them by a sally from Mantua. Davidowich was at first successful in his operations. After numerous engagements, he drove general Vaubois to Rivoli on the 7th, took from him 12 pieces of cannon and 1200 prisoners, and compelled him to retreat to Castelnovo. During this time Alvinzy with the main army had also made his appearance at Bassano and Citadella. The French fought there with success on the 6th of September; Buonaparte however found it advisable, in order to be able to support Vaubois, to turn towards Verona, whither Alvinzy followed him. On

the 11th and 12th of November, this general twice successfully repulsed the attacks of the French, but waited in vain for Davidowich, who remained quietly in his position. On the three successive days of the 15th, 16th and 17th of November, Buonaparte put forth all his energies in the engagement, which was as often renewed at Arcola, and finally obtained a complete victory. The French say the Austrians lost from 7000 to 8000 men; this may be an exaggeration: the chief point however is, that the expedition for the relief of Mantua was frustrated, and Alvinzy's army on the one side driven behind the Brenta, and on the other to the lake of Guarda.

The directory having attempted in vain to commence negotiations for a peace by the mission of general Clarke, Austria, by the most astonishing and praiseworthy efforts, succeeded in raising a new army of 45,000 men at the commencement of January 1797. At the head of this army, Alvinzy once more, in two columns as hitherto, advanced into Italy. On this occasion the main army, under Alvinzy himself, followed the valley of the Adige, whilst a division under Provera was despatched direct to Mantua. Provera's force had arrived at the very suburb of St. George, when it was surprised by Buonaparte, who had gained a most splendid victory on the 13th and 14th of January at Rivoli and La Corona. Alvinzy's corps was nearly destroyed, and of his 25,000 men only 10,000 remained, with whom he marched to Roveredo. On this occasion 10,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the French.

From the battle-field Buonaparte went in all haste to Mantua, where Provera still was without the city at La Favorita. On the night between the 15th and 16th of January Buonaparte and Massena met, and as early as ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, Provera, with 6700 men, laid down his arms. The immediate consequence of this last almost unexampled victory was the surrender of Mantua on the 2nd of February. Of 28,000 men who had been in this fortress, 7000 were dead, 6000 were found in the hospitals, and 15,000 were taken prisoners of war. Lannes and Victor were now sent against the pope, and the latter had scarcely taken possession of Ancona, when the pope on the 12th of February earnestly sued for peace. The peace was concluded on the 20th in Tolentino. The pope ceded Avignon and Venaissin, Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna, agreed to leave Ancona in the hands of the French during the war, paid fifteen millions for the costs of the war, in addition to that which

he had promised at the truce, and delivered up a great many valuable works of art.

Buonaparte at length resolved to make an incursion through the Friule into Austria. For this purpose he had been reinforced by two divisions of the army of the Rhine under Delmas and Bernadotte, and had long before sent Joubert to the Tyrol. The archduke Charles, who now assumed the command, was scarcely able to bring 20,000 men to the Tagliamento, under these melancholy circumstances, to oppose a much superior army of the French. This army was compelled by the French to retreat on the 16th of March at Valvassone, but with very little loss; the archduke however was closely pursued. On the one side the French took possession of Triest and Idria, and on the other of the Tyrol, as far as the Brenner. It was fortunate for the archduke that his strength increased as he approached Vienna, and that he was able to avoid a decisive engagement till his army again amounted to 40,000 men. The closeness of the pursuit may be imagined from the circumstance that the archduke Charles left Klagenfurth on the 29th of March, and Buonaparte entered the same city as early as the 30th. Buonaparte however found himself in an extremely critical situation; he received intelligence that the whole of the Tyrol was in a state of insurrection against the French; he knew nothing of Joubert's fate, whom he had sent thither; Hungary and Croatia were threatening to rise *en masse* against the invaders; in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, the people were hostile, the mountains pathless, and his communications with Italy insecure; he therefore wrote to the archduke from St. Veit on the 31st of March and offered reasonable terms of peace. The archduke, on receipt of his letter, sent generals Meerfeld and Bellegarde to him, and Buonaparte, who had never heard anything of Joubert, concluded a truce on the 7th of April 1797, and on the 18th of the same month the preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben.

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